A COALESCENCE OF LITURGICAL CONSENSUS
ON THE CHANTS FOR THE MASS FOR THE DEAD
FROM ITS ORIGINS THROUGH THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

by

Nemesio Valle, III

Bachelor of Arts, Haverford College, 1997

Master of Arts, University of Pittsburgh, 2002
Master of Music, Duquesne University of the Holy Spirit, 2002

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This dissertation was presented

by

Nemesio Valle, III

It was defended on

March 28, 2011

and approved by

Sara G. Casey, Instructor, Department of Music

Don O. Franklin, Professor Emeritus, Department of Music

Deane L. Root, Professor, Department of Music

M. Alison Stones, Professor, Department of the History of Art and Architecture

Dissertation Advisor: Mary S. Lewis, Professor Emerita, Department of Music

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Although death is an essential part of human experience, the Mass for the Dead—frequently known as the *Requiem Mass*—has not been fully examined in musicological literature. The Mass for the Dead as a liturgical genre arises, not with the first generation of propers in the early eighth century, but gradually and sporadically by the end of that century. As a consequence, rather than a stable body of propers like most of the early celebrations, the chants for the Mass for the Dead vary significantly from region to region according to local practice. Although a few of these variations have been noted, the degree of diversity exceeds expectation. Through the survey of over 180 manuscripts, the multiplicity of chant traditions are documented and placed in their historical, artistic and theological context.

The predicates for this Mass derive from consistent attitudes that Christians held about death in their early history. These were communicated through a variety of media—prayers, artwork, and formal liturgy. Ultimately, after the architecture for liturgical practice had already been erected, a Mass for the Dead arose. The texts used in the chants drew from burial prayers, other liturgical celebrations with appropriate texts, or were newly composed for the occasion.

Around the end of the eleventh century, certain historical and theological factors contributed towards a consensus on the Mass for the Dead. Specifically, the newly-founded Cluniac, Carthusian, and Cistercian orders were well respected in their liturgical reform and

expressed specific theological opinions about the importance of the Mass for the Dead. The "All Souls' Day" celebration—a liturgy specifically designed to intercede with God on behalf of souls who seek to be admitted into heaven—originated in Cluniac circles and was promulgated amongst the other orders and, ultimately, across the entire body of the Church. In particular, the development of the doctrine of Purgatory fueled the interest in a coherent formulary for the Mass for the Dead, which led to decreased diversity amongst the chants used for that celebration.

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PREFACE

No one scholarly work is accomplished in a vacuum. By necessity, one must rely on the works of past generations as well as contemporaries in order to realize even the most modest of goals. These are all (ideally) cited in throughout the text, thus acknowledging their contribution. But there are countless people and institutions that were also important that do not receive that sort of recognition and I would be remiss not to express my gratitude to them at some point in this dissertation.

First, I would like to thank Dr. Andrew Weintraub, Director of Graduate Studies, and Dr. Mathew Rosenblum, Chair of the Department of Music, for advocating with the University for me. I took an unduly long period of time to complete this dissertation and, without their successful lobbying on my behalf, I would not have been given the opportunity to finish. Also, without the deeply-appreciated assistance of Joan McDonald, Academic Secretary, I never would have been able to navigate the red tape of deadlines, responsibilities, and requirements in order to graduate.

In order to find and collect the manuscripts which serve as the backbone of this dissertation, Dr. Ruth Steiner, Professor Emerita of the Catholic University of America provided me with a comprehensive list of the contents of the *Dom Mocquereau Collection* housed at CUA. This saved me an inestimable amount of time in my efforts to procure sources for this dissertation. Similarly, I was the recipient of a Heckman Stipend for study at the Hill Museum

and Manuscript Library housed at Saint John's University in Collegeville, MN. This allowed me to stay at the University for two weeks and survey their enormous collection of microfilms. Without the assistance of both universities, this dissertation would not have been possible.

I would also like to thank Dr. Daniel DiCenso for his assistance with my earliest source, Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, 1/101, and Dr. William Noel, Curator of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore for his help with Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 6. As such early sources for the Mass for the Dead are extremely rare, their aid significantly enriched this dissertation.

More personally, I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee for their constructive criticism of my text, which has been immeasurably improved because of them. I am most deeply grateful for the Job-like patience of my advisor, Dr. Mary S. Lewis, without whose tireless guidance this dissertation would have remained the twenty-something page paper in my first graduate course at the University of Pittsburgh.

The aphorism "Behind every successful man is a woman" could not be more apt for my situation. My wife, Megaen Reilly, has been an unyielding source of encouragement, nurture and assistance during the protracted time that this dissertation was written. Her loving devotion to me—to speak nothing of her quiet tolerance of my absent-minded and often inattentive character—was an essential component of my being able to complete this text (and remain clothed, fed, and sane). Finally, I would like to express my unreserved gratitude to my parents for providing me with their unwavering support in during this process. Their commitment to my education and confidence (and often blind faith) in my capacities were a source of inspiration, without which I never would have become the man I am today.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my father. It is the source of my greatest regret that I did not complete this dissertation before his untimely passing and that he would not see me obtain my doctorate. *Anima eius, et animae omnium fidelium defunctorum, per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace.*

1.0   INTRODUCTION: AIMS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The topic of this dissertation is the origin and development of the Mass for the Dead with specific attention to the relationship between cultural attitudes about death and the musical liturgy that bridged the gap from death to the afterlife. The state of research for liturgies that attend to the dead in the early centuries of the Church until the Tridentine reforms is scant at best, and so the initial aim (or, more properly, the impetus) of this document was simply to fill that lacuna. As research ensued and conclusions coalesced, it became clear that the heart of the study was to relate the universal experience of death—of friends, family and ourselves—to its corresponding *liturgical* milieu, both textually and musically. Whereas a number of studies have addressed the social and artistic interpretations of death and dying in the Western Church, none tie in death's central musico-liturgical (and, implicitly, elements of its theological) experience: the Mass. Most significantly, the changes that the Mass for the Dead underwent run seemingly contrary to expectation and diverge from contemporary social developments. However, upon closer examination, one sees that the liturgical trends actually complement the social ones quite neatly, offering a peaceful alternative to the pervading ideas of discord that accompany death. Notably, as the Western Church accentuated death with increasingly ominous theological drama, the text used at the Masses for the Dead became correspondingly hopeful, offering an elysian alternative to the pains of Hell.

As a genre, the Mass for the Dead was not in the first generation of propers which the Church recognized. As a result, the propers used within the first centuries of post-Carolingian western Christendom lacked codified standardization and, resultantly, the formularies for the Mass for the Dead are not uniform.[1] This diversity distinguishes the Mass for the Dead from the other formularies that the Church employed, which, by and large, were fairly consistent in content across Europe. In order to derive a formulary, some propers were incorporated from earlier funerary traditions, and some were newly composed.

It would be disingenuous to deny at the outset that there are limitations to this dissertation. Lamentably, as one rolls back the clock, the number, variety and quality of sources diminishes, and the incidence of notation decreases. Liturgical books were lost, destroyed, or altered as customs and trends changed. The ones that remain are not particularly well catalogued,[2] and only recently have a precious few become available online. The most significant limitation of this study is the scarcity of extant sources, and secondarily their availability. Because this dissertation attempts to substantiate claims pertaining to broad aspects of liturgical practice, this limitation is a marked one. In an effort to mitigate the difficulty of access, the primary source list (found in Appendix A) comprises over 150 manuscripts from the ninth through fourteenth centuries, containing over 250 Masses for the Dead. The intention is, through the survey of such a broad number of settings, to normalize excessive statistical variants.

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[1] By formulary, I mean the set of chants which comprise the propers for the Mass for the Dead—introit, gradual, tract, offertory and communion.

[2] See Stanley Boorman, et al., "Sources, MS," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50158 (accessed January 14, 2011); Peter Jeffery, "Music Manuscripts in the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at St. John's Abbey and University," *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association,* 35:1 (1978), p. 28-29; *Le graduel romain: édition critique*, *I* Vol. 2: *Les sources* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1957).

1.1   A SUMMARY STATE OF RESEARCH

Over the course of history, scholars have been able to rely on very few constants. With progress in scientific knowledge, new humanistic insights, and artistic developments, people's attitudes and behavior change. In fact, only a few experiences are constant across humanity's diverse peoples, and none is so dramatic as death. This universally shared experience—even across the species barrier—results in the foreseeable "big questions": why are we here, what responsibilities do we have to ourselves and each other, what happens when we die, and what can we do to influence our post-mortem future? Thus, human mortality, and the afterlife, have been the topic of countless discussions and debates. And, like any other component of human experience, over the course of history there have been changes in the way that the Western World has viewed and discussed death.

Because of this universality, death has been the subject of an abundance of literature, modern and historical, theological and scientific. Many monographs and articles discuss sociological perceptions, artistic renditions, and Christological reflections on mortality. However, despite the influence of the Western Church and the prevalence of its theology, very little literature examines how the Mass for the Dead functions as an indicator of contemporary Medieval belief, and even less has been said about the way in which music, especially the chant, served as a vital part of the ceremonies surrounding death.

Certainly, people were concerned with death back in the Middle Ages, and these notions carried well into the more "modern" periods beginning with the Renaissance and continuing to the present day. Certainly composers were aware of the power of the Mass for the Dead and its accompanying texts; similarly, one can find multiple articles on *Requiems* by composers like

Mozart, Verdi, and even Michael Haydn. An individual interested in earlier works can find essays on the Masses for the Dead of Morales, Ockeghem and even the lost Dufay *Missa pro defunctis*. But what of earlier *monophonic* Masses for the Dead? In 1941, Charles Warren Fox lamented the lack of attention that the polyphonic *Requiem* had received. While this has been addressed with a degree of satisfaction, studies on the *monophonic* Mass for the Dead remain almost completely absent almost sixty years later. Fox notes:

> [There] is the lack of regularity in the text of the Requiem before the reforms following the Council of Trent… In the earlier Requiems, the Gradual was often *Si ambulem* and the Tract often *Sicut cervus*.[3]

Evidently, there was some knowledge that the Mass for the Dead had been variable, but that knowledge was unquantified—the amount of variety far exceeded his passing statement. This is striking given that: 1) death is a central experience of life; 2) the discipline of theology thrived during the medieval period; and 3) the celebration of the medieval Mass was the terrestrial exposure of supernal experience, thus of unmatched importance.

Theodore Karp, in his *Grove Music Online* article "Requiem Mass," gives a concise but superficial treatment of the monophonic Requiem, summarizing what little is recorded in the secondary literature in about 1000 words.[4] Tantalizingly, he makes reference to 105 known "requiem chants,"[5] but the aims of the article do not permit elaboration.

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[3] Charles Warren Fox, "The Polyphonic Requiem Before about 1615," *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society* 7 (October, 1943), 6-7.

[4] Theodore Karp, et al., "Requiem Mass," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43221 (accessed January 14, 2011).

[5] The use of the term "Requiem Mass" is ambiguous since it originated as an eponymous title because the introit began with the text "Requiem aeternam." As many of the formularies do not have that text in the opening proper—and even among those that do, the other propers do not necessarily correspond with the codified "Requiem Mass"—this dissertation will utilize the title "Mass for the Dead" or its Latin equivalent, *Missa pro defunctis*.

Karp's reference derives from an article from 1957 published out of the Abbey of Solesmes by Fr. Claude Gay.[6] The text entails an encyclopedic survey of the 184 manuscripts containing at least one formulary (that is, a collection of propers) that would compose the Mass for the Dead. While the examination is thorough and comprehensive, the musicological apparatus with which the data are interpreted is minimal. Furthermore, Fr. Gay offers no explanations for the diversity amongst manuscripts or any analysis of the texts, and makes no effort to relate this multiplicity of propers to the social milieux in which these Masses for the Dead are found.

One scholarly study purports to give an in-depth examination of this genre. Judging simply by the title, one would expect that Harold T. Luce, in his dissertation, *The Requiem Mass from its Plainsong Beginnings to 1600*, would have given a fair account of the monophonic Mass for the Dead.[7] However, his focus was on previously unpublished *polyphonic* Requiem Masses, and his survey of monophonic settings serves a largely introductory purpose. Based entirely on fifteen manuscripts, twelve of which are dated with certainty after the fourteenth century, he makes some rather bold judgments about the development of the genre. And while he only scratches the surface, he provides a hint of the tremendous variety of music within this genre before the Council of Trent. What he reveals, upon which few others have expanded, is that these Masses were, by no means, standard. Rather, there was surprisingly little standardization in the earlier versions of the genre, which he admits requires further study (hence this dissertation).

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[6] Claude Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Défunts," *Études Grégoriennes*, Vol 2, ed. Dom Joseph Gajard (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1957), 83-129.

[7] Harold T. Luce, "The Requiem Mass from its Plainsong beginnings to 1600" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1958).

One non-musicological work that gives some insight into the early development of death liturgy is Frederick S. Paxton's *Christianizing Death*.[8] While it is primarily textually oriented, it gives careful and insightful information into the pre-tenth-century death rituals in the varied Christian communities in the Western World. Using a number of primary sources, he explains many of the customs used in various locales, how some may have influenced others, and how some practices were ultimately replaced by others. His focus is too broad to worry about the minute details of the sung Masses; his concern is with all aspects of death, including the Rites for the Sick and the Preparation and Burial. Unfortunately, he only gives untranslated incipits of the texts used and does not relate them to the later Masses which formed after the influences of Carolingian reform in the early ninth century. Furthermore, he does not explain the origin of any of the texts (biblical or otherwise) nor does he offer any sort of exegesis. Nonetheless, this work is by far the most comprehensive and comparative of studies of the liturgies for the dead during the development of Christian ritual. And, while there was certainly no written notation at that time, the burial services and related liturgies were no doubt chanted (though Paxton rarely notes this). Nonetheless, Paxton's study offers, at the least, a respectable model for this dissertation as well as an excellent survey of the background material leading to the notated Masses for the Dead.

Paxton's own work relied partially on an earlier examination of western liturgies for the dead before Charlemagne. Damien Sicard's *La Liturgie de la Mort* represents a comprehensive investigation of pre-carolingian funeral rites, with a thorough review of the prayers and

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[8] Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

antiphons used at such services.[9] Unlike Paxton, whose study elucidates the cultural environs that contributed to the early liturgies for the dead, Sicard's text is largely stemmatic in nature, detailing the additions and redactions that the prayers and antiphons underwent over the first few centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire. Sicard notes the marked variety in the early Mass for the Dead,[10] but, as the Mass for the Dead began to flourish around the time that his survey terminates, the propers used fall outside his purview and receive summary treatment.

1.2   SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The research for this dissertation required a bipartite methodology. On the one hand, much of the historical background for this dissertation derives from secondary literature in the disciplines of church history, liturgy, theology, architecture and art. On the other hand, because the Mass for the Dead is not well documented, I surveyed and assessed several hundred microfilms containing facsimiles of manuscripts from the ninth through the fourteenth centuries. About a quarter of the manuscripts studied came from the University of Pittsburgh's own Music Library. During two visits to Catholic University's *Dom Mocquereau Collection* of microfilms using an unpublished catalogue by Ruth Steiner, I viewed and analyzed roughly another quarter. The bulk of the manuscripts surveyed came from the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at St. John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota. The manuscripts in which a Mass or Masses for the Dead were found comprise the primary sources for this dissertation.

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[9] Damien Sicard, *La Liturgie de la Mort dans l'Église Latine des Origines à la Réforme Carolingienne* (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorfffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978).
[10] Sicard, *La Liturgie de la Mort*, 174-202.

It is important to note that the proto-liturgical ceremonies of the early Church all had

sung elements, most notably the use of psalmody.[11] As liturgy became increasingly developed

and was codified in the centuries after the legalization of Christianity, the use of chant became

integral and inextricable from liturgy itself.[12] By the time of the earliest sources for the Mass for

the Dead, the majority of the liturgy was sung, either through formulaic tones or more decorated

melodic gestures, especially for the propers.   The earliest sources recording these propers–

including those containing Masses for the Dead–often do not contain any sort of musical

notation. Of the ones that do, this notation, in the form of unheighted neumes, provides graphic

reminders of the contours of melodies that were transmitted orally.   Of the tenth-century

manuscripts containing any sort of notation, all use unheighted neumes, as shown below:
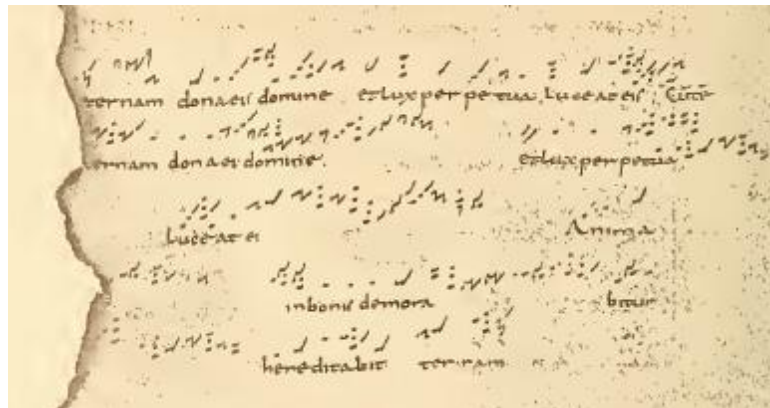
Figure 1. *An example of unheighted neumes from Cha 47, f. 47ᵛ (Brittany, 10ᵗʰ c., Breton neumes)[13]*

Although this manuscript was damaged at the time it was photographed, the Mass for the Dead

(the introit and gradual are depicted) contained within it is clearly notated, though the relative

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[11] James W. McKinnon, et al., "Mass," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*,
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/45872 (accessed January 14, 2011).
[12] For a complete discussion, see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (New York: Clarendon Press,
1993), 478-513.
[13] *Paléographie Musicale 11: Antiphonale Missarum Sancti Gregorii, Xᵉ siècle: Codex 47 de la Bibliothèque de
Chartres* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1912). As this book is in the public domain, usage does not require
permission.

pitch levels cannot be ascertained. Similarly, the bulk of the eleventh- and twelfth-century sources that I surveyed are unheighted, with the exception of some from Italy and France (e.g., see Sections 4.2.2, 4.2.6, *infra*). By the thirteenth century, the majority of manuscripts containing notation utilize heighted neumes which indicate discrete pitch levels.

Divided into three main sections, this dissertation strives to weave the musical execution of Christian death ritual into the extant scholarly tapestry which examines the art, theology and culture surrounding death in the medieval period. The first section provides an overview of the pre-liturgical texts which informed the subsequent theologies of death, starting with Christian Scripture and the writings of the early Church Fathers. As the Church was forming, the faithful were put to a severe test: their religious practice was forbidden and, at times, punishable by death. Given that death itself (i.e., Jesus's crucifixion) was integral to the central tenet of all Christian faith (to wit, one's *death* and subsequent *resurrection*), these early challenges of the Church were combated with strong and explicit theological stances on death. Rather than seeing death as undesirable and detested, these early writings contributed to the notion that death—especially in a time of strife—was to be embraced. The seeds for a positive interpretation of the death experience were thus planted and provided the vehicle for the theme for the early liturgical rituals for the dead. While the texts for these early rituals have been preserved, the chants to which they were sung are lost. The section concludes with the influence that the martyrdom of the many saints in early Christianity had on the Church.

The second section begins with the earliest efforts on the part of the Church to codify liturgical practice using proto-liturgical documents, the first of which appear in the later-fourth and early-fifth centuries. Then, after the impact of Carolingian efforts at reform, the first manuscripts containing mass propers appear, in the ninth and tenth centuries. This section will

introduce the magnificent variety one can find in the liturgical practice across the Church during these centuries and into the eleventh. At this point, it is clear that, although certain preferences are visible, no one singular textual or theological vision predominates. As the rituals surrounding death—including the spiritual purification before death and the burial afterwards—were becoming increasingly homogenized, the Mass for the Dead itself was, in the early years of recorded Mass propers, quite unfixed and variable.[14] Through a survey of propers for the dead found in the manuscripts between the ninth and eleventh centuries, this impetus to harmonize the rituals associated with death did not guide the Mass for the Dead towards uniformity.

The third section demonstrates the first concerted efforts towards homogeneity within the Mass for the Dead. The initial signs of this can be found within the resurgent monastic practices of the new monastic orders, specifically the Cistercians and Carthusians. Shortly thereafter, the variety—seemingly arbitrary or ambivalent—which typified the practices of the eleventh century rapidly disappears over the next two hundred years. This section details this move towards a more uniform liturgy as well as the theo-political factors which contributed to this move. Specifically, as the Church regained its political strength and reestablished its influence over its constituency in Western Europe, the dramatic dogmatic and theological ideas it promulgated, reflected clearly in art and architecture, were contrasted with a return to a more ancient, textual traditions.

The primary sources for this dissertation encompass regions across "Francia"—that is, modern-day France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Northern and Central Italy (with some

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[14] Paxton writes: "The synthesis [of the disparate rituals surrounding death] in the later ninth century was the result of the peculiar historical circumstances engendered by the reform of church and society undertaken by the leaders of the Carolingian realm between A.D. 750 and 850," *Christianizing Death*, 2.

outliers to this perimeter). They comprise masses in manuscripts as early as the ninth until the fourteenth century, offering a wide berth for both provenance and date. Casting a net this wide offers the usual tradeoff of advantages and liabilities. Through a survey of many manuscripts, one can more easily discern patterns, has a greater chance of discovering unique texts and chants, and is able to speak generally about meso- and macroscopic trends. Unfortunately, the use of many primary sources is cumbersome for the author and especially the reader. In an effort to overcome this, a series of comprehensive appendices accompany this dissertation to increase fluency for those less (or un-) familiar with the specifics of the topic. Appendix A.1 simply lists the manuscripts discussed alphabetically and provides each corresponding siglum. Appendix A.2 provides a list of manuscripts first by geographic region, then date. Additionally, this appendix indicates rudimentary paleographic data as well as the kind of chant book in which the mass or masses for the dead are found (either a *graduale* or a *missale*).[15] Appendix B, organized by manuscript, details the complete textual contents (when legible) relevant to this dissertation for each source. Appendix C contains the list of propers for the Mass for the Dead, their translations, the source for the text (if known), and, when possible, either a transcription of the chant with reference to the source used or, in the case of the most common chants, where it can be fond in the *Liber Usualis*.[16] All translations to English and musical transcriptions throughout this dissertation were prepared by the author unless otherwise indicated.

Though this dissertation makes use of graphs, figures, and percentages, it does not pretend to be a scientific discussion. The discipline of statistics hinges on the quality of the data,

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[15] For the sake of clarity, the term "gradual" is used to refer to the mass proper and the term *graduale* is used to refer to the book containing the collection of propers. For the sake of consistency, *missale* is used instead of "missal."
[16] Benedictines of Solemsmes, ed. *The Liber Usualis: with introduction and rubrics in English*. (Montana: St. Bonaventure Publications, 1997).

and, because of the uneven distribution of sources studied both geographically and temporally, the mathematical conclusions are of limited utility. Some provenances and times lack a quorum of sources for deductive investigation, while others have many stemmatically-related sources which can skew the data. Though the overall number of sources lessens these problems, it cannot eliminate them. Thus, the charts serve more of an illustrative role, showing general trends, rather than a conclusive one.

2.0   CONCEPTIONS OF DEATH IN EARLY ANTIQUITY

Christian views on death underwent many changes from the inception of their faith through the late Middle Ages. Tracing these beliefs—and ultimately the proto-liturgical acts which came to signify them—casts the later Masses for the Dead into greater relief. One of the purposes of faith (or religion, mythology, or other belief systems) is to provide answers to questions about the nature of the self and the world in which the self is found—that is, why humankind and the universe is the way that it is. Some myths are aetiological, addressing the primordial causes of natural phenomena (like the origin of the universe) or human invention (like the use of fire), while others serve to offer philosophical explanations and moral guidance.

Because of its ubiquity, death is a central topic for all mythological practices, serving to answer questions about why people die and what happens afterwards. And, although death plays an important role in all religions, very few accentuate death itself as centrally and emphatically as Christianity does. As discussed below, the peculiar way in which Christianity arose resulted in the establishment of death as a focal point for the tradition. Early texts and resultant traditions combined with the changing social milieux influenced the evolution in the perception of death for Christians, resulting in the more concrete theologies of the early Middle Ages. A brief survey of contemporary Jewish and non-Christian gentile beliefs will help elucidate this change.

2.1   THE JEWISH TRADITION IN THE COMMON ERA

The fracture of the Jewish political structure in the centuries before Jesus led to civil and theological discord among adherents to that faith tradition.[17]   The period surrounding Jesus's ministry is fraught with both revolution and apocalypticism, themes that are echoed in the idea of the *parousia* (the return of Jesus) and early Christian eschatology (what happens at the end of time).

At least several centuries before Jesus, death was seen by many Jews as irrevocably final, caused by the fall of Adam and Eve:

> According to Judaic tradition, death was not something that was inextricably linked to human nature, nor was it something decreed by fate as an essential element of universal harmony. Death was the result of the sin of Adam and Eve and, therefore, the fault of man. This meant not only that it could not be considered an injustice on the part of the Creator, but also that man either was originally created immortal or that he was given the possibility of becoming immortal by eating the fruit of the tree of life (Genesis 3:22) growing in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2:9).[18]

While these principles are held in traditional Judaism, they are not necessarily representative of all historical (or modern) Judaic faith; many important sects of Judaism, such as the Pharisees, did believe in some sort of afterlife, though the evidence to that effect in the Talmud, first compiled in the second century, is sketchy at best.[19] However, it is critical to note that the oldest

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[17] Jon Davies, *Death, Burial and Rebirth in the Religions of Antiquity* (New York: Routledge Press, 1999), 110.
[18] Plinio Prioreschi, *A History of Human Responses to Death: Mythologies, Rituals, and Ethics* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 146-7.
[19] Prioreschi, *A History of Human Responses to Death*, 134 ff.

parts of Hebrew Scripture, which is at the foundation of Jewish theology, are nearly silent on the issue, save for references to *Sheol*, a vague and poorly-defined resting place for all souls.[20]

Hans Cavallin states that only isolated members or small groups within particular Jewish sects maintained a belief in an afterlife before the development of Christianity and that this new faith (originally a sect of Judaism) influenced its development within mainstream Judaism. In his comparison of early Hebrew documents and inscriptions in Jewish tombs, he notes that the majority referencing an afterlife come mid- to late- first century, and that the concept was not part of general Jewish culture until after that time.[21] Cavallin argues that there was substantial disagreement about the existence of the afterlife, how one comes to it, whether the soul alone is raised or with the body, and various other theological concerns.[22] Finally, he points out that even after immortality of the soul was becoming an accepted idea in some Jewish circles around 100 C.E., it was far from canonized Jewish belief.

By contrast, Robert Goldenberg confronts Cavallin's argument, arriving at a slightly different conclusion.[23] He finds that the shift in belief about the afterlife among some Jews occurred during the major persecution two centuries before Jesus's ministry, citing the ideology expressed in the very late apocalyptical Book of Daniel (dated c. 165 B.C.E.),[24] though he acknowledges that perhaps nascent Christian theology advanced it further. He notes that the idea

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[20] Geddes MacGregor, *Images of Afterlife: Beliefs from Antiquity to Modern Times* (New York: Paragon House, 1992), 93.

[21] Hans Cavallin, *Life After Death: Paul's Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead in I Cor 15, Part I, An Enquiry into the Jewish Background* (Sweden: Uppsala Offset Center, 1974), 194-5.

[22] Cavallin, *Life After Death*, 171 ff., 199 ff.

[23] Robert Goldenberg, "Bound Up in the Bond of Life: Death and Afterlife in the Jewish Tradition," in *Death and Afterlife: Perspectives of World Religions*, ed. Hiroshi Obayashi (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).

[24] Alan F. Segal, *Life after Death: A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 287.

of the afterlife which many Jews generally adopted included some sort of final resting place, be it a shadowy Sheol or something more utopian.[25]

Despite the slow development of the concepts of an afterlife, there was a strong history of fear of the dead bodies amongst the Jews, as this passage from the Torah illustrates:

> [The Lord said to Moses and Aaron:] "Whoever touches the dead body of any human being shall be unclean for seven days; he shall purify himself with the water on the third and on the seventh day, and then he will be clean again. But if he fails to purify himself on the third and on the seventh day, he will not become clean. Everyone who fails to purify himself after touching the body of any deceased person, defiles the Dwelling of the Lord and shall be cut off from Israel. Since the lustral water has not been splashed over him, he remains unclean: his uncleanness still clings to him. This is the law: When a man dies in a tent, everyone who enters the tent, as well as everyone already in it, shall be unclean for seven days. Moreover, everyone who in the open country touches a dead person, whether he was slain by the sword or died naturally, or who touches a human bone or a grave, shall be unclean for seven days.[26]

With such an authoritative statement in the *Pentateuch*, it is patent that observant Jews (such as the followers of Jesus) would necessarily harbor a great reluctance to associate with the dead, especially given the severe nature of the consequences. Despite the ambiguous development of the afterlife in Judaism, the Jewish people clearly did not remain in the company of the dead for fear of ritual defilement.

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[25] See MacGregor, *Images of Afterlife*, 94 ff., Segal, *Life after Death*, 287 ff.
[26] Numbers 19:11-16. The six verses that follow this passage detail the means by which someone ritually cleanses themselves after becoming unclean and the penalties for not doing so. For the sake of simplicity, all English translations from both Hebrew and Christian Scripture in this chapter will be derived from the New American Bible (NAB) unless otherwise indicated.

Goldenberg makes an additional point. Assuming that by the time of Jesus most Jews believed in some sort of afterlife (however vague), there was a strong obligation to prepare the dead for burial—even stronger than their obligations to the Sabbath. Goldenberg writes:

> The belief in resurrection had its effect on Jewish funeral practices as well... Every Jew was considered bound to drop anything else he might be doing and see to the burial of an exposed corpse found by the roadside. This obligation was thought to rest even on those preparing sacrifices for the Holy Temple, despite the fact that contact with the dead would bar them from completing their offering [see Numbers 19:11-16 above]; even a high priest on his way to perform his duties could not go on if he encountered such an anonymous, untended corpse along the road.[27]

While this attitude is not unique to the Jewish faith, it indicates a definitive duty to a corpse, and by extension to the dead themselves. The Jewish proscriptions surrounding dead bodies may have arisen, like many myths, from ancient sanitary concerns, but had Divine authority via the *Pentateuch* for Jews:

> The rules of burial, as they evolve, are an elaboration of meticulous behavioral rules designed to protect the living from contamination at the same time as they carry out the serious obligation on all Jews to participate in the burial procedures…[having] precisely the effect of heightening the importance of death and the funeral.[28]

While a few factions disagreed with this prohibitive attitude towards the dead (Goldenberg points out Philo[29]), the general rabbinic tradition of that time seems to accord with it.[30] Despite the ritual aversion that observant Jews had toward the dead, Goldberg admits there was a lack of universal formalization of attitudes:

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[27] Goldenberg, "Bound Up in the Bond of Life," 101-2.
[28] Davies, *Death, Burial and Rebirth*, 95.
[29] Goldenberg, "Bound Up in the Bond of Life," 103 ff. Philo was a first-century Hellenized Jew who, among other things, sought to harmonize Jewish Law with the Greek gentile practices. See Segal, *Life after Death*, 368 ff.
[30] See Davies, *Death, Burial and Rebirth*, 95 ff.

... even the greatest Jewish thinkers have had trouble ironing out the variations and creating a single clear version that all Jews everywhere could be expected to affirm, both before, during and substantially after the wake of Christianity.[31]

This is in significant contrast with early Christian attitudes about death and dying which, even in the absence of a central theological leader or institution for promulgation of theological ideas (e.g., a Pope), adopted fairly uniform notions about death in the early centuries of their tradition.

Another example of the increasing acceptance of a life after death can be found in the *Amidah*, the most vital prayer in the Jewish liturgy. Compiled no later than the early mishnaic period (70-200 C.E.), it was a theological response to the destruction of the Temple and the extraordinary Jewish persecution in the late first through second centuries when Jewish scholars sought to compile a written account of the oral traditions of the preceding centuries. The second of nineteen sections, called the *Gevurot*, makes specific reference to the revival of the dead:

You, O Lord, are mighty forever, you revive the dead, you have the power to save. You sustain the living with loving-kindness, you revive the dead with great mercy, you support the falling, heal the sick, set free the bound and keep faith with those who sleep in the dust. Who is like you, O doer of mighty acts? Who resembles you, a king who puts to death and restores to life, and causes salvation to flourish? And you are certain to revive the dead. Blessed are you, O Lord, who revives the dead.[32]

Its position as the second of nineteen benedictions and its emphatic repetition of the revival of the dead demonstrates the importance that life after death had in some Jewish traditions.

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[31] Goldenberg, "Bound Up in the Bond of Life," 105.
[32] David Bivin, translator, http://www.cbn.com/spirituallife/BibleStudyAndTheology/jewishroots/Amidah_Prayer_Bivin.aspx (accessed January 11, 2011).

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Although the details of Hebrew funeral rites in the first century after Jesus's death are not within the purview of this dissertation, at least one critical parallel between Jewish and Christian funeral practices exists. According to Luce's summary, there is strong evidence that Jews, somewhat influenced by the pagans, likely sang lamentations during funerals.[33] And although, as we shall see, lamentation does not fit into the early Christian perception of death, there is a precedent which suggests that these early Christians did participate musically.

2.2 THE "PAGAN" TRADITIONS

Acknowledging that speaking of a single "pagan" tradition—that is, any of the traditions which were neither Jewish nor Christian—greatly oversimplifies history, there are some general uniform elements to non-Christian, gentile post-mortem mythology preceding the time of Jesus.[34] Like some sects in the Jewish culture, many pagan cults tended to believe in some sort of afterlife, though it lacked theological ideas of retribution or recompense. Contemporaneous with first-century Christians was the Grecian idea of Hades, in which the souls of all the dead (with very few exceptions) go to the underworld where they remain eternally in a relatively featureless environment. And, while some of the extremely wicked were punished, the average person enters a dreary existence of ennui.[35]

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[33] Luce, "The Requiem Mass," 2 ff.
[34] For the purposes of this dissertation, only those pagan traditions from within the Roman empire are under consideration.
[35] Prioreschi, *A History of Human Responses to Death*, 127.

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> [T]here are no real attempts to make Hades into a place of punishment or reward for a life deficient in happiness or virtue... [With only a handful of exceptions], the virtuous and the sinners all lead the same life in Hades. The dead are weak and very much in the dark. Hades is a gloomy and very remote place…[36]

It is not the burning Hell of later Christianity, but a barren land in which existence lacks both the benefits of worldly pleasure and misfortune of worldly pains. Without a doubt, no pagan dreamed fondly of such an existence. The absence of hope in this afterlife may have greatly influenced the genesis of the mystery religions. But these, too, were unable to sustain any long-term interest, most notably lacking "a serious spiritual substrate" to enhance successful dissemination among the masses.[37]

Another Greek version of the afterlife during the time of Jesus reflected a greater degree of optimism. Rush observes that Homer, in *The Odyssey*, depicts a more heavenly afterlife, but that is reserved for those who have found special favor with the gods:[38]

> But for you, Menelaos, O fostered of Zeus, it is not the gods' will that you shall die and go to your end in horse-pasturing Argos, but the immortals will convey you to the Elysian Field, and the limits of the earth, where fair-haired Rhadamanthys is, and where there is made the easiest life for mortals, for there is no snow, nor much winter there, nor is there ever rain, but always the stream of the Ocean sends up breezes of the West Wind blowing briskly for the refreshment of mortals.[39]

Extraordinary individuals who captured the favor of the gods might enjoy rapturous pleasures alongside the immortals. This was considered rare, however, and only extremely fortunate

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[36] Segan, *Life after Death*, 211. Exceptions include various notable heroes in Greek mythology, like Sisyphus or Tantalus.
[37] Prioreschi, *A History of Human Responses to Death*, 129.
[38] Alfred Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity*. (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1941), 3.
[39] Homer, *The Odyssey of Homer*, Richard Lattimore, translator (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), Book IV, lines 561-69.

individuals were privileged enough to be, as it were, deified. This is quite consistent with the Platonic hierarchy of civilization in his *Republic*, in which the philosopher-kings, ruled by the rational part of the soul (*logistikon*), thirst for "knowledge and truth." Since these virtues are identified with the creator (the demiurge), only those whose behavior was defined by these virtues could move on to immortality, or the Isles of the Blessed, as Plato refers to them.[40]

While Homer and Plato existed centuries before Jesus, the themes they espouse would have been familiar to the educated Hellenized Jewish and Gentile people. While it is unlikely that they knew these texts intimately, conceptions about death for first-century Gentiles from Israel mirrored this basic Platonic belief. Rush comes to the following conclusion about the general pagan perception of death:

> Death, for the pagan, often signified the final and irremediable episode of life beyond which nothing was known and nothing was to be looked for. To the pagans death was the king of terrors, the destroyer of life and enjoyment. Hence, death was primarily and above all an evil.[41]

Apart from the exceptional individuals who are blessed by the gods themselves and inherit eternity in the "Isles of the Blessed," Rush concludes that, for the majority of Gentiles, death was utterly final, a complete cessation of being, lacking the comfort or dream-like quality of eternal sleep. And, much like the Jewish culture, the dead body was impure, "an abomination abhorred by the very gods — in fact, abhorred by the gods even more thoroughly than by mortals."[42] Indeed, the pagans passed decrees making burial within cities illegal. In short, the following

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[40] Plato, *Republic*, George M.S. Grube, translator (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1992). Book VII, line 519c.
[41] Rush, *Death and Burial*, 7.
[42] Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1966), 45.

aphorism elucidates pagan attitudes about life and death: "Fate promises many things to many people, but presents them to no one. Live for the day and hour, for nothing is one's own."[43]

Musically, the Greek and Roman pagans indulged in funeral dirges much like the Jews. Rush points out several examples from *The Iliad* which illustrate the musical tendencies in pagan death ritual.[44] He cites, for example, Achilles, later joined by the Myrmidons, chanting a funeral dirge for Patroklos and the men and women of Troy who lament the loss of Hector.[45]

2.3   EARLY CHRISTIAN PERCEPTION OF DEATH

As purported biographies of Jesus's life and ministry, the Gospels serve as the most essential texts in Christian Scripture. In particular, the Passion accounts (i.e., the story of Christ's conviction and crucifixion) are undeniably the core of theological focus in the volatile early years of Christianity (and, to a large degree, remain so today). As interpreted by the Jewish first-century followers of Jesus, the concept of *Messiah* entailed Israel's liberation from Roman rule and the beginning of an age of prosperity and peace for all Jews. Jesus's death, however, was incongruous with the presumed role of *Messiah*. Consequently, Jesus's death had to be theo-philosophically redacted in order to cohere with messianic belief. Jesus's crucifixion had a critical impact on the Disciples and members of what became the early Church.

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[43] Orellius, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum Amplissima Collectio*, Guilielmus Henzen, editor (Turici: 1826-56). Volume III, No. 6234: *Primae pompeiae // ossua heic // fortuna spondet multa // multis praestat nemini vive in dies // et hors nam proprium est nihil // salvius et eros dant*.

[44] Rush, *Death and Burial*, 164.

[45] Homer, *The Iliad*, E.V. Rieu, translator (Baltimore: Penguin, 1966), Book XVIII, lines 354-55 and Book XXII, 429-30 (respectively).

The general conclusions of Biblical scholars regarding the formation of the early Church are well supported in the fields of text and redaction criticism.[46] Given that Jesus's followers were clearly Jewish, the Crucifixion was irreconcilable with the concept of the *Messiah*:

> From Pilate, Jesus was led away to the cross. For his disciples, this was a crushing defeat, particularly after their jubilant entry with Jesus into the city only a short time earlier, when they had expected to witness the arrival of the Kingdom of God… Someone executed by Rome as an insurrectionist might be revered as a political martyr, but the brute fact of his death *would invalidate any claim to messiahship*. The messiah, to function as messiah, had at least to be alive.[47]

The early followers of Jesus were posed with a difficult problem: either they were mistaken that the Kingdom of God was at hand or their concept of *messiah* was flawed. Given the spectacular nature of the Resurrection stories, it became easier to reinvent what might otherwise be a source of embarrassment for the followers. Fredricksen writes:

> Since his resurrection had followed upon his crucifixion, the cross came to be seen as the necessary prelude to this great event. *Condensing death and eternal life into one symbol*, Christians esteemed the cross as a paradoxical expression of Jesus' ultimate vindication… They thus reversed the terms of the problem originally posed by Jesus' death: only a crucified messiah is a true messiah.[48]

Jesus's transition can be traced in exquisite detail through a survey of the authentic Pauline letters and the four Gospels, from an itinerant healer and miracle worker whose mission is hidden from even his followers in St. Mark's Gospel, to the transcendent "Son of God" whose mission

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[46] Biblical literalists, who approach the Christian Scriptures with the academically indefensible *a priori* stance that Christian Scripture reflects an inerrant transmission from the mouth of God, will reject the basic conclusions of this section. The following summary reflects the basic points of agreement amongst contemporary Biblical scholars who admit that the documents which comprise Christian Scripture underwent a period of oral transmission, change and interpretation, and, upon being recorded, were edited and redacted to conform to the prevailing theological expectations of the audience to which the particular text was addressed.

[47] Paula Fredriksen, *From Jesus to Christ: The Origins of the New Testament Images of Jesus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 123. Emphasis mine.

[48] Frederiksen, *From Jesus to Christ*, 123. Emphasis mine.

was preordained by God from the beginning of time in St. John's Gospel.[49] This coalescence of death and eternity in the Crucifixion enabled—and invited—the reinterpretation of death from a negative to a positive event. And, as early Christianity was fraught with martyrdom, it became ever more propitious an event in the life of a person of faith.

Immediately relevant to this dissertation, Leander Keck writes that the principle changes in ideology were reflected in the new vocabulary used by Christians, most notably in the word "resurrection," which means the transformation of a mortal being into an immortal one.[50] The fusion of Jewish and Gentile thoughts in the generations of Christians to come, combined with the imagery used in the common texts which were circulated in early Christian circles, led to a shift in the Christian "center of gravity." These texts, which would ultimately become the books of Christian Scripture (as well as other accounts which were not canonized, see Section 2.5, *infra*) provide an insight into the changing conceptions of the afterlife, since they were written along with the development of Christianity. Consider Jesus's discussion with Nicodemus:

> For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that everyone who believes in him might not perish but have eternal life… For everyone who does wicked things hates the light and does not come toward the light, so that his works might not be exposed. But whoever lives the truth comes to the light, so that his works may be clearly seen as done in God.[51]

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[49] In addition to Fredricksen, *From Jesus to Christ*, consider the following: Stevan L. Davies, *New Testament Fundamentals* (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge Press, 1994); Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996); Karen Armstrong, *A History of God: The 4000-Year Quest of Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993); Bart D. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press: 2000).
[50] Leander Keck, "Death and Afterlife in the New Testament," in *Death and Afterlife*, 84.
[51] St. John 3:16, 20-21.

In these three verses, the author presents two significant tenets: first, the notion of immortal life after death, and second, an image of light which distinguishes itself from the shadows of Sheol or the boredom of Hades. These explicit ideas enhanced the appeal of early Christianity.[52]

The most severe description of the afterlife can be found in St. Mark 9:43-8, in which Jesus says that it is better to be maimed and enter the kingdom of heaven than whole and enter the fires of Gehenna.[53] Similarly, in St. Matthew 13:36-43 and 13:47-50 Jesus says that the evildoers will be burned at the end of the age. Significantly, this and other passages like it, seem not to have played as large a role in early Christianity as they did in the later part of medieval theology. This is because, at this point, fear of punishment was less of a motivator than the nature of the reward that comes from a righteous death.

St. Paul adds to Jesus's vague references to the beauty of the life beyond death. Although the written texts of his letters date earlier than the written transmission of the Gospels by a generation or more, he is, by his own admission, a propinquity group removed from Jesus's followers. And, as a recipient of the oral transmissions which would later comprise the Gospels, he himself acted as a redactor of the material, interpreting the Gospel from the lens of an observant Pharisee. Consequently, as a devout Jew, the notion of "sacrifice" had tremendous resonance; as an observer of the many sacrifices offered at the altar in the Temple, it was not difficult to see the analogue of Jesus's crucifixion as an oblation, one which conquered death for all humankind (Jew *and* Gentile).

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[52] Similar passages can be found in St. Mark 9:1, 13:13, St. Matthew 4:16, 24:13, St. Luke 21:19, 23:43, and St. John 4:14, 5:17-47, 6:26-59 in which the life beyond is eternal, if not an explicit paradise of sorts.
[53] A concordance can be found in St. Matthew 5:27-32 and 18:8-9. "Gehenna", or *ge-hinnom* in Hebrew, signifies rather a dramatic picture to Sts. Mark's and Matthew's first-century Jewish audience; it referred to a literal location, a valley southwest of Jerusalem where, according to Jeremiah 7:31, an idolatrous cult offered children as sacrifices to God.

Keck points out that St. Paul considered the resurrection of the so-called "spiritual body" to be the outgrowth of good Christian behavior by the "natural body."[54] This expresses St. Paul's general perception of mortality, in which Christians are made free, through Christ, from sin and therefore, death. It is important to note that he makes no mention of hell or purgatory (as such); his focus is entirely optimistic in nature.[55] This distinction between the natural and spiritual body, expressed only in the aforementioned passage from I Corinthians in all of St. Paul's writings, was carefully analyzed and assimilated into early Christian practice. Death was considered a necessary occurrence in order to reach paradise:

> Human beings are mortal, and only by faith in God's power of resurrection, conquering death, can they hope to be raised into a new life.[56]

Christians distinguished between the pagan interpretation of mere immortality, which they took as living forever *apart* from God (like demons. i.e., a curse) and the gift of eternal life. Such mortality, death, and resurrection (as very distinct from immortality) with its accompanying motifs of rest and light, became central in the development of a funereal ritual in early Christianity.[57] Salvation and eternal life necessarily followed from what came to be known as the "Paschal sacrifice," again a reflection of the relationship between the crucifixion and the pre-Passover sacrifice of a lamb on the altar in the Temple.

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[54] Keck, "Death and Afterlife in the New Testament," 89; see also I Corinthians 15:37-44.
[55] Keck, "Death and Afterlife in the New Testament," 90.
[56] Hiroshi Obayashi, "Death and Eternal Life in Christianity," in *Death and Afterlife*, 111.
[57] Immortality, on the other hand, was akin to being in the dreary land Sheol apart from God. See Obayashi, "Death and Eternal Life in Christianity," 110.

2.4   THEMES IN EARLY CHRISTIAN PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD

Though early Christian rituals surrounding death and burial often reflected local customs, certain themes predominated within the language and imagery. As early Christians did not believe that the soul proceeded directly into the kingdom of God at the moment of death, death was considered an intermittent period before the *parousia*, or Second Coming. Language in St. Paul's writing indicates unequivocally that he believed the return of Jesus would occur in his own lifetime.[58] Despite the fact that Jesus did not return, the language used in St. Paul's writings was perpetuated by subsequent generations of Christians. Specifically, early Christians described this time as "sleep," after which the faithful would be awakened and rapturously be admitted through the gates of heaven:

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[58] Consider, e.g., I Thessalonians 1:9-10, 4:15-17 and I Corinthians 15:51-52.

Table 1. Four early Christian prayers for the dead.

Peace to them that are gone to God. May Ecymete be at peace. Peace be with you. The peace of Christ be with you. He sleeps in the sleep of peace. May he sleep in peace. May he live in peace. At peace in the place of refreshment. Depart in peace. May you sleep in the peace of the Lord. Live forever at peace. In the peace of sleep. With God in peace.[59]	Holy, holy , holy. Hail to you who still have the consolation of seeing the light of our Father who is in heaven. Pray that we may have rest in Christ Jesus, our Lord, and in his life-giving Spirit. May you receive the grace to spend your lives well before you leave the world; for even I, poor thing that I am, having lived the short space of life allotted to me, possess my share of what God has promised us.[60]
Ichthus-born, divine children of heavenly Father, drink with heartfelt reverence of God's waters, the source of immortality to mortals. Fortify your soul, friend, with the ever-flowing waters of wisdom, the enriching. Take the honey-sweet food He offers who saves the saints; eat as a hungry man eats of the Ichthus you hold in your hands. Feed us then Lord; Savior, feed us, I pray, with the Ichthus. May my mother sleep well, I beg you, Light of the dead. Ascadius, father, dear to my heart, and you, sweet mother, you, my brothers, having the peace of the Ichthus, remember Pectorius.[61]	Atticus, sleep on in peace. Untroubled for your own safety, take thought for ours; pray about our sins.[62]

These four prayers illustrate the fundamental principles of early Christian perceptions of death.

All emphasize the idea of death being a sleep, filled with peace. At the same time these prayers,

especially the first and fourth, indicate a certain life within that sleep. Another motif is the light

of God which shines upon the faithful, giving them everlasting life.

It is clear from several accounts by various church fathers that pagans were not privy to

this resurrection. The Bishop of Milan in the last quarter of the fourth century, St. Ambrose, said

the following at the funeral of Valentinian II:

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[59] An acclamation, or commentary on the various circumstances of everyday life which were often used on tomb inscriptions. In *Early Christian Prayers*, ed. A. Hamman (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1961), #110.

[60] Hamman, *Early Christian Prayers*, #131. A dead man's prayer to the living.

[61] Hamman, *Early Christian Prayers*, #132. Written in the late second or early third century by Pectorius of Autun. Ichthus, which literally means fish in ancient Greek, was a symbol for Christ, as its Greek letters imply an acrostic for "Jesus Christ, Son of God: Savior."

[62] Hamman, *Early Christian Prayers*, #136. A simple prayer to the dead.

> But if the gentiles, who have no hope of resurrection, are consoled by this alone, in that they say that after death the departed have no life and consequently no sense of pain remains, how much the more should we receive consolation because death is not to be feared, since it is the end of sin, and that life is not to be despaired of which is restored by the resurrection?[63]

St. Ambrose expresses sorrow for the unfortunate status of pagan souls. For him, the difference in spiritual destination between pagans and Christians lies in the destruction of (original) sin inherent in Christ's sacrifice on the cross. And, later, though Christians gradually recognized that the Second Coming was not as imminent as they first believed, they maintained their fairly optimistic perspective on death, comforting themselves through the consolation of eternal life in paradise.

> Over against this gloomy, hopeless and melancholy outlook on death, there stands out in the glowing contrast the Christian concept of death, a concept full of hope because of the future resurrection and full of consolation because death, while being a sleep, is only a temporary rest. Death, instead of being an eternal sleep, became a temporary sleep; the grave, instead of being the eternal home of the dead, became the temporary abode of the body until the time of the resurrection.[64]

Rush further explains that, while these beliefs did not go unchallenged, they remained a fundament of Christian belief and their perception of pagan misfortune. This notion, Pauline in origin[65], remained part of Christian ideology through the times of the barbarian invasions.[66]

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[63] From St. Ambrose, *De Consolatione Valentiniani 45*, quoted in Rush, *Death and Burial*, 11-2.
[64] Rush, *Death and Burial*, p. 12.
[65] See e.g. I Corinthians 15:12-34, Eph 5:14 and I Thes 4:13-7.
[66] However, as in all acculturation, many views on death remained which stem from pagan thought. See Josef Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy: To the Time of Gregory the Great* (Paris: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 143 ff.

2.5   THEMATIC CONSISTENCY OUTSIDE "ORTHODOXY"

To a large degree, the victor of a battle writes its history and can impose whatever judgment it wants upon the loser. So it is the case with what became the mainstream Church, which sought to wipe any trace of dissent from its formative centuries. While it is a gross oversimplification to think of Christianity neatly divided into "orthodoxy" and "heresy," the fact that the "winner takes all" begs the question: Were the themes of peace and rest in death an outgrowth of orthodoxy or did they enjoy a broader distribution across all Christian sects? Indeed, the concept of orthodoxy could not exist until the Church developed a central authority to define dogmatic aspects of faith.

The first step towards that definition is the establishment of a core canon of Scripture. In the middle of the second century, Marcion, the founder of the eponymous Marcionite movement, was the first to collect several of the books now in Christian Scripture and give them supernatural authority. Marcion, who was strongly anti-Semitic and opposed to materialism, told his followers that the "Truth" was to be found in the Gospel of St. Luke (with any reference to Jewish Scripture edited out) and ten of St. Paul's letters. Marcion's proactive approach to canonization precipitated a strong reactionary movement within mainstream Christianity to establish a central literature for orthodox (i.e., "True") Christians, leading to a rapid semi-consensus on most of the modern Christian Scripture by the late part of the second century. The Muratorian Fragment, an early list of "canonized" documents originating about 170 C.E., includes most of the twenty-seven books comprising current Christian Scripture, as well as some books that have since fallen into disuse. Additionally, while many books, such as *The Shepherd*

of Hermas, were not canonized, they were considered important to many Christians.[67] At the very least, there was substantial debate over which books were considered "authentic" Christianity and which were considered heretical.[68] Works such as the *Gospel of St. Thomas*, the *Gospel of St. Peter*, the *Gospel of St. Philip*, and many letters and apocalypses by various (pseudo) Apostles were respected in certain communities and were influential in the development of proto-liturgical ritual. A few examples below will show how, in particular, these texts cohere with "orthodox" Christianity with respect to attitudes towards death.

The first aphorism attributed to Jesus in the "sayings Gospel" of St. Thomas reads: "And [Jesus] said, 'Whoever finds the interpretation of these sayings will not experience death.'"[69] Essentially, the message in this passage is that the person who understands and follows Jesus's teachings will never die. Clearly, this saying is consistent with previously cited views on death in Section 2.3. Similarly, the same text has: "Jesus said, 'The heavens and the earth will be rolled up in your presence. And the one who lives from the living one will not see death.'"[70] Although the themes of rest and peace are absent, the concept of an active eternity is already extant in this late-second or early-third-century Christian text.[71]

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[67] See Ehrman, *The New Testament*, for a comprehensive study on the formation of the canon of Christian Scripture.
[68] Other sects, such as the Gnostic Christians, which never flourished outside the Patristic period, acknowledged several works which were always considered heretical; while they may be inauthentic "scripture," their influence on their people, as well as their contemporary sects, cannot be ignored.
[69] Gospel of St. Thomas 1:1, translated by Thomas O. Lambdin from James M. Robinson, editor, *The Nag Hammadi Library: The Definitive Translation of the Gnostic Scriptures Complete in One Volume* (San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers, 1978). This passage can also be found in St. John 8:51-2, in particular when Jesus quotes the prophets saying, "Whoever keeps my word will never taste death."
[70] From Gospel of St. Thomas 111:1-2, in Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library*.
[71] For a discussion on this text, see Elaine Pagels, *Beyond Belief: The Secret Gospel of Thomas* (New York: Random House, 2003).

Early Christians seemed to have been in agreement that those who repented of their sins would be called to eternal life. This view is illustrated in the popular text, *The Shepherd of Hermas*:[72]

> And after he had completed the interpretations of all the rods, he saith unto me; "Go, and tell all men to repent, and they shall live unto God; for the Lord in His compassion sent me to give repentance to all, though some of them do not deserve it for their deeds; but being long-suffering the Lord willeth them that were called through His Son to be saved." [73]

Those with faith in God who show contrition for their sins will be rewarded, even if they do not appear to be deserving of eternal life. Two verses later, the Shepherd adds that people who repent will "live with God." The author offers two themes: first, as in the Gospel of St. Thomas, a dynamic eternity with God awaits the believer; and, second, God is not concerned with the sinfulness of the individual, but with the believer's contrition for straying from God.

St. Clement of Rome, one of the first "Bishops of Rome," penned at least one epistle. The first one, most strongly attributed to him, can concretely be dated to 95 or 96 C.E. because of its historical detail.[74] It potentially reflects common opinion within the first hundred years of Jesus's death:

> How blessed and marvelous are the gifts of God, dearly beloved! Life in immortality, splendour in righteousness, truth in boldness, faith in confidence, temperance in sanctification! And all these things fall under our apprehension. *What then, think ye, are the things preparing for them that patiently await Him?* The Creator and Father of the ages, the All-holy One Himself knoweth their number and their beauty. *Let*

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[72] For an introduction to this text, see Ehrman, *The New Testament*, 482 ff.

[73] *The Apostolic Fathers: Revised Greek Texts with Introductions and English Translations*, J.B. Lightfoot and J.R. Harner, editors (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1891), 459-60.

[74] Ehrman. *The New Testament*, 389 ff.

us therefore contend, that we may be found in the number of those that patiently await Him, to the end that

we may be partakers of His promised gifts.[75]

As the *parousia* remained a central theological concern in the late first century, St. Clement presents a very positive image, one of "patient waiting" for the Second Coming.

A final example illustrates the prevailing attitudes about death in the first hundred years after Jesus's death. Accepted as Scripture by late-second/early-third century theologian Clement of Alexandria, this letter was widely read in the second century and depicts life after death in a positive light. Though legend has it that it was written by St. Barnabas, reported by Acts 9:27 as a Christian convert in the time after Jesus's crucifixion, it was probably composed around 130 C.E..[76]

> Well then, there are three ordinances of the Lord; the hope of life, which is the beginning and end of our faith; and righteousness, which is the beginning and end of judgment; love shown in gladness and exultation, the testimony of works of righteousness... There are two ways of teaching and of power, the one of light and the other of darkness; and there is a great difference between the two ways. For on the one are stationed the light-giving angels of God, on the other the angels of Satan... The knowledge then which is given to us whereby we may walk therein is as follows. Thou shalt love Him that made thee, thou shalt fear Him that created thee, thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death... For it is a way of eternal death with punishment wherein are the things that destroy men's souls: idolatry, boldness, exaltation of power, hypocrisy, doubleness of heart, adultery, murder, plundering... [&c].[77]

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[75] Lightfoot and Harner, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 71-2.
[76] Ehrman, *The New Testament*, 426 ff.
[77] Lightfoot and Harner, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 269, 285-6, 287.

As the last line in this passage suggests, there were some texts that depicted death, and, more notably, the end of the world in a decidedly negative light. However, these deaths pertained to those who led sinful lives, not those who embraced the light and eschewed the darkness.[78]

Certainly there is a point after which most of these non-canonical texts stopped directly affecting the theology of early Christians, either because they lacked the constituency to overcome the mainstream Church or because the Church quashed their alternative interpretations of belief. In 367 C.E., Athanasius pronounced to his people in Alexandria the books that now form the canon of Christian Scripture. It seems that his forceful announcement led to the formal acceptance by early ecumenical councils:

> Later councils, such as that at Carthage in 397, merely approved and gave uniform expression to what was already an accomplished fact generally accepted by the church over a long period of time.[79]

And while the so-called apocryphal writings mentioned above may not have had a direct impact upon the development of ritual, their contents reveal a certain universality of interpretation regarding death and eternity and, though directly suppressed and fallen from the active collective memory of the faithful, strains of their theology pervaded the "orthodoxy" and remained imbedded within it.[80] This universality is remarkable specifically because the writings were not canonized specifically because they reflected diverse and mutually exclusive theological notions which were subject to debate at the time.

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[78] See *The Revelation(/Apocalypse) of St. John*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of Thomas*, et al.
[79] Earl Cairns. *Christianity Through the Centuries: A History of the Christian Church*, revised and enlarged. (Grand Rapids: Academie Books, 1981). 118.
[80] E.g., Ehrman, *The New Testament*, 412. He notes that the *Apocalypse of St. Peter*, one of the most dramatic of its kind (and certainly not of St. Peter's authorship) had a profound effect on Dante's work, the *Divine Comedy*.

2.6   EARLY CHRISTIAN FUNERARY DEPICTIONS

In addition to the written sources, one can assess early Christian views on death through their art. Since Christianity was initially illegal and generally persecuted, early Christians needed to find safe places to meet. Frequently, they met in their own burial grounds. As evinced in the nature of the drawings in Christian burial chambers, proximity with the dead was not to be avoided, but embraced. The catacombs of these early Christians were covered with detailed pictures representing Judeo-Christian stories. They served a dual purpose: first, these images comforted the living, providing a level of consolation for those left behind. At the same time, they offered a positive portrayal of death as a new beginning in God's kingdom.

Since Christians were victims of widespread persecution until the fourth century, believers wanted to protect the graves of fellow believers from defilement. Therefore, they decorated their tombs with imagery that stemmed from the stories of Hebrew Scripture so as to disguise their religion. At the same time, it seems that Christians avoided imagery which would be confused with contemporaneous pagan religions.[81]

For example, a very common sepulchral image found in early Christian catacombs comes from the story of Jonah in the Hebrew Scripture—specifically the sea monster's (or whale's) regurgitation of Jonah.

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[81] Walter Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church* (New York: American Book-Stratford Press: 1947), 59.

Figure 2. *Jonah vomited from the whale*. Fresco in the catacomb of Callisto, Rome, 2nd half of the 2nd c.[82]

This story has a strong typological relationship with Jesus's resurrection; the sea monster's disgorging of Jonah is analogous to Jesus's being raised from the dead. The language of Jonah's "Psalm of Thanksgiving," too, bears strong resemblance to Christian death theology:

> …The waters swirled around me, threatening my life; the abyss enveloped me; seaweed clung to my head. Down I went to the roots of the mountains; the bars of the nether world were closing behind me forever, but you brought up my life from the pit, O Lord, my God.[83]

The theological correspondence is documented in the Gospels themselves. Specifically, St. Matthew (and to a lesser degree, St. Luke) records Jesus as having drawn a connection between Jonah and himself. More significantly, St. Matthew's redacted interpretation of the orally transmitted source has Jesus even stating that "[j]ust as Jonah was in the belly of the whale three days and three nights, so will the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights."[84] This first-century account served as one of the principal images used in early Christian catacombs.

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[82] Joseph Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katacomben Roms* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1907), 26, cropped for detail. As this book is in the public domain, usage does not require permission.
[83] Jonah 2:6-7.
[84] St. Matthew 12:40; q.v., 12:38-42 and St. Luke 11:29-32.

Similarly, the image of Noah appears often (and is among the most ancient pictures in the catacombs): "[I]n early Christian art the Ark was far from being a seaworthy ship—it was merely a cubical box, having a lid and a lock."[85]
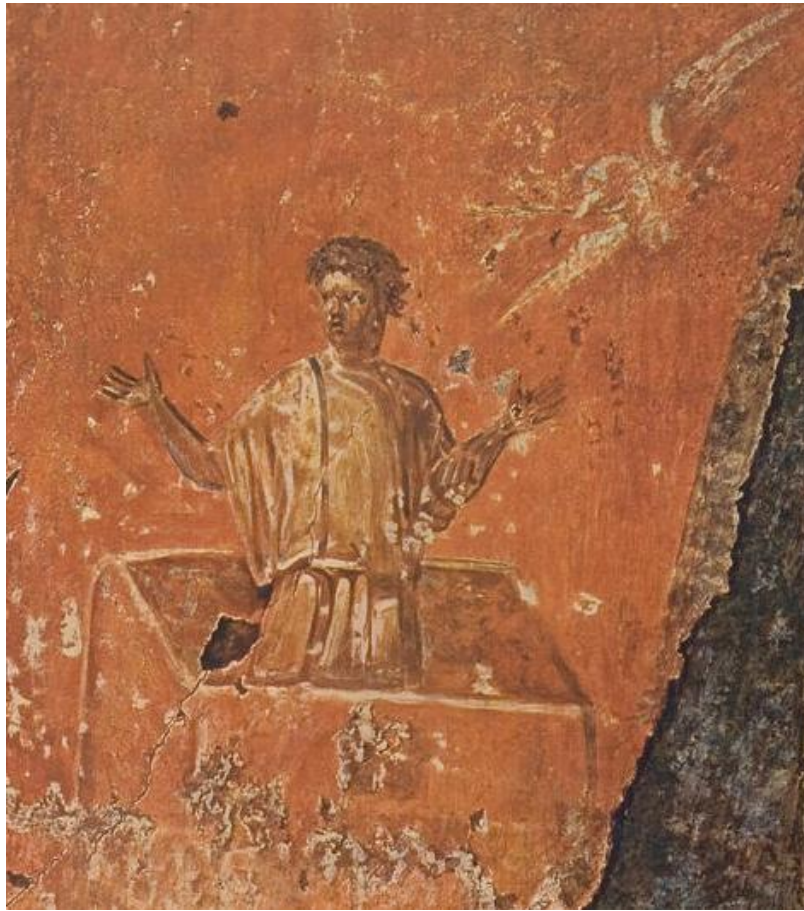
Figure 3. *Noah and the Dove*. Fresco from the catacomb of Priscilla, Rome, beginning of the 2nd c.[86]

Arguably, Noah's emergence from the box after the waters have receded is analogous with Jesus's rising from the dead. Two other early images from Christian catacombs compare with "rising from the dead": Daniel in the pit of lions[87] and the three Hebrews dancing uninjured

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[85] Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church*, 84.
[86] Wilpert. *Die Malereien der Katacomben Roms,* 16, cropped for detail. As this book is in the public domain, usage does not require permission.
[87] Daniel 6:1-29.

amongst the flames in the furnace.[88] As with Jesus's death on the cross, no one expected Daniel to come from the pit alive, or the Hebrews to survive being thrown amidst the flames. As such, the Hebrews' emergence from the pit or furnace was a sign of new life given through God.

Figure 4. *The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace.* Fresco from the catacomb of Priscilla. Rome, 2nd half of the 3rd c.[89]

Finally, among the most popular images was that of Jesus himself, carrying a lamb on his shoulders. This image, known as the Good Shepherd, symbolized the resurrection and was innocuous enough so as not to arouse the suspicion of the pagans. The salient passage from Christian Scripture can be found in both the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke:

> What man among you having a hundred sheep and losing one of them would not leave the ninety-nine in the desert and go after the lost one until he finds it? And when he does find it, he sets it on his shoulders with great joy and, upon his arrival home, he calls together his neighbors and says to them, "Rejoice with me because I have found my lost sheep."[90]

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[88] Daniel 3:1-97.

[89] Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katacomben Roms,* 78, cropped for detail. As this book is in the public domain, usage does not require permission.

[90] St. Luke 15:4-6, cf. St. Matthew 18:10-14. There are many other shepherd references in the Gospel of St. John.

Shortly thereafter, in St. Luke's account, Jesus tells the parable of the lost coin and, most significantly, the parable of the prodigal son, in which he says of the son who returns: "But now we must celebrate and rejoice, because your brother was dead and has come to life again; he was lost and has been found."[91] These passages are explicit in their joyful nature; in all of them, we see people rejoicing over the return of the sheep, the coin, and the son. Though the original intent of these parables may have been rejoicing over repentance from sin and a return to God in this life, they came to be metaphors for a post-mortem return to God in heaven.

Figure 5. *The Good Shepherd*. Mid-3rd-century fresco in the catacomb of San Callisto[92]

A thorough survey of every early Christian funeral image is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the examples above indicate the *hopeful* quality that surrounded death for the

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[91]St. Luke 15:32.
[92] Jim Forest, *Good Shepherd (Callisto catacomb)*, June 20, 2008. Used with permission in accordance with the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 2.0 Generic License. Cropped to emphasize figure.

Christians of antiquity, rooted in the Christian Scriptures and reiterated liberally (though discreetly) during a dangerous time for Christians.[93]   The prayers and early iconographic representations clearly and unequivocally indicate the early Christian conception of death.

2.7   THE CELEBRATION OF MARTYRDOM

The irony of martyrdom can be summed up in a single prayer by the late-second/early-third-century Church theologian, Tertullian: "Truly fearless, truly fortunate martyrs, called and chosen to glorify our Lord Jesus Christ!"[94]   As mentioned in Section 2.3, the notion of "sacrifice" was intrinsic to Christian interpretation of death.   But, arguably, Jesus's death on the cross was initially considered *the* sacrifice—theologically tied neatly to the Passover rituals, specifically the Paschal Lamb.   However, the concept of *ongoing* sacrifice was cultivated by circumstance. Indeed, even before Jesus, St. John the Baptist, who in Christian Scripture was considered a "forerunner" and to whom Jesus was compared, was beheaded for challenging the authorities.[95] In the Christian Scriptures, St. Stephen, the "first martyr," experienced a noble death at the hands of the Sanhedrin:

> [Those at the Sanhedrin] threw [Stephen] out of the city, and began to stone him. The witnesses laid down
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> their cloaks at the feet of a young man named Saul. As they were stoning Stephen, he called out, "Lord

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[93] A similar pattern appears on the sides and covers of Christian sarcophagi, though often we find a greater number of pagan images contained thereon. Lowrie explains this saying that the dead, under Roman law, needed to be buried quickly, and consequently the sarcophagi needed were obtained from local shops, which, in order to appeal to the greatest number of customers, included as many different sorts of scenes as possible. See Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church*, 86-7.

[94] A prayer by Tertullian, in *Earliest Christian Prayers*, eds. F. Church and T. Mulry (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 23.

[95] This is reported in the three Synoptic Gospels: St. Mark 6:14-19; St. Matthew 14:1-12; St. Luke 3:7-9, 19-20.

Jesus, receive my spirit." Then he fell to his knees and cried out in a loud voice, "Lord, do not hold this sin against them;" and when he said this, he fell asleep.[96]

The literary parallel between St. Stephen's and Jesus's death is unmistakable.[97] Already, by the time the *Acts of the Apostles* was compiled in the last decade or two of the first century, there was a three-fold precedent: first, that those of righteous faith may die because of it; second, a righteous death is to be embraced; and, third, that death is a "falling asleep."[98] It is important to note that the word "martyr" did not, at this time, mean "one who died nobly," but simply "witness." The change in meaning to "righteous death" was codified when the Greek word was transliterated into Latin[99]:

> The early Christians believed that those who died in the persecutions had in fact truly "witnessed" to the faith of Christ, just as Jesus had "witnessed" to the reality of the "kingdom of God" through his death.[100]

The relationship between "witness" and "righteous death" has its roots in Christian Scripture—Acts 22:20 refers to the bloodshed by the "witness" (μαρτυρος) Stephen—but took decades of association to crystallize. Other "witnesses" of import killed in the first century include: St. James the Greater (~44 C.E., recorded in Acts 12:1-2); the leader of the Jerusalem Church, St. James the Just (~62 C.E.); St. Peter (~C.E. 64), and St. Paul (~67 C.E.). Although the tradition of the Church holds that almost all of the Apostles were martyred, these four all have early

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[96] Acts 7:58-60.

[97] Recalling that the authors of the Gospel of St. Luke and Acts are considered one in the same, the statements attributed to St. Stephen had, according to the narrative, already been spoken by Jesus on the cross: Acts 7:59 compares with St. Luke 23:46, and Acts 7:60 compares with St. Luke 23:34.

[98] In Greek, the root "κειναι" literally means "to cause to sleep, put to sleep," but metaphorically means "to die." In this figurative sense, the Christian Scriptures use this term in several places, cf. St. Matthew 27:52; Acts 13:36; I Corinthians 7:39, 11:30, 15:6, 18, 20, 51; I Thessalonians 4:13-15; II Peter 3:4; and especially St. John 11:11 in the context of the raising of Lazarus from the dead.

[99] George Heyman, *Power of Sacrifice: Roman and Christian Discourses in Conflict* (Washington, DC: CUA Press, 2007), 174-5.

[100] Heyman, *Power of Sacrifice,* 174.

testimonies regarding their martyrdom.[101] Sts. James the Just, Peter and Paul were all major

proponents of the early Church and were killed, without a doubt, with the intent of quashing the

Christian movement.   Indeed, the Romans presumed that, if the prominent leaders suffered

ignominious deaths, this would discourage the faithful. Young writes:

> [Martyrdom] functioned as a public liturgical sacrifice in which the word of Jesus and his kingdom was
> confessed and acted out, and an offering made that repeated his own. If the Eucharist of the early Christians
> was a kind of substitute sacrifice, then the martyrs' was an imitative one. When the Eucharist was still
> private, not open to non-Christian view, the martyrs' sacrifice was public and dramatic. Martyrdom was
> also a ritual, in all likelihood imagined ahead of time and understood as both a repetition of baptism or a
> substitute for it, and a sacrifice parallel and similar to Christ's passion and the Eucharist, that is to say, as a
> redemptive sacrifice. It was the instantiation of the Temple's new presence among Christians, who saw
> themselves as true Israel and spiritual temples. Inasmuch as it generated a priesthood and spiritual gifts, it
> occasioned the desire of Christians to conduct and regulate its benefits; this was the commerce that
> authority and orthodoxy, especially episcopal orthodoxy, could bring about. Not only the point of encounter
> between the church and the world, and furthermore between heaven and earth, martyrdom was also the
> locus of an economic exchange between these last two; an offering went up, and upon acceptance, benefits
> came down. [102]

The persecutions of the Christians had the opposite effect from the Romans' expectations: rather

than discouraging converts, it brought people to the Church. The execution of Christians was a

dramatic testimony or *witness* to the treasures the faithful would inherit. The strong commitment

to their cause *in spite of death* aroused curiosity, admiration and ultimately followers:

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[101] See Alban Butler, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, David Hugh Farmer and Paul Burns, editors, 12 vols.
(Collegeville, MN: Burns and Oates, 1995-2000).
[102] Robin D. Young, *In Procession Before the World: Martyrdom as Public Liturgy in Early Christianity*
(Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2001), 11-2.

The same sacrificial rhetoric early Christians used to transform Jesus' death into a discourse of power and freedom was used to transform victims of imperial persecutions into martyrs, models of Christian virtue. … Since their deaths were effective in achieving a faithful "witness" to their Lord Jesus, their executions were seen as a sacrifice like his. Such mimetic rhetoric allowed humanity to become connected to divinity in a way that was not available to the average Roman who, through sacrificial worship and political office, imitated the beneficence of the Lord Emperor, but never attained his imperial or divinelike status. [103]

Moral and symbolic polarity is heightened in the drama of martyrdom. Through death, the believer attains eternal life. The protagonist prays to God to forgive the antagonist. There is an ironic shift of power, as well: rather than "being killed," the martyr "chooses to die," thus vitiating the executioner's role to become merely an instrument of the martyr, enabling him to fulfill his sacrificial destiny and receive the splendors God has set aside for him.

In this early, tenuous period during which Christianity was illegal and highly persecuted, martyrdom provided more fodder for a positive interpretation of death. These saints embodied the most perfect love for and faith in God through the sacrifice of the body for their belief. Since the martyrs were able to renounce their "natural" selves as insubstantial, early Christianity nearly deified these selfless actions. Stories of martyrs and of the prayers allegedly made by them during the moments before their death became a mythos embraced by believers:

Lord Jesus Christ, you created heaven and earth; you never forsake those who put their trust in you. Thanks be to you: you have made us fit to live in your city in heaven and share your kingdom. Thanks be to you: you have enabled me to master the dragon and crush its head. Give your servants rest; turn the violence of their enemies on to me. Give your Church peace; deliver it from the tyranny of the Devil. [104]

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[103] Heyman, *Power of Sacrifice,* 162-3.
[104] Prayer by Theodotus, martyred ca. 302 with seven virgins in Hamman, *Early Christian Prayers,* #75.

The author of this prayer had no doubts about what would happen upon his death; he even invites violence to himself to shield others. These actions inspired early Christians to a greater faith in God and to believe in life after death.

The confidence that their leaders, who were tortured and murdered, could stand with such certainty in the face of death even led believers to regard them with such high esteem that their bodies were considered holy relics. This focus on the bodies of saints became a central aspect in Christian burial very early in the development of its ritual, and remained an important aspect well into the modern era.[105] Even with the positive theology of death gaining currency and becoming codified, the average Christian needed something to repress the emotional consequences of death, and the saints provided such an outlet for them:

> ...the original death of the martyr, and even the long, drawn-out dying of the confessor and the ascetic, was vibrant with the miraculous suppression of suffering. Memories of it set up an imaginative vortex in the minds of those who thronged to the shrine. This was all the more powerful because much of the overt expression of these sufferings had been blocked. The explicit image of the martyr was of a person who enjoyed the repose of Paradise and whose body was even now touched by the final rest of the resurrection.[106]

Of the miracles that predominated in early Christian stories, a relatively large proportion occurred around the bodies of saints. Miracle healings, visions and other inspirations were associated with these martyrs' burial places. Early Christian witnesses report experiencing an unusual peace around the bones of the dead saint.[107] The saints' bodies were not subject to normal treatment of the dead; parts were broken off, since they were believed to contain great

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[105] See section 3.2.
[106] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 80.
[107] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 76 ff.

powers. Brown remarks that this is not surprising, saying "...it is precisely the detachment of the relic [bone] from its physical association that" allowed the viewer to disassociate it from a death symbol; it allowed the imagination to run away without referential baggage:

For how better to suppress the fact of death, than to remove part of the dead from its original context in the all too cluttered grave? How better to symbolize the abolition of time in such dead, than to add to that an indeterminacy of space?[108]

Clearly, dead martyrs helped to assuage early Christians' fear of death. They provided a needed link between God and man, between heaven and earth, and between the mortal and the eternal. Though today they may be understood as psychological aids for reconciling oneself to the sadness associated with death, one cannot ignore how these notions became integrated into death ritual after the Patristic period, during the barbarian invasions.

2.8   CONCLUSION

With increased cultural pressure upon Christianity, the theological tendencies crystallized in response. The first such stress was the death of the leader of their Jewish sect, Jesus, which was interpreted according to their Jewish identity; his death represented *the* "Paschal" sacrifice for the sins of the *Jewish* believers. Roughly half a generation later, St. Paul, convinced that Jesus's return was imminent, construed this oblation more broadly, as to include those who did not observe Jewish Law (i.e., the Gentiles). It is in this context that the first notions of "those who sleep" first arose—the *Messiah* would awaken them and *all* of the faithful would serve under

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[108] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 78.

Jesus, the King. Perhaps if the Roman authorities had simply ignored the Christian movement, interest in it would have dwindled away like the many cults of the centuries before and after Jesus. But the dramatic executions of the first leaders of the Christians (Sts. James the Just, Paul and Peter) only fueled the faithful; people willing to die for a cause acted as inspiration for followers.

At first, the certainty of Jesus's return gave an assurance that even threats of death and torture could not deter. The slaying of leaders was refracted through the same lens as Jesus's crucifixion; rather than Jesus's single sacrifice for the Jewish people, there now was a potential responsibility to sacrifice oneself for the Church in imitation of Jesus (like St. Stephen, above in Section 2.7), and this action assured a place in the Kingdom that would come with Jesus. But Jesus did not return, and, consequently, the theology of dying shifted from the act of "falling asleep" while anticipating the *parousia* to a self-sacrificing "witness" which at once served to advance the causes of the Church and ensured an eternity of bliss. Thus, death, rather than the Second Coming, had become the object of interest, and was something to be embraced like the comfort of sleep, rather than feared and eschewed. And, as the deaths became more dramatic, those faithful who survived the persecution had a heightened the commitment to the community.

Christian reactions to death resulted in counterintuitive paradoxes within the faith community: 1) Jesus's death went from tragedy that undermined any claim to messiahship to a *necessity* for the role; 2) the death of the nascent Church's leadership did not disband its constituents, but instead inspired them; 3) the executions of Christians did not dissuade membership, but drew more attention to the movement; and, 4) death, which was formerly seen as the end, became a new beginning, a beginning of a new life in the Kingdom of God.

It is this tendency towards paradox—that greater confidence in the serenity of the afterlife derives from greater corporeal tension imposed by the cultural shifts around the believer—that will repeat itself in the twelfth century when the internal stress of evolving doctrine was generated by the Church itself.

This historical and cultural backdrop that precedes the liturgies for the dead sets the stage for the theology of death of the Christian movement upon the cessation of the Diocletian persecution in 313 C.E. with the Edict of Milan.[109] For the next several decades, the various Christological debates rankled the Church, which responded with creeds, Councils, the ratification of the canon of Scripture, and other efforts to establish orthodoxy. Church governments (i.e., dioceses), which had already been operating clandestinely, acted as the fountainheads for theological pronouncements, with Rome having the greatest influence in the western Church.[110] Because of emperor Constantine's conversion to Christianity in 312 C.E. and especially emperor Theodosius's Edict of Thessalonica (establishing Christianity as the state religion of the empire) in 380 C.E., the Church became inextricably interwoven with the Roman government.

Despite the turmoil in the first four centuries of Christianity, the cultural and philosophical foundation for a Christian understanding of death was inextricably set. The so-called barbarian invasions—resulting in the decreasing control and ultimate fracture of the Roman Empire in the following century—complicated matters. The new, unconverted residents of Western Europe brought their own religious concepts and cultural baggage with them, forcing

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[109] Stephen Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284-641: The Transformation of the Ancient World* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 242.

[110] Wim Blockmans and Peter Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe, 300-1500*, Isola van den Hoven, translator (New York: Routledge, 2007), 49. The Council of Nicaea in 325 C.E. named the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria as "archfathers" of the Church.

the struggling Church to accept the acculturation of pagan ritual until it recovered enough temporal power to establish orthodoxy. Unsurprisingly, it is from this time, the fifth through eighth centuries, that the first liturgical books survive, likely representing an effort to codify Christian liturgical practice in a non-Christian world.

It is further important to recognize that, though we can trace the subtle pressures that affected Christians' understanding of death, the nature of their early celebration is not well-recorded. Because it was illegal and at times dangerous to practice Christianity, the documentation about the liturgy they celebrated was scant: "The evidence from the centuries before musical notation was developed is perforce more useful for the history of liturgy than of music."[111] The presence of music, even early in Christian worship, is fairly well supported:

> The musical aspect of the Eucharist while it was still celebrated in conjunction with an evening meal is also a matter for speculation. Two factors make it probable that singing was not uncommon at this meal. First, musical diversion of some sort has been a constant feature of the common evening meal throughout history, and the meals of late antiquity were no exception. Once the evidence becomes more abundant in the 3rd century, the custom can be observed among the pagans of the time, among the Jews and indeed among the Christians. Secondly, the New Testament, even if its references to music are notoriously difficult to interpret, creates an unmistakable general impression of enthusiasm for sacred song.[112]

As worship moved from the intimacy of homes to larger venues, the evidence of singing at Mass becomes stronger, although in the absence of notation, what this sounded like is irretrievable.

The communal aspect of early Christian life, and in particular the evening meals that they celebrated together, also clearly carried over into Christian death. The faithful commemorated

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[111] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 478.
[112] James W. McKinnon, "Christian Church, music of the early," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05705 (accessed January 24, 2011).

their dead with artwork, buried them in places they clearly revisited, and even depicted worship within their catacombs:

Figure 6. *Eucharistic Representation.* Fresco from the catacomb of Priscilla, Rome, beginning of the 2nd c.[113]

The depiction of early Christian celebrations adorning the walls housing the dead not only indicates the importance of worship in the life of the first generations of Christians, it highlights the close relationship between the liturgical life of the early Church and the dead, one which would develop more fully upon the legalization of Christianity. Since early Christians drew generally from the Jewish and pagan forebears,[114] and, given that music accompanied both Jewish and pagan burial practices (see Sections 2.1 and 2.2), it is also highly probable that early Christian burial practices had music as well. Furthermore, the likelihood evening Eucharistic celebrations almost certainly had chanted elements—most notably the singing of Psalms—gives additional confidence in the presence of chant at funerary celebrations as well. As the liturgy was recorded more widely and, ultimately, as the Church became more centrally involved in attending to the dead, there can be no doubt as to the sung element to the liturgy for the dead.

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[113]Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katacomben Roms,* 17, cropped for detail. As this book is in the public domain, usage does not require permission.

[114] McKinnon, "Christian Church, music of the early," especially §2.

3.0   THE CODIFICATION OF RITUAL

With the validation of Christianity from Constantine and then Theodosius's subsequent elevation of the faith to state religion, the Roman Empire underwent a dramatic shift in religious affiliation. Before Constantine, the Church was a collection of separate communities united with "simple affirmations of their belief in Christ's resurrection and of man's prospective redemption."[115]   In an effort to create a single religious and political identity for the people, Constantine made it an imperial endeavor to unify the Church and encourage conversion:

> In practical terms, members of the church, especially clergy, immediately began to receive favors and privileges from the emperor, and bishops even began to exercise judicial authority on the state's behalf… Ideological unity was even more important. The Roman Empire was an autocratic monarchy…and it was explicitly recognized that the political system should be supported by an equally monolithic religious framework.[116]

The number of Christians had, before this time, been a substantial minority. In 300 C.E., Christians comprised only 10-25% of the total population, but by 400 C.E., roughly 50%.[117] Additionally, by the middle of the fourth century, Christians became important officeholders and, using even conservative estimates, outnumbered pagan senators by the last quarter of the

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[115] Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, 277.
[116] Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, 277.
[117] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 43.

century.[118] Suddenly, the bishops changed from leaders of a "tightly organized sectarian cell" to "quasi civil servants into the mandarinate which administered the empire."[119] It is difficult to accurately assess the percentage of people observing pagan traditions for two reasons: First, the records of this time were written by Christian historians who distorted or suppressed the prevalence of paganism; and, second, it is difficult to assess how pervasive paganism was in the public and private lives of those who practiced some variant of it.[120]

However, there is a difference between conversion and *Christianization*, and it is difficult to assess the degree to which pagan traditions were either eradicated or simply incorporated into the lives of the rapidly converting Roman people:

> Conversion is signaled by the public acceptance of Christianity through baptism; Christianization involves
>
> changing the practices of a pagan society in order to conform to Christian ideas and setting up mechanisms
>
> to teach people about Christianity.[121]

The assimilation of pagan traditions was an inevitable result of the rapid growth of Christianity by conversion/coercion (e.g., the reassignment of the date 25 December to the Solemnity of the Nativity, it previously having been the date of the birth of *Sol invictus*, the invincible sun god).[122] Christianity went from being on the defensive, with apologies and justifications for the faith, to being on the offensive; the Church, with its newfound political power, went from persecuted to persecutor. With the increase in political power and proportion of the population, the action against non-Christians became more pointed, from persuasion through intimidation to force. Under Theodosius, "[a]ction against the heathens was supported by the favoritism openly shown

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[118] Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, 261-2.
[119] Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1997), 22.
[120] Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, 226.
[121] Edward James, *Europe's Barbarians, AD 200-600* (Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited, 2009), 231.
[122] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 43.

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to Christians, the exclusion of non-Christians from government office and the threat of severe punishment for non-conformists."[123]

Most significantly, with Christianity the state religion under Theodosius, the power of the spiritual leaders (i.e., the bishops) became manifestly evident. St. Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, set the precedent for the authority of the Church:

> Theodosius and his court had been used to dominating ecclesiastical affairs in Constantinople and this generated an atmosphere of tension between the emperor and the strong-willed bishop of Milan. Ambrose now insisted that the emperor in church should not take his place among the clergy, but in a position subordinate to the priesthood at the front of the congregation.[124]

The true authority in this encounter (ostensibly St. Ambrose, but he would claim that it was God) was further crystallized when the bishop of Milan compelled the emperor to do 30 days' public penance. Thus began the erosion of the "caesaropapist" position—that the secular ruler was the ecclesiastical one. By the end of the fifth century, the spiritual authority of the western Church was firmly seated in Rome, with its bishop having the highest claim to power.[125] This shift in the seat of command is of inestimable importance:

> Already in late Antiquity, the Christian Church was excellently organized, and this would remain so during the Middle Ages when public administration shrank so severely that it barely provided reference points beyond the local ones. This gave the Church a comparative advantage that should not be underestimated.[126]

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[123] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 43.
[124] Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, 249.
[125] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 44.
[126] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 46.

The Church's hierarchical organization contributed enormously to its survival during the migration and, at times, invasion by the barbarians, allowing Christianity not only to survive but to assimilate the various peoples who contributed to the secular dissolve of the Roman Empire.

This shift from secular to sacred authority would later have irrevocable impact on the social rites surrounding death and burial. The private rituals of the first few centuries of Christianity would be replaced by community rituals, and the Church would come to have the central role in effecting the transmigration of souls from this world to the next.

3.1   THE BARBARIAN MIGRATION

From the late fourth to early sixth centuries, the western portion of the Roman Empire was systematically dismantled. There were several precipitants for this, not the least the increased influx of barbarian immigrants into imperial lands. Highly romanticized, the so-called the "barbarians" did not suddenly appear but had long been part of the diverse tapestry of Roman society.[127] The presence of the "Germani" on the Roman frontier (called *limes*) in the first century is well established, but because the barbarians were largely illiterate, the surviving accounts are Roman and overwhelmingly biased.[128] But even within these sources, by the fourth century, the ubiquity of the barbarian prevails, even if only to cast the Roman in a better light: "Barbarians thus provided the crucial 'other' in the Roman self-image: the inferior society whose

[127] Walter Goffart, *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 231 ff.
[128] Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 49.

failings underlined and legitimized the superiorities of the dominant imperial power."[129] By the middle of the third century, the smaller barbarian tribes had consolidated into larger groups—with familiar names like the Franks, Saxons, or Goths—but because of their lack of unifying leadership, their threat to the architecture of the empire would not be realized until later.[130] At this point, they were merely disparaged peoples living on the periphery of the imperial state.

Yet, the general population of barbarians aspired to become integrated into Roman society even while their presence contributed to its cultural deterioration.[131] One form of their assimilation occurred in the ironic form of defending the border from immigration. Economic limitations of the Roman government caused by the expense of the imperial army resulted in the "softening" of the borders; since they could not be defended by Romans, the barbarians were enjoined (at a reduced rate) to maintain the perimeter.[132] At first, the numbers of barbarian mercenaries were small and such arrangements were tacit understandings between the Romans and barbarians. But, by the reign of Constantine, specific political efforts were enacted to avoid conflict with these "Germani," and by the middle of the fourth century, having grown to a substantial degree, the use of the "Germani" in the protection of the Roman frontier was formalized through various treaties.[133] This led to an increased barbarian presence in the Roman armies and, with that, their ascent in the military hierarchy, which ultimately proved to be a danger to Rome.

The dissolution of the Roman Empire is complicated and best told by historians of that period, but a brief summary of the relevant events will shed light on the various strains of

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[129] Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, 69.
[130] Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, 94-9.
[131] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 32.
[132] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 27.
[133] Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, 81 ff.

Christian belief that were left in the wake of the many wars in the west.[134] Theodosius's death in

395 C.E.—and the impotence of the two emperors who followed him, Honorius and Valentinian

III—marked the beginning of the true loss of control of the Roman Empire's hold on Western

Europe. By contrast, several barbarian rulers demonstrated great strength, most notably Alaric

and Theoderic I.

Alaric assumed leadership of the Goths in 395 C.E. and over the next fifteen years

campaigned across the northern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Ultimately, he conquered Rome

in 410 C.E.[135] At this point, the Gallican part of the empire had already been effectively ceded to

the barbarians in the north through an alliance of Vandals and other barbarian peoples in the

crossing of the "frozen" Rhine a few years prior.[136] Shortly after the first fall of Rome, Alaric

died, and from there, the Goths (now known as Visigoths) moved west through southern Gaul

into the Iberian peninsula.[137] In the middle of the fifth century, the Huns under Attila invaded

Gaul and Italy. While the Huns were defeated in the former and appeased by Pope St. Leo the

Great with an expensive treaty in the latter, these wars exacted a toll on an already weakened

empire.[138] The Pope would again negotiate with the Vandals in 455 C.E. during their invasion of

Rome, purportedly compelling them not to utterly destroy Rome and kill its inhabitants, but to

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[134] Additionally, because of the spotty source history, there is some dispute as to the causes and effects of various events during this time. The works already cited by James, Heather, Goffart, and Mitchell all offer varying explanations and justifications for the fall of the western Roman Empire. Those differences, while fascinating, are well beyond the purview of this dissertation.

[135] James, *Europe's Barbarians*, 54-63.

[136] James, *Europe's Barbarians*, 55. James bemusedly notes that there is no evidence that the river was frozen, but this passing conjecture made in a 19th-century history text has become "fact." Beginning in 429 C.E., the Vandals continued their conquest through Gaul, over the Pyrenees, into Spain, over Gibraltar and into northern Africa, culminating in the sack of Carthage in 439 C.E. It was during the Vandals' assault on Hippo that St. Augustine died.

[137] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 30.

[138] Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, 343 ff., cautions that these final Hunnic invasions did not *cause* the fall of the western Roman empire, but that having to deal with them depleted resources needed for other military campaigns, such as reclaiming of northern Africa from the Vandals.

"simply" pillage it.[139] The symbol of the end of the Roman Empire in the west was the deposition of the last western emperor and the ascent of Odoacer, a high-ranking barbarian commander, as "king of the peoples of Italy."[140]

Theoderic, leader of the Ostrogoths, was persuaded by the Roman Empire in the east to reclaim Italy from Odoacer and, with his success, to rule over Italy as a sort of regent.[141] Between 489 and 493 C.E. he overcame the Germanic "king of Italy," and established a well-organized kingdom, one which did not particularly acknowledge the eastern (Byzantine) empire. During his thirty-three-year reign, though he did not ever claim the title emperor, Theoderic conducted his affairs in an overtly Roman manner with an explicit Christian structure:

> [Theoderic] laid down principles of justice and standards of public behavior…[which were] careful restatements of the traditional virtues of the just ruler, conducted with an overtly Christian moral framework.[142]

His efforts, while effective at cultivating a peace between the Ostrogoths and the remaining Roman citizenry, effectively distanced him from the Byzantine empire, thus resulting in West-East tension, in future years.[143]

The Frankish kingdom played a marginal role in the early centuries of Christian antiquity. On the fringe of the empire, the Franks were among the barbarians incorporated into the Roman military, ultimately comprising the largest non-Roman portion of it.[144] By the middle of the fifth

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[139] Thomas Craughwell, *How the Barbarian Invasions Shaped the Modern World: the Vikings, Vandals, Huns, Mongols, Goths, and Tartars who Razed the Old World and Formed the New* (Beverly, MA: Fair Winds Press, 2008), 89.
[140] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 27.
[141] James, *Europe's Barbarians*, 83.
[142] Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, 217.
[143] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 31.
[144] Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, 211.

century, they were a major military and economic power and, in the early sixth century assaulted the Visigothic kingdom under Clovis, taking most of modern-day France from their rule.[145]

It is important to note that this heavily-abbreviated summary serves only to highlight the important events in Europe as they relate to Christianity and especially how the accretions of pagan tradition would influence the rituals surrounding death and burial. The following map summarizes the state of affairs in western Europe after the first quarter of the sixth century.
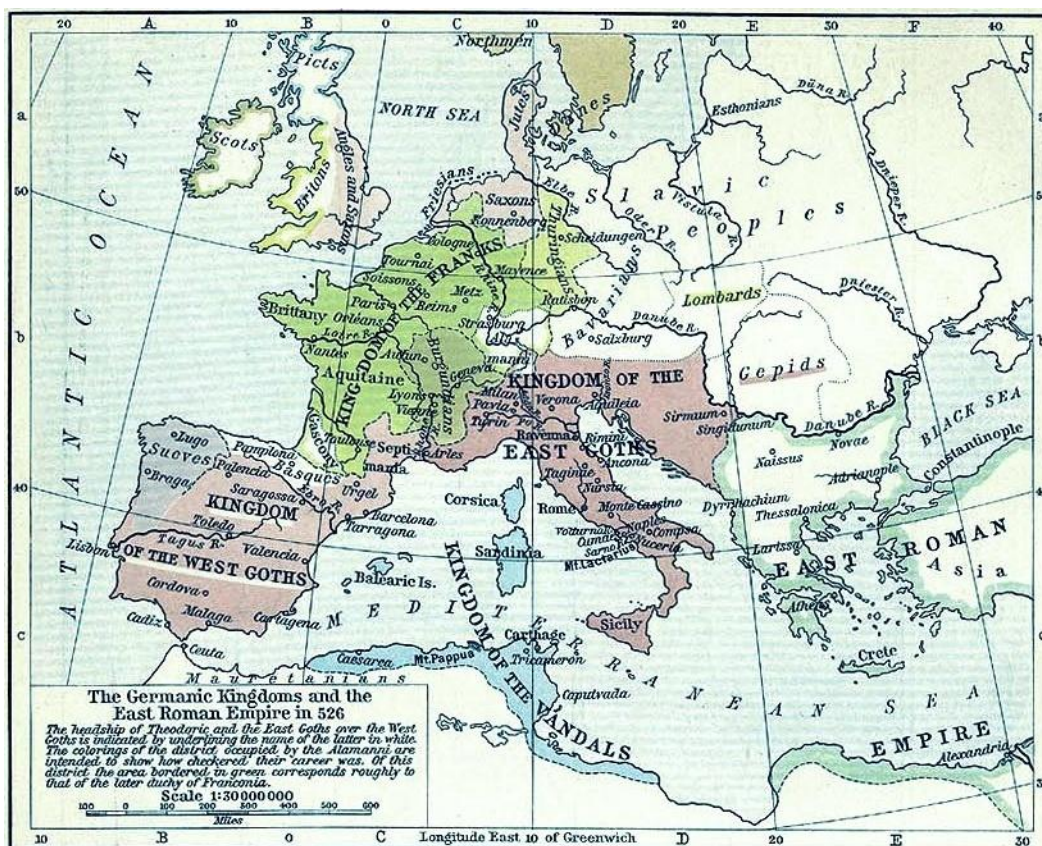
Figure 7. *The Germanic Kingdoms and Eastern Roman Empire in 526.*[146]

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[145] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 33.
[146] Map from William R. Shepherd. *The Historical Atlas*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923). As this book is in the public domain, usage does not require permission. West Goths correspond to Visigoths and East Goths to Ostrogoths.

Alaric, the Visigothic king who assaulted Rome in 410 C.E. was a Christian (Arian)[147] and despite his death shortly thereafter, that tradition persisted amongst his people through Gaul and into Spain. Theoderic (also Arian, but with strong positive ties to the Catholic tradition), the king of the Ostrogoths, was a Christian whose governmental organization referred to Christianity as its model. Clovis, king of the Franks, was a Christian, and the first Catholic king in western Europe. Indeed, "[m]ost barbarian kingdoms in the West immediately acquired a Christian patina, in addition to a Roman one."[148] Furthermore, the bishop of Rome was widely regarded as an authority of the western Church (cf. St. Leo with Huns, Vandals). And, despite both the migrations and invasions of disparate cultural and religious traditions, Christianity managed not only to survive, but to become incorporated into the lives of the new inhabitants of western Europe. The expression of this Christianity was by no means uniform; the majority of believers were Catholic (i.e., mainstream) but various heresies had some hold in some places (especially Arianism amongst the Visigoths). However, this point of common identity would become the thread that would serve to bind Europe in the coming centuries. Two factors played significant roles in this unification, the saints and monasticism, both of which were by-products of the cultural shifts that took place in Europe.

3.1.1 The conversion of Clovis and the Merovingians

Over the course of the first 500 years of Christianity, there were many opportunities for the belief to die on the vine. Patently, Jesus never conceived of it as a "different religion," but the

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[147] Arianism was an interpretation on exactly who Jesus was in relation to God the Father. In contrast with Orthodox Christianity, it holds that Jesus was a divine being created by God and thus separate and inferior to the Father. As a competing theology, it reached its highest acceptance in the fourth century during which time it was deemed a heresy at both the First Council of Nicaea in 325 C.E. and the First Council of Constantinople in 381 C.E.
[148] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 32.

fulfillment of Jewish expectation. Seemingly, his death should have ended that movement; instead, it was interpreted as being integral to Jewish messianic expectation. Its Jewish association, which would have limited its proliferation, was countered by the efforts of St. Paul because of his presumption that Jesus would return in his lifetime. The following centuries of persecution, including the slaughter of Gentile Christians, ironically inspired rather than discouraged converts (see Section 2.7, *supra*). And, finally, almost simultaneous to the establishment of Christianity as the state religion of the empire in 380 C.E., were the beginnings of the Germanic migration across the Rhine, the dissolution of the Roman Empire and the reign of peoples who had no previous association with Christianity. Yet Alaric of the Visigoths and Theoderic of the Ostrogoths became Christians (albeit Arian) and, consequently, so did their people. Most importantly, Clovis converted to *Catholic* (i.e., mainstream Roman) Christianity and became a critical force in the promotion of the faith in the early sixth century.

The Franks, in particular, were deeply enamored with Roman society and saw the imitation of imperial practice as a way to legitimize their own power.[149] This assimilation of Roman culture has its roots in the first known Merovingian king Childeric (d. 481) whose grave, discovered in the seventeenth century at Tournai, at first suggested that of a Roman official, not a barbarian leader. He was found in a Roman cemetery wearing a military uniform and a signet-ring with the Latin inscription "Childerici Regis" and a brooch similar to those used by Roman generals.[150] At the same time, there were barbarian jewelry, weapons and even the head of an enemy suggesting a "multicultural" burial. Although at this point the archeological record does

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[149] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 32.
[150] James, *Europe's Barbarians*, 80. Also Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 101-2.

not permit a detailed analysis, it is evident that cultural if not religious integration was already at work in Clovis's father's funeral practice.[151]

Clovis went further than his father; he not only assimilated Roman practice—for example, throwing triumphal feasts on the occasions of his victories over his enemies, dressed in the purple robes of an emperor[152]—he married a Christian woman and converted following a victory over the Alamans.[153] Although one must take the facts of Clovis's biography with a degree of circumspection,[154] the impact on Catholic Christianity seems uncontested:

> [T]he idea that surviving Roman troops willingly incorporated themselves into Frankish armies is perfectly plausible, and helps to account for the success of the Frankish armies through the first half of the sixth century. The Frankish kings, particularly after their conversion to Catholicism, could be seen as the natural successors of the Roman emperors. They did little to upset the spiritual monopoly of the Romans in the Church: they seem generally to have supported the rights of landowners and of the Church, and their considerable military success brought much wealth into the country and almost certainly reduced the tax burden of the average Gallo-Roman.[155]

This theme—the correlation between the success (both individual and national) of the Merovingians and their *conversion* to *Catholic* Christianity—became an essential focal point of St. Gregory of Tours's biography of Clovis in his *Historia Francorum* written in the last quarter of the sixth century. With a hermeneutic supporting Catholic interests, St. Gregory's biography of Clovis recorded a causal correspondence between Clovis's faith and his accomplishments. Summarized by Fletcher, the four-part theme unfolds as follows: 1) the Christian queen converts

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[151] Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 102.
[152] Blockmans and Hoppenbrouwers, *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, 32.
[153] Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1994), 41.
[154] St. Gregory of Tours's account, from which most of his biography derives, is hardly unbiased. See Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 103 ff.
[155] See James, *Europe's Barbarians*, 81-2.

her husband; 2) the Christian God grants victory in battle; 3) the king is reluctant to compel those whom he leads to give up the ancestral gods; but 4) the king's worries are unfounded as he gets baptized and much of his family and people follow spontaneously.[156]   Regardless of its historicity, the literary *impact* of Gregory's story was profound.   In the same way that St. Augustine's *City of God* sought to address why the fall of Rome was *not* the result of the abandonment of the Christian God, the success of Clovis *was* the result of that same God's influence.   Furthermore, it was not simply *Christianity* that God favored, but *Catholicism*.   St. Gregory's account entails that Clovis's attack on the Visigoths was motivated by their association with the Arian heresy,[157] and that Clovis was a "new Constantine."   He built the Church of the Holy Apostles in Paris (later to be known as the Abbey of St. Geneviève), presided over an official Church Council at Orleans, and ultimately was interred at the church he founded.[158]

Though St. Gregory of Tours's interpretation of events after the fact is certainly the product of redaction, the importance of Christianity in the wake of Clovis's conversion is very real:

> Both culturally and geographically, Merovingian Gaul stood with one foot in the Mediterranean south and the other in the barbarian north. *Its history is to a great extent the history of the joining of these two worlds through the agency of the Christian religion.*[159]

Furthermore, the conversion spread from the high-ranking members of Frankish society down to the lower classes; the Merovingian aristocracy's acceptance of Christianity naturally led to the

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[156] Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 104. This theme echoes the story of Constantine's conversion.
[157] Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 41.
[158] Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 104.
[159] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 47.

conversion of their dependants.[160] It is important to note that, as the Frankish church became more powerful, there were increases in the sorts of political maneuverings (e.g., simony) which led to corruption.[161] Nonetheless, this conversion was far-reaching, with Frankish kings acting more aggressively Christian with each successive generation.[162] In particular, their funeral rites act as indicators of increasing their Christianization.

3.1.2   Merovingian burial

As mentioned above, the burial of Childeric was marked by both strong Roman and barbarian characteristics. This is not to say that it was not fully pagan—he was not a convert—but it sets a precedent of acculturation surrounding ritual for the time. His son Clovis (d. 511), the first Catholic king, was buried in the church he built (see Section 3.1.1, *supra*), presumably with whatever rites were associated with interment at that time:

> Whereas grave goods and epitaphs seem to have been the most visible ingredients of funerals from the fifth
> through the seventh century, church burial and commemorative Masses were likely the most notable
> investments made at least by the elite families from the eighth century onward.[163]

The role of the *Church* in burial was fairly limited in the sixth century, but this is not to say that the personal rituals were not *Christian*. Instead, the burial rites merely retained the ritualistic accretions inherited from the barbarian north. It had previously been assumed that the diminishing of grave goods meant increased Christianization of burial ritual, but this has been

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[160] Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 130.
[161] Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 135. These corruptions were one of the motivations for monastic reform in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (See section 5.2, *infra*).
[162] Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 135.
[163] Bonnie Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 6.

rejected by recent scholarship.[164] Instead, these unrecorded burial rituals, which were no doubt

increasingly Christian (although *not* clerical), merely reflected local customs. They "represented

the final display of an individual's identity…[and] afforded powerful opportunities to underline

solidarity or emphasize differences among members of a community."[165] The role of the clergy

(and thus liturgy) became more pronounced in the later Merovingian period, concordant with a

proliferation of church cemeteries. Now that burial and the ritual surrounding it was situated on

church grounds, the clergy began to exert influence on the nature of the funeral and, ultimately,

who might or might not be entitled to one.[166] By the end of the Merovingian line, the Church

finally began to issue laws that limited the sorts of rituals that could accompany burial—no more

funerary meals, libations, sacrifices, phylacteries, or certain types of fires[167]—all of which point

to practices that were present by the middle of the eight century.

3.2   THE RISE OF THE SAINTS

The acculturation of the converts to Christianity was enabled in part through the didactic

recitation of the lives of Christian saints.[168] Not elected through the formal process of

canonization—this was a twelfth-century innovation—these saints merely comprised holy men

and women who acted as examples "of godly living and holy dying, [and] to spur listeners or

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[164] Guy Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul: Selected Studies in History and Archeology 1992-2009* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), 265 ff. See also Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul*, 41 ff.
[165] Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul*, 140.
[166] Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul*, 143.
[167] Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul*, 144.
[168] Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 10-11.

readers to compunction and devotion."[169] Beyond this, the saints acted as a visible connection between heaven and earth and amongst members of the community. As discussed in 2.7 above, before the legalization of Christianity in the fourth century, the martyrs served the general role of inspiring the faithful and the specific role of desensitizing Christians to the horrors of death. Additionally, as it pertains to the liturgy of the dead, the earliest references to liturgical celebrations regarding death specifically involve repose in Paradise with the saints.[170]

The saints remained the connection between the living and dead and the medium through which the actions of the former could benefit the latter. This is illustrated in a pre-Carolingian Mozarabic liturgy; the prayer for the *universa fraternitas* (universal brotherhood), which begins first with the benefactors of the church (the living), next with a list of saints (the medium), which would have included "all the martyrs," and last the list of the deceased of the congregation (the dead).[171] Of especial note is the fact that the souls of the congregants are juxtaposed with the martyrs, indicating a close relationship between the two: "the dead are not regarded as separate from the living. They belong to the same unbroken family, and appeals to the divine mercy are extended to the whole series of those whose names have been read."[172]

However, the continued cultivation of the importance of martyrs—as models for conduct and a way to relate the divine to the earthly—led to the elevation of the status of these long-dead individuals and, by association, that of their graves:

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[169] Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 10.

[170] Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with the Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 64-5. She notes that in early Christianity, before the idolization and near-apotheosis of the martyrs, the distinction between martyr (i.e., witness) and an "ordinary" Christian would not have been quite so vast. The earliest liturgical prayers are discussed in section 3.5.

[171] Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of our Death: The Classic History of Western Attitudes Toward Death Over the Last One Thousand Years*, Helen Weaver, translator (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 149-50.

[172] Ariès, *The Hour of our Death*, 151.

> Here, at least, were the graves of the very special dead. They had died in a special way; they lay in the grave in a special way; this fact was shown by the manner in which all that was most delightful and most alive in late-antique life could be thought of as concentrated in their tombs and even…in detached fragments of their dead bodies.[173]

This created a divide between the "ordinary" and the "holy." Whereas in early Medieval theology, the dead could "hope to enter into the company of the saints (*in consortio sanctorum*),"[174] distance was growing between these two groups. At times, that distinction became so pronounced that church leaders had to remind the faithful that the saints were not God (see St. Augustine's comment about saints in Section 3.3, *infra*).

Although the glorification of saints exaggerated the distance between heaven and earth, it also cast a wider sense of unity. The discovery or translation of even a portion of the remains of a saint immediately conferred a special status on the locale.[175] Thereby, any place could be made holy and many were:

> The discovery and installation of a relic, therefore, was surrounded by a sense of amnesty and a heightening of morale…the *praesentia* of the saint could be associated with unambiguously good happenings in a world only too cluttered with bad happenings.[176]

The remains of saints allowed for the transcendence of time and space; the common prayer that they engendered unified the faithful and, more importantly, "maintained the emotional cohesion of kin and community across a river of death."[177]

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[173] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 70.
[174] McLaughlin, *Consorting with the Saints*, 38.
[175] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 90 ff.
[176] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 93.
[177] Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 258.

At the root of the association of saints with the liturgy of the dead is the concept of healing. As saints' remains were viewed with greater holy reverence, people began attributing miracles of healing to them. This advanced a comfort with the martyrs not previously attained. As discussed above, in antiquity the martyr served as a conceptual model for a righteous death, thus death need not be feared. By this early medieval period, the bodies (or parts of bodies) themselves became vessels of God's grace through healing. There was a shift from a symbolic to a tangible quality, and, while the actions of the martyrs were beyond the capacities of the average Christian, their mere proximity aroused a sense of shared fidelity. The miracles associated with the relics heightened this sense of community:

> At the root of every miracle of healing at a martyr's shrine of late antiquity there lay a miracle of pain…
>
> For the sufferings of the martyrs were miracles in themselves.[178]

While the image of the martyr was one of serene tranquility, there is the foreknowledge that such a state arose from a history of suffering and agony; the connection, then, between healing and the martyrs was that their past sufferings mediated the present sufferings of the faithful.[179]

Paxton notes that the role of physical healing by relics came to be identified with spiritual healing beginning in late sixth-century Gaul.[180] Although it is only a minor theme in the development of funerary liturgies, the relationship between sickness and death is inescapable. The late-seventh century manuscript known as the *Missale Gothicum*, Paxton notes, contains a blend of Roman (God-oriented prayer rather than saint-oriented, and soul-centered rather than

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[178] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 79.
[179] Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 80 ff.
[180] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 55 ff.

body-centered) and Gallican (*medicina caelestis*, or "celestial medicine") influences.[181]   Rather

than a saint's healing of the body, God heals the soul.

Though the theme of healing does not play a direct role in the propers for the Mass for

the Dead which would come later, the parallel between the praying for the well-being of the soul

in the Gallican sense and praying for its intercession seems fairly evident.   In the eighth-century

north-Italian manuscript, the Bobbio Missal,[182] Paxton notes the following prayer for the blessing

of oil (used on the sick):

> Lord of glory…bless and sanctify this thing created of oil…so that whosoever's body or members have
>
> been soothed and bathed with it shall be found worthy to obtain, with celestial health, the grace of salvation
>
> and the forgiveness of sins.[183]

Though this prayer does not pertain specifically to any liturgy for the dead, the connection

between celestial health and post-mortem salvation is patent.   This concern for the soul's health

ties in nicely and gives additional subtext to the increasingly well-defined notions of purgation in

the seventh-century theology of death.

3.3   SAINT AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO (354-430)

It is perhaps no exaggeration to state that St. Augustine's influence on the formation of the

theology of the Roman Church is nonpareil until the early Renaissance.   Prior to his conversion,

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[181] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 57-8.

[182] Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1981), 323-4.

[183] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 58-9, his translation of: *Rex gloriae…benedic hanc creatura olei et sanctifica eam…ut cuiuscumque corpus vel membra ex eo fuerit lenitum vel perfusum salutaris graciam et peccatorum veniam et sanitate celeste consequi meriantur.*

St. Augustine had only toyed with being baptized and continued his opulent and prestigious life of secular rhetoric in Milan along with hedonistic and indulgent living.[184] However, upon hearing the story of St. Antony (the apocryphal founder of monasticism) and in dialogue with St. Ambrose (also a trained rhetorician), he was baptized by the Bishop of Milan and moved back to Africa. Although St. Augustine never adhered to a coenobitic or eremitic lifestyle—he was too much the interlocutor for such a life—when he moved back to Africa, he did join a "monastic community of sorts."[185]

Amongst his many contributions to theology within his voluminous oeuvre, St. Augustine cultivated a growing theological perspective in which the actions of the living were directly relevant to the souls of the dead.

> For Augustine, there is no doubt that the soul survives bodily death. The "first death" is precisely the separation of the soul from the body. The souls of the martyrs, he thinks, are already in heaven. The souls of the wicked go to a state of punishment…[s]ome, however, will go to heaven after a period of purgation.[186]

The concept of purgation was, at this time, in a nascent form—an indeterminate cleansing by fire. It is clear that already the seeds for what would later blossom into Catholic doctrine had already been planted and were nurtured by Augustine. Indeed, St. Augustine petitioned those faithful who read his *Confessions* to pray for his own parents at the altar.[187] Nichols further

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[184] William Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 98-100.

[185] Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 100.

[186] Terence Nichols, *Death and Afterlife: A Theological Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2010), 64-5.

[187] "So let her rest in peace, together with her husband…And inspire, O my Lord my God…thy servants…that as many of them may read this may remember at Thy altar Thy servant Monica, with Patricius, her husband…" *Sit ergo in pace cum viro… et inspira, domine meus, deus meus, inspira servis tuis… ut quotquot haec legerint, meminerint ad altare tuum Monnicae, famulae tuae, cum Patricio.* Augustine, *Confessions*, F.J. Sheed, translator,

notes that St. Augustine harbored no qualms that prayers by the Church in the Eucharist and *alms given for their souls* would be efficacious in mitigating a more merciful afterlife than they would have otherwise deserved.[188]

In his magnum (and massive) opus, the *City of God*, St. Augustine makes substantial reference to the afterlife. Most telling is this oft-quoted passage:

> The prayer of the Church, or of certain pious men, is indeed heard on behalf of some of the dead: for those, that is, who, having been reborn in Christ, did not then spend their life in the body so wickedly that they are to be judged unworthy of such mercy, nor so well that they are found not to need such mercy. So, too, after the resurrection of the dead there will be no lack of those upon whom mercy will be bestowed after they have suffered the punishment proper to the souls of the dead, and who will therefore not be sent away into the eternal fire.[189]

However, St. Augustine is explicit that such prayers—prayers of intercessions to the saints—do not themselves deify the intercessors. Indeed, he is adamant that the prayers are to God alone:

> We, however, do not establish temples, priesthoods, rites and sacrifices for these same martyrs, for they themselves are not gods; rather, their God is our God...[190]

Michael P. Foley, editor (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2006), Book IX, Chapter XIII, paragraph 37.

[188] Nichols, *Death and Afterlife*, 65.

[189] *Nam pro defunctis quibusdam uel ipsius ecclesiae uel quorumdam piorum exauditur oratio, sed pro his, quorum in Christo regeneratorum nec usque adeo uita in corpore male gesta est, ut tali misericordia iudicentur digni non esse, nec usque adeo bene, ut talem misericordiam reperiantur necessariam non habere; sicut etiam facta resurrectione mortuorum non deerunt, quibus post poenas, quas patiuntur spiritus mortuorum, inpertiatur misericordia, ut in ignem non mittantur aeternum.* Augustine, *City of God against the Pagans*, R.W. Dyson, editor and translator (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Book XXI, Chapter 24, p. 1086.

[190] *Nec tamen nos eisdem martyribus templa, sacerdotia, sacra et sacrificia constituimus, quoniam non ipsi, sed Deus eorum nobis est Deus. Honoramus sane memorias eorum tamquam sanctorum hominum Dei…* Augustine, *City of God against the Pagans*, Book VIII, Chapter 27, p. 356-7.

In distinction with pagan practice, the dead are not gods and the sacrifices of the altars are not offered to martyrs. Instead, the dead play an instrumental role in the worship of God; the living and the dead are united in their various petitions to God for the good of the Church.

The most theologically advanced expression of "proto-purgatory" can be found in a short text called *Enchiridion de fide et spe et carite*. Written in 420 C.E., the treatise articulates the clearest expressions of St. Augustine's post-mortem theology:

> During the time, moreover, which intervenes between a man's death and the final resurrection, the soul dwells in a hidden retreat, where it enjoys rest or suffers affliction just in proportion to the merit it has earned by the life it led on earth.[191]

The justice of St. Augustine's theology is undeniable, and he ties this intermediate state in with the actions of the Church. Specifically, he explains that suffrages and alms will mitigate the affliction in certain cases, with the caveat that there are some people who are so good as not to need prayers and some so bad as not to be benefited by them.[192] Finally, and most explicitly, St. Augustine articulates the *means* by which sins are shed (and, implicitly, the *state* in which the souls in this intermediate state exist):

> It is a matter that may be inquired into, and either ascertained or left doubtful, whether some believers shall pass through a kind of purgatorial fire, and in proportion as they have loved with more or less devotion the goods that perish, be less or more quickly delivered from it.[193]

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[191] *Tempus autem, quod inter hominis mortem et ultimam resurrectionem interpositum est, animas abditis receptaculis continet, sicut unaquaeque digna est vel requie vel acrumna, pro eo, quod sortita est in carne quum viveret.* Augustine, *The Enchiridion on Faith, Hope and Love*, J.F. Shaw, translator, Henry Paolucci, editor (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1961), Section CIX, p. 127.

[192] Augustine, *The Enchiridion on Faith, Hope and Love*, Section CX, p. 127-8.

[193] *Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri, incredibile non est; et utrum ita sit, quaeri potets, et aut inveniri, nunnullos fideles per ignem quemdam purgatorium, quanto magis minusve bona pereuntia dilexerunt, tanto tardius citiusque salvari.* Augustine, *The Enchiridion on Faith, Hope and Love*, Section LXIX, p. 82-3.

The Latin concept—*per ignem quemdam purgatorium*—is the foundation upon which later doctrine would be formed. Here, unequivocally, souls are subjected to a fiery *purgation* of their sins commensurate with the lives they led.

As a response to Rome's fall to the Goths in 410 C.E., St. Augustine's *City of God* was widely known by fifth-century Christians who were crestfallen at the sacking.[194] Not only a theological treatise, it served in part as an explanation for why Rome fell and why Christians should continue in their faith in spite of it. Consequently, the theology articulated there was absorbed into the fabric of Roman Christian culture. Most significantly, it opened the door to the conversion of non-Roman pagans:

> …[T]he most important point about Augustine's social thought is that it detached the state—any state, but in particular, of course, the Roman state—from the Christian community… [In *City of God*] then is Augustine's vision of a Christian community not confined to the Roman empire… In common with other Christians of his day Augustine was convinced that the end of the world was near. But before this could happen there had to be a universal preaching of Christianity.[195]

St. Augustine's work is the fifth-century culmination of Christian theology and constituted a strong influence on the actions of future Christians in their efforts to bring about conversion. As St. Augustine was an early champion of temperance, devotion and the forerunner of what can be thought of as Roman (as distinct from Byzantine) doctrine, his views on death would have long-lasting resonance within the Church.

The impact of St. Augustine's writings on the theology of the Roman Church cannot be exaggerated. His views on the intercessory role of the faithful and on the nature of the afterlife

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[194] James, *Europe's Barbarians*, 57.
[195] Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 29, 31.

are among the earliest genuinely Western contributions to the Church's position on death. These attitudes would come to be incorporated in the earliest liturgical traditions surrounding death and burial and, ultimately, trickle down into the Mass for the Dead.

3.4   SAINT GREGORY THE GREAT (540-604)

Although, as mentioned above, St. Augustine made multiple references to what became known as purgatorial fire, St. Gregory the Great offers the final clarification of the doctrine that would later be known as "Purgatory." By the time of St. Augustine's fifth-century theology, a clear line between death and paradise was being drawn. Ever the logician, St. Augustine was wrestling with the inequity of salvation for those who had lived lives fully commensurate with the Gospel and those who came to it after a period of sinful living (as he himself lived). His solution, as seen in *City of God*, was for contrite sinners to have a limited period of cleansing by fire before receiving the rewards of the kingdom of heaven. This theological conclusion appealed to his sense of justice—certainly the exceptionally pious and the last-minute convert could not be treated the same—and its equanimity would have long-lasting resonance in Western Christendom.

But for St. Augustine, the concept was an abstraction. As mentioned above, he held that, between death and the final resurrection, the soul was in a vague intermediate state in which purgation *might* be necessary (depending on the character of the individual and the state of that individual's repentance). St. Gregory the Great saw a problem with this and with St. Augustine's solution, the *state* of purgation offered a *place* for subsequent repose:

Before Christ's coming, it was usual for all who died to fall into Hell, because the coming of Christ was necessary to reopen the path to Heaven. But the righteous were not supposed to fall into that part of Hell where souls are tortured. There are in fact two parts of Hell, an upper part, where the righteous rest in peace, and a lower part, where the wicked are subjected to torment.[196]

Hell, itself vague, now had a topography. Although St. Gregory would never articulate that purgation took place in a separate place, his division of the afterlife before the *parousia* into distinct locales would lead to the annealment of theologies towards the doctrine of Purgatory. An example from the late seventh century (roughly a century after St. Gregory) will illustrate. The text, entitled "Drythelm's Vision" follows a format similar to Dante's *Divine Comedy*; in the narrative, a good man, Drythelm, believes he has died and is given a tour of the afterlife. Afterwards, the "tour guide," an angel, summarizes the visit, saying:

That valley you saw so dreadful because of the consuming flames and cutting cold is the place to try and punish the souls of those who delay to confess and amend their sins, but eventually have recourse to repentance at the point of death, and so depart from this life. Nevertheless, because they finally confessed and repented at death, they will all be received into the kingdom of heaven at the Day of Judgment. Many, however, are aided before the Day of Judgment by the prayers, alms and fasting of the living, and more especially by Masses.

That fiery and stinking pit that you saw is the mouth of hell, and whoever falls into it shall never be delivered for all eternity. This flower place, in which you see these most beautiful young people, so bright and merry, is the reception place for the souls of those who depart from the body after doing good works, but who are not so perfect as to deserve to be admitted immediately into the kingdom of heaven. Yet at the Day of Judgment they shall all see Christ and partake of the joys of his kingdom; for they who are perfect

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[196] Jacques le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory.* Arthur Goldhammer, translator (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 89.

in thought, word and deed immediately enter the kingdom of heaven as soon as they depart from their bodies.[197]

Though this quotation is expansive, the salient details it articulates are of critical importance. First, St. Gregory's impact on the geography of the afterlife has already taken root and blossomed; there are now various different "tiers" of afterlife. Second, the *parousia*, while present, is not *required* to attain the kingdom of heaven. Finally, the role of the Mass is given primacy in abetting a soul's forgiveness.[198] Drythelm's vision is not a theological discourse. But the fact that it is *descriptive* rather than *instructive* (like the writings of Sts. Augustine or Gregory) suggests that didactic writings on a (proto-)purgatorial afterlife had been fully assimilated into the theologies of the faithful.

3.5   EARLY LITURICAL SOURCES ACKNOWLEDGING THE DEAD

Very little of western liturgical record exists prior to the increased influence of the clergy in the Merovingian kingdom (c. 457-752). The gap in information between the end of the patristic period and the final years of Merovingian rule is well documented:

> Augustine died in 430 as the Vandals held the city of Hippo under siege. His passing is emblematic of the closing of the era of abundant patristic literature and the beginning of a centuries-long period of comparative silence during the barbarian ascendency. There is very little information about the development of the Roman Mass until the appearance of the…Pontifical Mass of about 700.[199]

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[197] Eileen Gardiner, editor, *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante* (New York: Ithica Press, 1989), 61.
[198] The type of Mass is not specified—given the early date, it almost certainly refers to an ordinary Mass in which petitions for the dead are articulated (see section 4.4, *infra*).
[199] McKinnon, "Mass."

The sudden appearance of a fully-formed Roman Mass without a known predicate complicates the attempt to trace liturgical attitudes about death in the Western Church, let alone the chants that accompanied those liturgies. Through the examination of the late Byzantine liturgies, however, an image about the dead comes to light which is consistent with early eighth-century western attitudes.

The commemoration of the dead within the liturgies of different church traditions highlights the importance that the Church as an institution attributed these prayers. The association of the remembrance of the dead and, especially, the duty the living had to them within the principal celebration of the Church—the Liturgy of the Eucharist—makes the creation of a Mass for the Dead pressing or even inevitable.

3.5.1 Euchologium of Saint Serapion

One of the earliest, large-scale proto-liturgies in Church history is the Euchologium of St. Serapion, dating from the middle of the fourth century.[200] Authored by St. Serapion, the bishop of the Egyptian town of Thmuis, the Eucharistic prayer specifically addresses the congregation's role in attending to the dead:

> We intercede also on behalf of all who have been laid to rest, whose memorial we are making. *After the recitation of names:* Sanctify these souls: for thou knowest all. Sanctify all souls laid to rest in the Lord. And number them with all thy holy powers and give them a place and a mansion in thy kingdom.[201]

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[200] Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*. Francis A. Brunner, translator, 2 Vol. (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, Inc., 1986), 33-4.
[201] Church and Mulry, *Earliest Christian Prayers*, 68.

The litany that occurs within the prayer is indicative of the responsibility of the Church to the dead. As it follows shortly after the "words of institution" at which the bread and wine are consecrated, the proximity of this remembrance of the dead and petition to God for their sanctification highlights its importance in the Church. The perspective that St. Serapion had on the dead is elaborated in a different prayer within the same collection:

> God, who hast authority of life and death, God of the spirits and Master of all flesh, God who killest and makest alive, who bringest down the gates of Hades and bringest up, who createst the spirit of man within him and takest to thyself the souls of the saints and givest rest, who alterest and changest and transformest thy creatures, as is right and expedient, being thyself alone incorruptible, unalterable, and eternal, we beseech thee for the repose and rest of this thy servant or this thine handmaiden: give rest to his soul, his spirit, in green places, in chambers of rest within Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all thy saints: and raise up his body in the day which thou hast ordained, according to thy promises which cannot lie, that thou mayest render to it also the heritage of which it is worthy in thy holy pastures. Remember not his transgressions and sins: and cause his going forth to be peaceable and blessed. Heal the griefs of those that pertain to him with the spirit of consolation, and grant unto us all a good end through thy only-begotten Jesus Christ, through whom to thee is the glory and the strength in Holy Spirit to the ages of the ages. Amen.[202]

After extolling God at length, the theology of death is revealed: the Church prays that souls find rest in a place of repose along with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (the three patriarchs of Hebrew Scripture) and all the saints. Furthermore, in reference to the *parousia*, the prayer asks God for the soul to obtain a paradise reminiscent of the green pastures of Psalm 22.[203] Thus, the *interim refrigerium* (that is, the place the soul resides between death and the Second Coming) now has

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[202] Church and Mulry, *Earliest Christian Prayers*, 71.
[203] Because this dissertation deals with the Psalms in Latin, the numbering used for them will correspond to the Latin Vulgate, which differs from *all* common American translations.

greater definition. Rather than simply a place of sleep, it has a Heaven-like character. Lastly, the prayer of the Church asks that the sins of the deceased be forgotten.

This early liturgy has within it all the seeds that would define the later, fully-formed Mass for the Dead: rest and peace, forgiveness of sins, and the duty of the faithful to attend and pray for the dead.

3.5.2   The Apostolic Constitutions

The Apostolic Constitutions are a collection of writings which serve as a proto-catechism for fourth-century Christians. Compiled before emperor Theodosius made Christianity the state religion, the eighth and final book of the compilation contains prayers for use at worship.[204] Nearly complete, there are both "Fore-Mass" and a liturgy of the Eucharist. Within the latter is an extended acknowledgement of the dead:

> Let us pray for our brethren that are at rest in Christ, that God, the Lover of mankind, who has received his soul, may forgive him every sin, voluntary and involuntary, and may be merciful and gracious to him, and give him his lot in the land of the pious that are sent into the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, with all those that have pleased him and done his will from the beginning of the world, whence all sorrow, grief, and lamentation are banished.[205]

Three themes stand out in this prayer. The first is the common theme of the dead who are at rest in God. Once again, the triumvirate of patriarchs appears, but with the reference to St. Luke's parable for Lazarus. Like the prayer of St. Serapion, the souls are "at rest," free from all pain and sadness. Also, the prayer appeals to God for the merciful forgiveness of all sin. Though

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[204] Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite,* 35.
[205] Church and Mulry, *Earliest Christian Prayers*, 61.

individually these topoi derive from earlier formulaic sources, the unification of these theological sentiments in the context of the Liturgy of the Eucharist accentuates the importance of the responsibility that the Church has towards its dead.

3.5.3 The Liturgy of Saint James

The oldest complete liturgy known to historians is the Liturgy of Saint James. Used in Antioch and later in the Syrian Church, its *terminus ante quem* is the late fourth century.[206] As the earliest example of the Mass, its structure is already well formed and mature, with familiar rubrics and responses, a "Fore-Mass" containing readings from Scripture, an offertory, litany, and consecration. Within this ornate liturgy, there is a single prayer for the dead within the preparation of the altar. As the priest addresses the congregation and prays for them and himself as they ready themselves for the consecration, he says:

> …grant that our offering may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit, as a propitiation for our transgressions and the errors of the people; and for the rest of the souls that have fallen asleep aforetime; that we also, thy humble, sinful, and unworthy servants, being counted worthy without guile to serve thy holy altar, may receive the reward of faithful and wise stewards, and may find grace and mercy in the terrible day of thy just and good retribution.[207]

The mention of the dead at this moment, shortly before the Eucharistic Prayer is spoken, is telling indeed. First, the context in which the dead are described—having fallen asleep and at rest—completely coheres with the attitudes discussed in Chapter 2.0. Second, sacrifice of the Mass is offered specifically as recompense for the transgressions of the living *and* the dead in the

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[206] Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite,* 41.
[207] Church and Mulry, *Earliest Christian Prayers*, 138.

specific effort to obtain the reward of eternal life. Although the dead are not mentioned again, the prayer explicitly articulates the relationship between the living and the dead and the role that the Mass plays in that relationship.[208] A slightly later liturgy with a filial relationship to that of St. James is that of the Jacobite church (Christians in modern-day Syria).[209] A collect from that service reads:

> Remember, O Lord, those who have asked remembrances in our prayers. Give rest to them that have fallen asleep before us, and heal them that are sick; for thou art the Life, and the Hope, and the Raiser up of us all; that so to thee we may send up thanksgiving into highest Heaven, world without end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.[210]

Again, the images of "rest" and "sleep" appear in this petition. The prayer's phrasing suggests that the dead and the sick have asked for intercession, matching the expectation that the living can adjure for the "life" and "raising" of the dead.

3.5.4 The Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom

Moving west towards the Roman Church, the Greek Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, refined around the turn of the fifth century in Constantinople, also addresses the dead at length.[211] Occurring almost immediately after the consecration (as in the Euchologium of St. Serapion), this prayer ties the anonymous dead with the saints:

> We offer, moreover, this reasonable worship for those who are departed from us in faith, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, chaste persons, and every

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[208] E.g., St. Augustine's petition to his Christian readers to pray for his mother and father in section 3.3.
[209] Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite,* 41.
[210] Church and Mulry, *Earliest Christian Prayers*, 161-2.
[211] Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite,* 42-3.

spirit perfected in faith…[Mary, Mother of God…St. John the Baptist]…the holy and renowned apostles, whom we commemorate, and all thy other saints: for the sake of whose prayers, O God, look upon us; and be mindful of those who rest in hope of a resurrection to eternal life. For the rest and forgiveness of the soul of thy servant: give it rest, O God, in a pleasant place where there is no sorrow or mourning but where it may rejoice in the light of thy countenance.[212]

The act of worship is offered for many things, including the dead. The litany of the many holy people who died in faith is bridged with those who are resting in the hope of their resurrection into eternity, where the soul can rejoice in the light of God.

These topoi—of rest and light—and the theological assumption that worship can aid the dead became the foundation for the Mass for the Dead. Furthermore, the preceding Eastern liturgies indicate unequivocally the explicit role which the faithful have towards their dead. This responsibility—mitigating on behalf of the dead—becomes an intrinsic dogma in the Western Church, that the dead can benefit from the forgiveness of sins through the intercession of the living faithful.

3.5.5 The Old Roman Canon

When the oldest Eucharistic prayer of the Western Church was compiled is the subject of great debate. Many parts, including the prayers for the dead, can be securely dated to the turn of the fifth century, but the whole formula appears fully formed by the time of St. Gregory the Great.[213] Within this Eucharistic prayer are two remembrances, one for the living present and one for the dead:

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[212] Church and Mulry, *Earliest Christian Prayers*, 168-9.
[213] For a complete discussion, see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite,* 49-60.

We might ask, are the intercessory prayers contained in our Roman canon, particularly, the doubled *Memento*, part of the fourth-century contents? We saw how in the Orient these intercessory prayers, which had their roots in an earlier stage of the eucharistic prayer, had actually become part of it during the fourth century, and in part precisely in conjunction with the enumeration of the names.[214]

The mention of the dead in the context of the hallowed Eucharistic Rite, preserved from an even more ancient tradition, indicates the importance of this responsibility within the Western Church. Though clearly inherited from earlier Eastern liturgies, the Latin Rite would ultimately elevate this responsibility in new ways in the coming centuries. The Roman Canon condenses the lengthier texts of its predecessors:

Remember also, Lord, your servants and hand-maidens, N. and N., who have gone before us with the sign of faith and sleep the sleep of peace. To them, Lord, and all who rest in Christ, grant, we pray, a place of refreshment, light and peace.[215]

Despite its economy, it still captures the core elements that have their root in ancient Christianity. The dead are asleep in peace in a place of refreshment. This term (*locum refrigerii*) is suggestive of the *interim refrigerium* between death and the *parousia*. Thus, the early Latin Church perpetuates the theology of an active period for the dead before the Second Coming. Missing, however, is the petition for the forgiveness of the sins of the dead. Perhaps this was omitted because the Eucharistic prayer was already very lengthy or simply because the *Memento etiam*—the section of the Canon which commemorates the dead—derived from a period that antedated that theology in the West. Nonetheless, the Roman Church would come to

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[214] Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite,* p. 53.
[215] *Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N., qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas, deprecamur.*

embrace vigorously the theological conception of the duty that the living had to the dead, that the receipt of the promises of Paradise by the already-dead can be aided by the living.

The establishment of such a formalized liturgy for the Western Church concords with the construction of large churches and basilicas across Europe. The change in venue necessitated the move from the spoken prayer (appropriate for the intimacy of home) to declaimed prayer in order to be audible in the larger space: "The function of chant as text declamation is fundamentally important…"[216] The simpler chants—recitation formulae and the like—followed the punctuation of the texts they articulated, and, ultimately, the gestures which developed from this practice became inextricably wedded to their textual contexts. The relationship between the text and chant to which it was publically articulated plays an essential role to the notation (i.e., neumation) which arose in and around the Carolingian renaissance.[217] In particular, with the formation of a specific Western liturgy for the dead, the *Ordo defunctorum*, along with the increased presence of the clergy in the celebration of death ritual (see Section 3.1.2), one can have confidence that most, if not all, of the elements of the service were executed musically.

3.5.6 The Ordo defunctorum

Around the time that the Old Roman Canon was coalescing, the Christianization of funeral rites was beginning to take place (see Section 3.0, *supra*). The earliest liturgy for the dead is believed to be the *Ordo defunctorum*. Although the manuscript in which it is found dates from the eleventh century, the liturgy is compellingly dated no later than the first half of the eighth

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[216] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 46. See also McKinnon, "Music, Early Church."
[217] See Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, especially chapter 14.

century.[218] While this does not make it the earliest manuscript, there is internal evidence to suggest that the liturgy transmits elements from the late Roman/early Frankish tradition dating from perhaps the late fourth and early fifth centuries.[219] Although the bulk of the *Ordo* merely contains instructions for care of the individual from the moment of death through burial, there are rubrics for some liturgical elements. Psalms 22, 32, 92, 113, 114, and 117 are all used. More notable are several antiphons, some of which appear in the later Mass for the Dead: specifically, the antiphon *Subvenite sancti Dei* with the accompanying verse *Suscipiat te Christus*, the antiphon *Chorus angelorum*, and the antiphon *Audivi vocem de caelo*. Paxton notes that, while a mass was celebrated for the deceased, it was simply the mass for the day rather than a specific formulary dedicated to the dead.[220] Most of the psalmody—which gives the ritual its coherence—has antecedents from funeral accounts in antiquity:

> There is no missing the unity and coherence of this ritual tradition. Its various parts support one another in unambiguous relationships; resonances among the separate psalms and antiphons are the meat on the bones of its rubrics. Sicard has noted its main themes. God is the giver of life, the recreator, the resurrector. He is attended by angels who carry the souls of the dead to join the community of souls already in repose. The dying person identifies with Christ through the reading of the Passion and, fortified for the final judgment with the body and blood of Christ, dies in the assurance of entry into the community of saints. The church organized this rite as a passage. It conducted its dead member symbolically from earth to heaven, praying in the name of the deceased, using the first person of the psalms. The funeral cortege was an *adventus*, a triumphal procession into perpetual light.[221]

These overtly positive, optimistic themes are the hallmarks of perceptions of death in Christian antiquity. As mentioned in Section 3.3 above, the writings of St. Augustine began to offer an

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[218] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 37-8, which relies on the conclusions in Sicard, *La Liturgie de la Mort*.
[219] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 38.
[220] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 41n90.
[221] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 42.

alternative theology—one in which the dead benefit from the prayers of the living—which appears increasingly in the later pre-Carolingian sources.

3.5.7   The Verona Sacramentary

The Verona Sacramentary (*olim* "Leonine Sacramentary") is the oldest physical liturgical manuscript representing a Western tradition known to scholars. Not a sacramentary in a strict sense, the text contains prayers for local use in Verona.[222] As mentioned above, while the *Ordo* reflects an early Frankish or Gallo-Roman liturgical form, the document itself dates from no earlier than the first half of the eighth century. By contrast, even conservative estimates suggest an early seventh-century *terminus ante quem* for the Verona Sacramentary.[223] In the month of October, there are five sets of *preces* (i.e., prayers) for use at masses *super defunctos*. Although its highly-localized usage suggests the Sacramentary may not be representative of common practice, the fact that its *preces* for the dead were reused in future sacramentaries suggests the wide-ranging appeal these prayers must have had.[224] A description of the five masses is as follows:

> The first is a common Mass for the departed—clergy or laity; the second is for a person dying in a state of repentance. The first three prayers of Mass iii appear to be variants of or supplements to Mass ii, whilst the last four prayers of this same Mass perform a similar function for Mass i. The fourth Mass is for a deceased bishop as also is the fifth.[225]

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[222] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 67. A complete discussion can be found in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 38-46.
[223] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 45, suggests a date of c. 600.
[224] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 67.
[225] David M. Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 35.

Since a Mass for the Dead as a liturgical genre did not yet exist, the contents of these *preces* "over the dead" do not supplant the normal sacramentary prayers for Mass, but compliment them. The first set of prayers articulates the themes articulated in the Eastern rites above:

All-powerful and eternal God, who confers the remedy of life to your faithful after death, grant, we pray thee, gracious and forgiving one, that the soul of your servant, purified from every sin, may rest in a share of your redemption through [Christ our Lord].

We bring sacrifices to you, Lord, in humble supplication, that the soul of your servant may obtain perpetual mercy by this service of holy forgiveness through [Christ our Lord].

We pray thee, Lord, you may favorably accept this offering of your servant which we offer on behalf of the soul of your servant and that you will pardon [him] in the abundance of your mercy that whatever [sin?] he gathered of this earthly life he may be thoroughly cleaned by this sacrifice and, freed from the chains of death, may merit passage into life through [Christ our Lord].[226]

These prayers, which may have served as collects or prefaces, indicate Church's intercessory role. These *preces* act as "supplication," and through them, the chains of death are loosened, that the soul may obtain rest. Subsequent sets of prayers elaborate on these themes, as the fifth, sixth and seventh prayers of the third set of *preces* illustrate:

We pray thee, Lord, by this sacrifice, by which you bestow purification to the living and the dead, absolve, benign one, the soul of your servant that he may await the resurrection of certain hope of rejoicing through [Christ our Lord].

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[226] *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui contulisti fidelibus tuis remedia vitae post mortem, praesta quaesumus propitius ac placatus ut anima famuli tui illius a peccatis omnibus expiata in tuae redemptionis sorte requiescat per [Christum Dominum nostrum].*
Hostias tibi Domine humili supplicatione deferimus, ut anima famuli tui illius per haec piae placationis officia perpetuam misericoridam consequatur per [Christum Dominum nostrum].
Hanc igitur oblationem illius famuli tui quam tibi offer[imus] pro anima famuli tui illius quaesumus Domine propitiatus accipias, et miserationum tuarum largitate concedes, ut quidquid terrena conversatione contraxit his sacrificiis emundetur, ac, mortis vinculis absolutis transitum, mereatur ad vitam per [Christum Dominum nostrum].

We pray thee, Lord, grant eternal mercy of [to?] the soul of your servant, that, unencumbered by moral fastenings, eternal light may possess him, through [Christ our Lord].

Lord of faithful souls, Creator and Redemptor, bestow remission of all sins to your servant, that he may achieve the pardon which he always desires, through [Christ our Lord].[227]

The fifth prayer makes use of the suggestive term purification (*purgationem*). Though its meaning would change over time (see Section 5.1.1, *infra*), the context here is consistent with the meaning imparted by St. Gregory the Great (see Section 3.4, *supra*). The use of the term in conjunction with both the living and the dead demonstrates that the theology of a place of purgation had not yet arisen in the minds of the faithful. The next prayer contains the earliest Latin reference to "eternal light" (*lux aeterna*) within a liturgical death ritual. In conjunction with being freed from mortal fastenings, this prayer combines the early Roman vernacular of peace, light and rest with the more penitent Frankish interpolations, also apparent in the seventh prayer of that formulary.

In these collections of prayers, the theme of penitence and forgiveness is given new significance. Whereas the *Ordo defunctorum* communicated a sentiment of confidence, guarded by the Eucharist and ushered into the kingdom with the saints, these *preces* articulate the need for forgiveness. This theme was incorporated into the later, more widely-used "Old Gelasian Sacramentary" (c. 750 C.E.).[228] Unlike that from Verona, the Old Gelasian Sacramentary was used in both Rome and Gaul. Consequently, having a wider constituency, the traditions

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[227] *His quaesumus Domine sacrificiis quibus purgationem et viventibus tribuis et defunctis, animam famuli tui benignus absolve, ut resurrectionis diem spe certae gratulationis exspectet per [Christum Dominum nostrum]. Praesta Domine quaesumus animae [anima?] famuli tui misericordiam sempiternam, ut eam mortalibus nexibus expeditam lux aeterna possideat per [Christum Dominum nostrum].*
Fidelium Dominus animarum Conditor et Redemptor famulo tuo cunctorum remissionem tribue peccatorum, ut quam semper optavit indulgentiam consequatur per [Christum Dominum nostrum].
[228] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 64-70.

represented therein reflect more global attitudes in the Mass for the Dead. The change is subtle, but extremely significant:

> What distinguishes these eighth-century votive masses from the ancient tradition of offering the mass in the name of the living or the dead is the presence of a contractual relationship between the persons who requested such a mass and the priest or community who sang it. The wording of the prayers implies an exchange of alms between the officiant and the persons who requested a special mass… The practice as a whole was predicated on the assumption that the mass was a gift to God, which we would reciprocate.[229]

It is upon this theme that the theological shifts that began in the twelfth century would ultimately rest and, with that shift, the Mass for the Dead became the means by which the penitence would be executed. The metaphors used to describe the efficacy of penitence—e.g, "washing" away of sin—have their roots in the mechanical (though no less symbolic) washing of the body before burial.[230] This theme of penitence would be perpetuated in later, important texts such as the Bobbio Missal (from the eighth century) and would also find their way into the Mass for the Dead, but with more dramatic emphasis: "the Bobbio prayers represent an elaboration of the immediate liturgical response to death which began in an older ritual" in which God is begged to allow the soul to avoid the "fires of hell."[231]

While other themes can be traced through other early sources, none of them play strong roles in the Mass for the Dead. Paxton speculatively (but compellingly) traces the threads of these themes amongst the various cultures in Western Europe, which, through Carolingian efforts and aided by a reinvigorated Church hierarchy, were woven together by the end of the first millenium.

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[229] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 68.
[230] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 61 ff.
[231] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 63.

3.6   CAROLINGIAN REFORM

Through the rule of the Carolingian dynasty in the mid-eighth through mid-ninth centuries, liturgy in Western Europe underwent some drastic changes. As discussed above, because of the so-called "barbarian invasions," barbarian and Roman practices were blended. Although the modern scholarship cited[232] suggests that Roman practice persisted (if altered and elaborated), contemporary perception reflected concern that the Church had become too "paganized," that ritual had become diluted with pagan gestures. There grew a desire to reclaim and preserve the rites and traditions of the Western Church. However, political instability and absence of a powerful, centralized leadership under the Merovingians and the diminished political influence of Rome and the Western Church made such goals impossible. Despite the well-established Merovingian intentions to preserve the customary Roman tradition, Christian practice became imbued with the patina of the Frankish influence on Gaul during and after the fall of Rome. Combined with an increasingly inept clergy and weakening papal influence, this led to the dissolution of liturgical control.[233] Even while Christianity prevailed as the dominant theme within local religious practice, the people (and clergy) understood and practiced the faith through the lens of pagan ritual. To wit:

> Roman influence on the liturgy of Frankish churches was strong but not uniform, a patchwork of local
> variations giving rise to that "fruitful confusion so characteristic of Merovingian liturgy."[234]

So, while there was a clear desire to retain unadulterated Christian practices, two factors prevented it: 1) Frankish variations, viewed pejoratively as "pagan," were too deeply imbedded

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[232] E.g., Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul*, and Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul*.
[233] Giles Brown, "Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation,* Ed. Rosamond McKitterick (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
[234] Brown, *Carolingian Culture*, 7.

in the lives of the Frankish people to be abolished or even significantly curbed; and, 2) the nearly incessant wars with neighboring tribes exhausted the money and power of the various claimants to the thrones of the Merovingian kingdom. By the middle of the seventh century, the Merovingian line was becoming increasingly titular and politically impotent—the rulers were even called *rois fainéants*—with the mayors of the palace increasing their power and influence over the kingdom.[235]

It was in this environment that Pippin the Short (714-768) assumed power. The stage having been set by his father, Charles the Hammer, Pippin began his preparations for assuming kingship over the Frankish people after his father's death in 741. In the decade between his father's death and his own coronation in 752, Pippin and, for a time, his elder brother, Carloman, sought to establish themselves as their father had: through battle. Additionally, influenced by his father's unrealized plan and the piety of his brother, Pippin cultivated a relationship with the Church, which at this time was an institution desperate to find a powerful ally.[236] At the request of Carloman, the first significant Church synod in the history of the Frankish kingdom, the *Concilium Germanicum*, was called in 742/3, led by St. Boniface. In light of St. Boniface's grim assessment of the Church in the Frankish kingdom—one corroborated by then-Pope Zachariah, the synod was the seed through which reform germinated.[237] Thus, Pippen formally colluded with the Church in an attempt to unify the Frankish people; this relationship enabled Charlemagne to later assume the title "Holy Roman Emperor."

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[235] Michael Frassetto, *Encyclopedia of Barbarian Europe: A Society in Transformation* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2003), 306-7.

[236] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 167.

[237] Brown, *Carolingian Culture*, 10-11.

One of the main purposes of this and subsequent councils was "to correct and emend" (*corrigere et emendare*) Christian practice, and the product of the councils bore great fruit. Candidates for the priesthood were to be "examined by a synod to ensure that they were not ignorant," active priests and especially bishops were to impose that "pagan practices were outlawed and heresies suppressed," and that they "set a good moral example."[238] The ordered compulsion of a "purer, Christian ritual" combined with the increased standards to which the clergy were held created the infrastructure for the liturgical reform desired by Charlemagne.

By 752, the long-standing inefficacy of the Merovingian line boiled over and, with the support of the decade-long relationship with the Pontiff, Pippin assumed the role of sole king of the Franks. The last Merovingian monarch was elevated to that status by Pippin and his brother, Carloman, in their capacity as mayors, only to be deposed, defamed, forcibly tonsured and imprisoned in a monastery. Ironically, Pippin's brother, four years prior to Pippin's coronation, though politically and martially ruthless, responded to a vocation to the religious life, renounced his position as co-mayor of the Franks, was voluntarily tonsured by Pope Zachariah and formed a monastic community in central Italy. This turn of events—the uncontested ousting of the Merovingians, the absence of any serious opposition (his half-brother, Grifo, notwithstanding), and the thorough support of the Church—allowed for Pippin's accession, and, with it, more substantial liturgical reform. Despite the death of Pope Zachariah in 752 and the martyrdom of St. Boniface in 754—two strong, ardent supporters of the newly-crowned king—Pippin continued his efforts at restructuring the Church. He established relationships with Pope Stephen II (who, because he needed military assistance against the Lombards, re-anointed Pippin, thereby publically reaffirming sacral approval to his secular title) and, more locally influential, St.

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[238] Brown, *Carolingian Culture*, 12.

Chrodegang, bishop of Metz.[239] Though not as intensely disapproving of clerical practice as St. Boniface, St. Chrodegang shared several ideologies with the preceding Frankish advisor.[240] Through his local reforms at Metz, and his leadership at synods (most notably at Verneuil in 755), St. Chrodegang provided precedent for episcopal authority over local clerics. His *Regula canonicorum* (which itself was merely his interpretation and expansion upon the Rule of St. Benedict) was widely influential in its time and for decades after, receiving official sanction in the early ninth century.[241] Of particular importance is the *Regula*'s emphasis on song: "Liturgical functions were therefore addressed as an integral part of community life, and chanting as part of its regulated activities."[242] In particular, St. Chrodegang formed the first *schola cantorum* in Francia after the model in the Rome which promulgated Roman chant in and around his see in Metz.[243] The success of these efforts by St. Chrodegang under Pippin enabled Charlemagne's more forceful, wider-reaching reforms to take place:

> [Pippin's and Chrodegang's] reforming ideals and specific requirements about discipline, orthodox faith and religious practice were reformulated in the earliest of Charlemagne's programmatic capitularies, and subsequently proclaimed at many of the assemblies presided over by the king and his lay and religious advisers in the later eighth and early ninth centuries.[244]

The efforts of Pippin the Short dovetailed neatly with Charlemagne's interests and goals: the reestablishment of Roman practice in the Frankish kingdom. It should be noted that the Carolingian aims—those of Carloman (Pippin's brother), Pippin and his son Charlemagne—

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[239] See Mary Ober, "The Role of Chrodegang of Metz (712-766) in the Formation of Western Plainchant" (Master's thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 2006).

[240] Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, 168.

[241] Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family who Forged Europe*, Michael Idomir Allen, translator (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 77, Frassetto, *Encyclopedia of Barbarian Europe*, 122-3.

[242] Ober, "The Role of Chrodegang of Metz," 29.

[243] Ober, "The Role of Chrodegang of Metz," 14. See also Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 516-7.

[244] Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 306.

cannot precisely be viewed as pro-Roman, but simply as pro-Christian. Since the Merovingian liturgies had become saturated with pagan gestures, the less "polluted" repertory of Rome became the logical choice, especially given the "pro-St. Peter" sentiments espoused by Sts. Boniface and Chrodegang and their constituents. Paxton writes that:

> [t]he main task was not so much to Romanize as to Christianize. The goal of the kings was to extirpate pagan rites and promote the production of correct texts.[245]

Assuming the throne jointly in 768 with his brother Carloman I (who died three years into his joint reign, and whose influence in political affairs was minimal until that point), Charlemagne's first major conquest was over the Lombards. The overthrow of the Lombards endeared him to the long-lived Pope Hadrian I,[246] and benefited the Church in two principal ways: 1) The Lombards were the greatest political and military threat to the Papacy at the time; and 2) the Papal State grew in size and power (though not to the scale that it had hoped). Because of his relationship to the Church and his nonpareil prowess as general, Charlemagne had the authority to promulgate executive orders that his father lacked, for he carried both secular and ecclesiastical authority. The first such order was the Capitulary of Herstal of 779, written towards the beginning of the first era of relative peace in his reign, and entailed a great deal of his father's vision of unifying the Frankish people through a binding of sacred and secular power:

> The themes of the capitulary are at once familiar: order, authority and obedience to it "according to canon law," justice and morality.[247]

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[245] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 93.
[246] Andrew Louth, *Greek East and Latin West: The Church AD 681-1071* (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2007), 68-9.
[247] Brown, *Carolingian Culture*, 17.

Where Pippin's motivations were largely political, Charlemagne, like his uncle Carloman, seemed to be driven by sincere Christian belief. In preparation for even more substantial, specific reforms, Charlemagne petitioned Pope Hadrian for an uncorrupted Gregorian sacramentary in further attempt to unify liturgical practice. These demands culminated in the more forcefully written capitulary of 789, the *Admonitio Generalis*. While Pippin, and, to a greater degree, his own father, Charles the Hammer, tended to be covert (or at least circumspect) in their efforts at reform, Charlemagne was overt; e.g., rather than appealing to shame in sloppily executed Merovingian liturgies or incompetent clergy, Charlemagne merely demanded excellence. Indeed, the preface to this capitulary "states clearly that Charlemagne's fundamental responsibility as ruler *is the salvation of his people*":[248]

> In the *Admonitio* we have firstly, as before, a strong emphasis on obedience, hierarchy and order within the structure of the Church, and proper discipline according to canon law. In addition, however, there is a detailed discussion of the function of the priesthood, a function now considered to be of utmost significance.[249]

As stated earlier, Charlemagne clearly strove to erase (or at least blur) the line between ecclesial and secular realms, seeing his duty as the imposition of Christianity as a vocation. However, his capitularies afforded more than just an "evangelical" effect, but political advantage as well:

> …Charlemagne and his predecessor were motivated to embrace the liturgy of the popes not only by religious conviction and a respect for Roman authority and precedence, but also by the desire to forge an indissoluble link between the temporal power of the king and a universal Church. By replacing the multitude of local usages that characterized the Gallican rite with a single liturgy, the king intended to

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[248] Brown, *Carolingian Culture*, 17, emphasis mine.
[249] Brown, *Carolingian Culture*, 18.

establish liturgical unanimity at the same time as he imposed political conformity over his widespread lands.[250]

In his efforts to eradicate the corrupted Gallican liturgy, he was also elevating the cultural life of the Frankish kingdom from the top down.[251] Though drawing from the earlier capitulary, the *Admonitio Generalis* "testifies to the significant increase in the level of culture and learning at Charlemagne's court which we know from other sources to have taken place in the 780s."[252] Marcia Colish elaborates, saying:

> Charlemagne also saw the liturgy as an important vehicle of Christian education. He imported the Roman liturgy and with it Gregorian chant and congregational hymn singing. He agreed with Ambrose and Gregory the Great that the musical embellishment of the liturgy could raise church attendance and that hymn texts could be used to inculcate correct doctrine.[253]

This summary represents the ideal that Charlemagne (and his father) envisioned for Church reform; the truth is much more murky and complicated. While St. Boniface and especially St. Chrodegang promulgated Roman liturgy and chant in Francia, implementation was imperfect. This goal was predicated on continuing to develop the competency of the clergy—from the bishops down to the rank-and-file priests—and, pursuant to that interest, the document itself calls for the teaching of local children (i.e., those designated for the priesthood) "psalms, notes, chant,

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[250] Craig M. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 61.

[251] It is important to note that these efforts were not wholly successful; traces of Gallican chant remain, though interpolated by Roman and Frankish elements. See Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 552-7.

[252] Brown, *Carolingian Culture*, 17.

[253] Marcia L. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400* (Great Britain: Yale University Press, 1997), 67.

computation, grammar in each monastery or bishop's school,"[254] as well as study in the fluent

reading and writing of Scripture for the purposes of orthodox instruction of the laity.[255]

The culmination of the unification of "church and state" occurred when Pope Leo III

crowned Charlemagne "*Imperator Romanorum*" and, while such a title only further grounded his

authority in politico-ecclesial matters, it also laid the groundwork for preservation of ritual. The

increase in literacy and writing, and the explicit urgings of Charlemagne and later his son, Louis

the Pious, inspired—or even necessitated—the development of written transmission. Though

hardly uniform, and the topic of wide debate, "the reigns of the Frankish kings Pippin the Short

and Charlemagne are thought to be the most likely period when a pressing need for plainchant

notation could first have arisen."[256] The drive for reform continued under Louis, who inherited

St. Benedict of Aniane, Charlemagne's final counselor. Though "the second Benedict" (i.e.,

after St. Benedict of Nursia) died only seven years into Louis's reign, his zeal for reform within

Western monastic communities had effects long after his, or even his patron's death. As St.

Chrodegang did in his own community at Metz under Pippin, St. Benedict imposed adherence to

a stricter pious observance in the broader Frankish kingdom. At the councils in Aachen under

Louis, St. Benedict promulgated a series of decrees which collectively form the Monastic

Capitulary, which modeled themselves after his namesake's writings. These compelled local

monasteries to observe the *Rule of Benedict* [of Nursia] with greater fervor and precision. His

own *Codex Regularum* (a commentary on the *Rule of Benedict*) and his later *Concordia*

Regularum (a summary of historic Rules for monastic life), written in the aftermath of the

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[254] *…psalmos notas cantus compotum grammaticum per singula monasteria vel episcopia…*
[255] See Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), especially chapters six and fourteen.
[256] Ian D. Bent, et al., "Notation," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20114 (accessed January 24, 2011).

councils, had immediate effect on the Benedictines, and, although they fell into disuse by the time of Louis's first unseating in 833, reverberated in future Benedictine communities like the Cluniacs or Cistercians. In short, while the liturgical reform—either the imposition of a uniformly Roman liturgical practice, devoid of Gallican influence (with its pagan "impurity") or the use of untainted Benedictine monastic life—was by all accounts unsuccessful, it provided both the impetus and infrastructure for the gradual introduction of notation.

3.7 CONCLUSION

The persistence of Western Christianity, much less its flourishing, over the first eight centuries after Jesus is the confluence of a number of fortuitous circumstances and the product of paradoxical reactions. Even after the legalization of the faith at the end of the fourth century and the establishment of "orthodoxy," the tradition faced marked challenges. Throughout all the Church's early challenges—persecution, pagan acculturation, extended absences of strong hierarchical spiritual leadership, and finally the attempts at liturgical reconstruction—the attitudes surrounding death show a surprising coherence. The early Roman theology, focused on rest or sleep and predicated on the hope of the imminent *parousia*, was the central theme for post-imperial Christians. As death and burial remained largely a private, non-ecclesiastical event, the Church did not even appear to have specific masses for the purposes of death itself, merely rituals which were incorporated to the daily work of the Church, which acknowledged (and ultimately prayed for) the deceased.

As the martyrs became "deified" (St. Augustine's protestations aside), they, and their deaths, became a point of heightened focus. With the interment of saints' remains and the increase of miracles around these relics in churches, the desire for burial around these places increased; there was an assumed transference of holiness with the association of such remains. Churches then devised increasingly elaborate and independent liturgies *super defunctos*, and theologies began to ask (and answer) questions about the *interim refrigerium* (the intermittent refreshment) before the *parousia*. These questions and their answers led to a "third place" which is neither heaven nor hell, a place where most souls—except the saints who bypassed this third place and went straight to heaven—at first rested but later came to be purged of their sins, where they intercede on behalf of the living; the evil bypassed it as well because no purgation could clean their souls of their sin). As this third place (as of yet, it had no name) began to take shape, and the Church began to formulate liturgies concordant with this evolving theology, several new themes began to coalesce around the Roman theme of rest. In addition to concerns like the cleansing or health of the soul, buttressing the entire theology was the apprehension that arose when considering how souls were faring in that "third place." The first known propers—and there are a great many—for the Masses for the Dead which were promulgated after this period of theological ferment and administrative synthesis reflect the vastness of the interest in the state of the souls of the dead.

The Church, once ancillary to the rituals for the dead, now stood firmly (and intractably) at the center. Though these theologies arose out of the private lives of the faithful, they now were the province of the authority of the Church. The "clericalization" of the ritual surrounding death, through the prayer, power and even proximity of the saints, imbued it with a substance and, ultimately, a severity that it had not previously had. Additionally, the intimacy that arises

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through the private burial ritual was exchanged for the universality that public commendation engenders. It is during these final stages of ritual crystallization, with the Church fully positioned as the liturgical authority, that the written record of the propers for the Mass for the Dead (along with other Mass celebrations) appears. The books which transmitted the texts for use at Mass also provides the first insight into *how* the melodies sounded; while there is no doubt that the texts of the liturgy were sung, before this period the musical information was transmitted orally.[257] The following chapter details the first propers for the Mass for the Dead and their accompanying melodies, the first written records of the chants which accompanied the liturgies for the faithful departed.

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[257] See Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*.

4.0   THE FIRST PROPERS FOR THE MASS FOR THE DEAD

In an anachronistic sense, one can say that the first Mass was celebrated at the Last Supper. The first few centuries of practice were marked by the execution of seemingly simple and unaffected acts. In particular, two elements have remained nearly constant from its informal, intimate beginnings as evening meals in the houses of persecuted believers to the highly rubricated liturgies in the time of Charlemagne: the reading of the stories of Jesus and the Apostles (and later from Hebrew Scripture) and the memorializing of the Last Supper and Passion of Jesus in a shared meal of broken bread.[258] As touched upon in 3.5, the early Church formalized these elements in various proto-liturgies, but the absence of universally accepted leadership prevented the adoption of a Church-wide practice.

From the onset of the dissolution of the Roman Empire in the fifth century until the threshold of the eighth, the constructive impetuses for the formalization of the Mass are largely shrouded in mystery.[259] It is not until "the celebrated *Ordo romanus I*, which describes in detail the Pontifical Mass of about 700" that we have our first glimpse of how the Roman Mass appears.[260] Unfortunately, by the time of this account, the Mass already contained nearly all of the liturgical elements that the medieval Mass would ultimately possess and does not serve to substantially elucidate the antecedents to the Mass's genesis. With respect to the Proper of the Mass, the use of Psalmody during the "Fore-mass" (which contained the readings of Scripture)[261]

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[258] For a comprehensive study, see Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*.
[259] James W. McKinnon, et al. "Mass," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online,*
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/45872 (accessed January 21, 2011).
[260] McKinnon, et al., "Mass."
[261] James W. McKinnon, "Gradual (i)," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*,
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11576 (accessed February 4, 2011).

and during the distribution of Communion[262] each have well-documented historical precedents

from the fourth century, while the Introit,[263] Tract,[264] and Offertory[265] each cannot be confidently

dated before this *Ordo.*[266]   The sudden and unexpected appearance of the well-formed

architecture of the Mass in the early eighth-century text is rivaled by the establishment of a

reasonably complete set of Propers to accompany it.[267] Unlike the Sacramentary or Lectionary,

the Proper of the Mass "did not have a similar prehistory…that is, a series of redactions

demonstrating a long and complex development."[268] McKinnon posits, persuasively, that the

formation of the greater part of the Proper for the extant feasts of the Church, rather than the

gradual accretions of various traditions and practices collated over a protracted period of time,

was the concerted and deliberate effort of a single-minded group who recorded each

celebration's textual assignments.[269] As it turns out, whereas the vast majority of texts were

stabilized by the efforts argued by McKinnon, the Mass for the Dead did not figure into that

process. He notes that the *Rogamus te, Domine* chant, which serves as the introit for the Mass

for the Dead, was "added to the Roman liturgy after the mid-eighth-century transmission to the

north," citing its lack of proliferation in Frankish sources.[270] Concordant with McKinnon's

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[262] James W. McKinnon, "Communion," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online,*
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06199 (accessed February 4, 2011).
[263] James W. McKinnon, "Introit (i)," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online,*
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13874 (accessed February 4, 2011).
[264] James W. McKinnon, "Tract," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online,*
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28249 (acccessed February 4, 2011).
[265] Joseph Dyer, "Offertory," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online,*
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20272 (accessed February 4, 2011).
[266] The proper "Alleluia," which does not generally figure into the Mass for the Dead, has a disputed history, with
some maintaining a date from late Antiquity, others supporting the early eighth century, like the Introit, Tract, and
Offertory; see James W. McKinnon and Christian Thodberg, "Alleluia," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online,*
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40711 (accessed February 4, 2011).
[267] McKinnon, et al., "Mass."
[268] James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper.*
(Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 122-3.
[269] McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 122-4, ff.
[270] McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 131-2.

contentions about the formation of the cycle of propers for the Mass, this dissertation establishes that the Mass for the Dead was not part of that systematic organization. Though the Roman repertory had its own Mass for the Dead, for reasons unknown, it was not authoritatively transmitted to the Frankish Church and, thus, had to undergo the slow, redactional process that, for example, the sacramentary underwent before final codification.

4.1   THE EARLIEST SURVIVING MANUSCRIPTS

It is, in fact, unnecessary and probably impossible to find a single "cause" for the "effect" of written notation—no doubt, the imperial pressures were unevenly applied across the Roman Empire, resulting in asymmetrical appearances of notation in the various regions within the kingdom.[271]   Nonetheless, beginning in the ninth century, despite decreasingly effectual leadership of Louis and, later, his son, Charles the Bald, the first notated chant books start to appear. In fact, although Charles the Bald's ascent and reign were riddled with rebellion, treachery, infighting, civil war and political instability, his aims were no lower than that of his grandfather, Charlemagne. Indeed, as Louis was more educated than Charlemagne, Charles the Bald was evidently a powerful intellectual force in his time (albeit an unsuccessful ruler). Charles continued to support monasteries through land-gifts, enabling the education established by his predecessors which sustained dissemination of Roman liturgical practice. And, partially out of necessity, partially out of the growing desire for the preservation of liturgical norms, chant

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[271] For comprehensive studies on the beginnings of notation, see Treitler, *With Voice and Pen* and Charles M. Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus: Tone-System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

manuscripts began to be compiled and circulated. Paxton, in his discussion on the rituals for the sick and dying, notes:

> The later ninth century, a time of invasion, confusion, and breakdown on the political scene, was a time of energetic creation and synthesis in ritual life. On one level the reform had not succeeded; conformity to an imagined ideal had not been achieved. But the reformers' lack of success set up the preconditions for a different type of unity. They created a literate clergy; they created libraries and scriptoria where those clerics could recognize, work with, and transmit the ritual material of the past…[272]

Though Paxton's work focused largely on the attitudes and attendant rituals for *dying* and not death itself, his observations apply just as readily to the Mass as they do to the various orations, unctions, and prayers preceding death.

The earliest manuscripts containing the Mass for the Dead are widely scattered:

Table 2. List of earliest manuscripts containing formularies for the Mass for the Dead.[273]

Ms.	Date	Provenance	Formularies	Notation
Bal 6	10th-11th	Bari, Italy	4	Beneventan
Cha 47	9th-10th c.	Brittany, France	2[274]	Breton
Lao 239	Early 10th c.	Laon, France	1	Messine
Mon 1/101	Mid 9th c.	Bergamo, Italy	1	None[275]
Par Ar610	10th c.	Reichenau, Germany	1	German
Pri Col	Mid 10th c.	Corbie, France	3	French[276]
StG 339	Late 10th c.	St. Gall, Switzerland	1	St. Gall

Although this list is confined to roughly a 150-year period—from the end of the reign of Louis the Pious to a few decades after Charles the Bald's death—a few details are immediately noticeable. First, the neumatic traditions represented are completely non-uniform, with no

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[272] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 207.
[273] The key to the sigla used in the first column can be found in 4.0.
[274] There are at least two masses, and in between them appear to be prayers and Psalms.
[275] Added much later in nonantolan notation, entirely in the margins and typically to notate the alleluia verses. Much thanks to Daniel J. DiCenso for this information.
[276] Added late 10th/early 11th c., but consistent with the manuscript.

overlap. Second, although there is a fairly wide distribution of sources, central France, where many later sources were copied, has no representation:
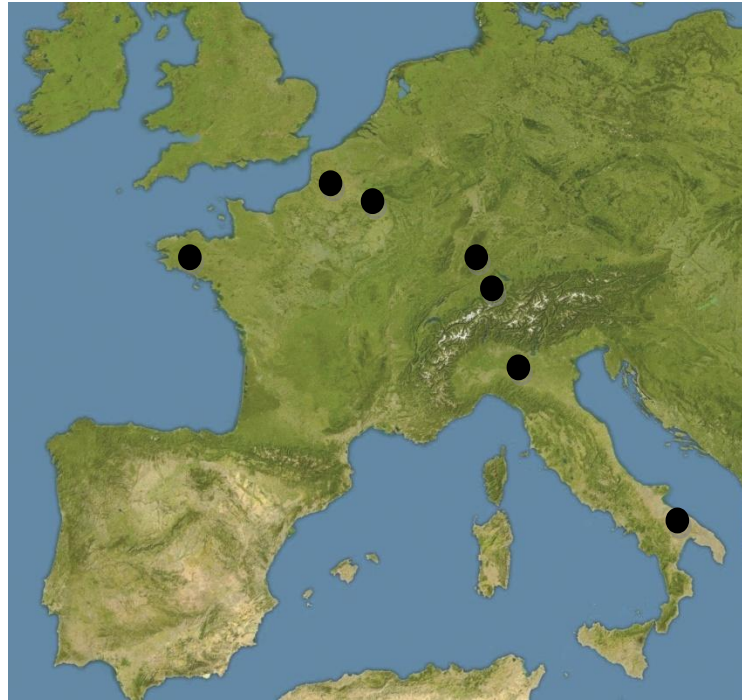
Figure 8. *Distribution of the seven earliest manuscripts with Masses for the Dead.*[277]

Third, with thirteen formularies across seven manuscripts, it is immediately evident that, even locally, traditions varied markedly. This last point—the wide variety in options for the propers in liturgies for the dead—is a hallmark of the period before the monastic reform at the cusp of the twelfth century.

A brief explanatory note is in order: there are two basic structures for formularies for the Mass for the Dead. First noticed by Fr. Claude Gay of Solesmes, he writes:

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[277] NordNordWest. *Location map of Europe, satellite image.*
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Europe_satellite_image_location_map.jpg. Cropped for detail, with locations added by author. As this image was released into the public domain, usage does not require permission.

There exist two types of organization: the first consists of a grouping of parts [i.e., individual propers] in independent masses, in series of fully autonomous formularies, the number of which, according to the manuscripts, may vary from one to six. The second consists of grouping parts by categories [i.e., by proper].[278]

To elaborate, the first kind of manuscript described (generally) contains formularies comprising a complete set of propers under a singular rubric. If there is more than one Mass for the Dead, then after the communion of the first mass, the introit of the second will follow (often with its own rubric). The second kind will have a single heading and list, in order, all of the introits, graduals, &c; it is not clear whether there existed a tacit understanding of which propers are paired or whether it was left to the decision of the leader of the cantorum.[279]

Textually, there are a few common threads, but looking at the Mass as a whole, no single common tradition stands out. The text, *Requiem aeternam*, occurs thirteen times (plus twice as verses), typically as an introit, making it the most common text found across the fifty-five propers represented in these manuscripts. Perhaps this seems unsurprising since the text is among the handful of non-Biblical antiphons used in the *Ordo Defunctorum*, discussed above at 3.5.6. The text derives from late-sixth century Visigothic ritual[280] and was codified for use

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[278] Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Defunts," p. 103. "Il existe deux types d'organisation: le premier consiste a grouper les pieces en messes independantes, en series de formulaires parfaitement autonomes, dont le nombre, selon les manuscrits, pourra varier de un a six. Le second consiste a grouper les pieces par categories."

[279] In order to distinguish between these two styles of manuscript, the following system of will be used with the manuscript and proper sigla explained in 4.0: A superscript *number* appended to a manuscript siglum indicates which formulary is being addressed. For example, Cha 47^1 refers to the first formulary in that manuscript. Similarly, a superscript number following a proper siglum signifies the mass in which it is found. For example, Gr^1 indicates the gradual found in the first formulary. In those manuscripts of the second type, a superscript *letter* will be used to designate the order. For example, Of^C refers to the third offertory within a given formulary. This can be combined in "hybrid" manuscripts. For example, In^{3B} connotes the second introit of the third formulary in a given manuscript. The absence of letters or numbers means that there exists only a single option within that manuscript.

[280] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, p. 146n66.

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during Mass by St. Benedict of Aniane.[281] Before jumping to conclusions about tradition, it is important to note that two other chants, the *Subvenite sancti* and *Chorus angelorum*, which are recorded in that same tradition, do not find great exposure in the Mass. Amongst these manuscripts, they are found twice and once respectively, and within about two centuries, they are no longer found amongst the propers for the Mass for the Dead. They did, however, continue to be used within the burial service, closely related to the Mass, with the former as a responsory at the opening and the latter as the conclusion of the final antiphon. Why the Mass and attendant services redacted this way is difficult to surmise; perhaps the *Subvenite sancti* was more idiomatic as a responsory with its repeated imploration for God to receive the soul of the deceased. The other was ultimately appended to the text *In paradisum*, which is also of ancient origin.[282]

Domine convertere et eripe also appears frequently. A nearly direct quotation from Psalm 6:5, the text has substantial presence (seven of the fifty-five propers amongst these early manuscripts; and in half the total formularies), always as an offertory. This representation far outstrips the sole incidence of *Domine Jesu Christe* in StG 339 (its earliest known appearance); in fact, while the latter is the only fully wrought offertory, *Domine convertere et eripe*, listed as an incipit (indicating familiarity) is the first offertory in StG 339. However, *Domine Jesu Christe* will vastly overtake it in the next century.

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[281] *Supplementum Anianense*. Item 1406. It is interesting to note that this text, *Requiem aeternam dona ei Domine*, was the final of five verses preceding the washing of the body, and the only one which was not Scriptural (the other verses being Psalm 111:17, 73:19, 115:15 and 142:2); see table in Paxton, *op. cit*, p. 141. This gives this text a superlative authority, with a Psalm-like status.
[282] For an extensive discussion of the ambiguous provenance of the *In paradisum*, see Sicard, *Liturgie de la Mort*, p. 215-20. Regardless, Sicard rightly ties these, and other texts, to ancient, pre-liturigcal images (e.g., Lazarus, the bosom of Abraham, angels commuting the soul to heaven) articulated by the likes of St. Augustine and having an "astonishingly rich biblical flavor."

The earliest manuscript containing a Mass for the Dead comes from Mon 1/101, and contains only one formulary. The use of *Subvenite sancti Dei* as an introit represents the only example of this chant in that function, but the offertory *Domine convertere* (with verse included) is, as discussed above, fairly common in the early manuscripts. Similarly, the text *Ego sum resurrectio* is fairly well represented (six out of fifteen communions in these early manuscripts, more than any other communion; see Table 5, *infra*). But most surprising is the use of *Requiem aeternam* with the verse *In memoria* for the gradual. Of the early sources, Mon 1/101 is the only exemplar, but it is this precise text that will later be codified at the Council of Trent.

It is impossible to find any overarching formulary patterns amongst these thirteen masses. Notational differences aside, Par Ar610 and StG 339 are relatively similar. They are also the two geographically closest manuscripts. The former, a missale with Mass propers included, the latter, a *graduale*, they show overlap in three of the four represented Mass parts—only the communion, the most variable of propers, differs.

Table 3. Par Ar610 & StG 339, a comparison of their propers.

	Par Ar610	StG 339
In	Requiem aeternam…	Requiem aeternam…
Ps	Miserere mei Deus…[283]	Miserere mei Deus.
Gr	Requiem aeternam.	Requiem aeternam…
v		Convertere anima mea…[284]
Of	Domine convertere…[285]	Domine convertere.
v	Domine ne in ira tua.[286]	
		Illumina.[287]
		Miserere michi Domine.[288]
		Domine Jesu Christe…
Co	Audivi vocem de caelo…[289]	Dona eis Domine…

At once, despite both their regional and temporal proximity, one observes the absence of uniformity that Charles the Bald and his forebears strove to eliminate. StG 339, list-type of manuscript (as described above), already displays the sort of variation present in local practice, providing three options for the offertory at Mass. Because of the use of incipits in one or the other manuscript, the only proper that can be musically compared is the introit. While the absence of clearly-heighted neumes makes a thorough musical comparison of the two impossible, one can see similar contours between the two propers, with the exception of the word *luceat*, which has a longer melisma in the StG 339 manuscript.

The diversity found in the offertories of StG 339 takes on a greater prominence in amongst all the propers in Cha 47 and Pri Col. Lao 239, by contrast, has only an introit, gradual, and communion,[290] Pri Col, from Corbie, contains three Masses for the Dead:

[283] Psalm 50:3.
[284] Psalm 114:7.
[285] Psalm 6:5.
[286] Psalm 37:2.
[287] Most likely referring to Psalm 12:4-5.
[288] Common textual variant of Psalm 50:3.
[289] Revelation 14:13.
[290] The introit and gradual use the text *Requiem aeternam* with Psalm 24:13 as its verse, and its communion uses *Ego sum resurrectio*, a largely syllabic setting of St. John 11:25-26.

Table 4. Diversity in Masses for the Dead in Pri Col.

In	Requiem aeternam…	Tuam Deus deposcimus…[291]	Si enim credimus…[292]
Ps	Te decet hymnus.[293]	A porta inferi.[294]	Sicut enim in Adam.[295]
v	Exaudi orationem meam.[296]		
Gr	Convertere animam meam…	Requiem aeternam dona.	Convertere.
v	Quia eripuit animarum meam…[297]	Quia eripuit animarum.	
Of	Domine convertere.	Miserere mei Deus secundum.	Erue Domine animas…
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	Omne quod dat.[298]	Lux aeterna luceat eis…[299]

Of the six manuscripts that certainly predate the millennium, Cha 47 (dating from roughly 900 C.E.) contains the greatest diversity of chants. With perhaps only one exception,[300] this severely-damaged manuscript represents the earliest known compilation of notated mass propers, and is, at best, confusing. The manuscript has two Masses for the Dead, with what appear to be several *preces* in between them (the text suggests a personal and penitential character, so perhaps these were prayers to purify the priest after the recitation of the first mass, or before the second).

The first Mass is the most recognizable, with the familiar *Requiem aeternam* text as both introit and gradual,[301] and the Johannine *Ego sum resurrectio* for the communion.[302] The second formulary, after the *preces*, begins with the introit *Rogamus te Domine*. This, and the propers which follow—*Qui Lazarum resuscitasti*, *Subvenite sancti Dei*, and *Chorus angelorum* as gradual, offertory, and communion respectively—are found predominantly in Italian

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[291] The origin of this text is obscure, first found in a late 9th-century sacramentary, perhaps a combination of phrases from various Psalms. See Sicard, *Liturgie de la Mort*, 226-9.

[292] I Thessalonians 4:14

[293] Psalm 64:2

[294] This text, found only once amongst the Mass for the Dead, was promulgated in the Sacramentary of St. Denis, which likely arose because of Charles the Bald. See Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 173 ff, especially Ritual 8, 176-7.

[295] I Corinthians 15:22

[296] Psalm 64:3

[297] Psalm 114:8

[298] St. John 6:37

[299] Like *Requiem aeternam*, to which it is nearly identical, this text derives from Visogothic sources.

[300] Only *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 17436* of St. Corneille, Compiègne, lays claim to older authorship, and it lacks a Mass for the Dead.

[301] With the incipit for Psalm 114:8 for the former, a through-composed setting of Psalm 24:13 for the latter.

[302] A pastiche of St. John 11:25, St John 5:24. Its familiarity is attested to by the fact that it is the *only* non-incipit Mass proper lacking notation.

manuscripts, largely of Beneventan origin. As mentioned above, McKinnon refers to the

Rogamus te, Domine as "the Roman funeral mass,"[303] and he concludes that it was not part of the

compilation of propers for the liturgical year that was completed by the early eighth century.

Rather dismissing his persuasive dispositive argument that the absence of the *Rogamus te,*

Domine from Frankish sources indicates it was added to Roman sources after the "Advent

Project," it is tempting to draw a stemmatic connection between Cha 47 and some Roman

source. However, the presence of a single formulary does not an argument make, and, at present,

the appearance of the Roman Mass for the Dead in several later Italian sources (see Sections

4.2.2 and 6.1.1, *infra*) will have to remain an unexplained aberration for the purposes of this

dissertation. A comparison between Cha 47 and manuscripts containing the Roman Mass for the

Dead is discussed in greater detail below in section 4.2.2.

Amongst these seven manuscripts, there are thirteen unique Masses for the Dead,

comprising fifty-five propers: thirteen introits, fourteen graduals, fifteen offertories, and thirteen

communions. Unfortunately, none of these chants can be accurately transcribed into modern

notation. No one Mass formulary is identical to any other Mass. Excluding Psalm verses, the

overlap is rather modest:

Table 5. Frequently-used mass texts in early manuscripts.

In	Requiem aeternam…	Bal 6^1, Bal 6^5, Cha 47^1, Lao 239, Par Ar610, Pri Col^1, StG 339
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	Cha 47^1, Par Ar 610, Lao 239, Mon 1/101, Pri Col^2, StG 339
	Convertere animam meam…	Bal 6^1, Bal 6^5, Pri Col^1, Pri Col^3
Of	Domine convertere…	Bal 6^1, Bal 6^5, Cha 47^1, Mon 1/101, Par Ar 610, Pri Col^1, StG 339
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	Bal 6^3, Bal 6^{4A}, Cha 47^1, Lao 239, Mon 1/101, Pri Col^1

These manuscripts dramatically illustrate the lack of uniformity in the early Mass for the Dead;

indeed, only two pairs even have three points of textual intersection within single formularies:

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[303] McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 132.

Par Ar610 with StG 339 and Cha 47[1] with Lao 239. However, these five chants from Table 5

comprise over half of the fifty-five individual propers in the seven manuscripts. Another sixteen

appear singularly amongst the seven manuscripts: *Ad te Domine, Audivi vocem de caelo, Chorus*

angelorum, De profundis, Dirigatur oratio mea, Domine Jesu Christe, Domine memorabor,

Dona eis Domine, Exsurge quare obdormis, Illumina oculos meos, Lux aeterna luceat eis, Qui

Lazarum resuscitasti, Rogamus te Domine, Si ambulem, Si enim credimus, and *Tuam Deus*

deposcimus.   Interestingly, the most frequently used texts will not enjoy the same level of

representation in subsequent centuries—only the two *Requiem aeternam* propers will continue to

flourish. However, the chants that appear only once—*De profundis, Lux aeterna luceat eis,* and

Domine Jesu Christe, among others, will be much more broadly utilized over time. It appears

that early in the establishment of the propers for the Mass for the Dead, there was some moderate

degree of consensus surrounding some texts, combined with a good measure of ambivalence.

This variation appears, in substantial part, because in this nascent phase of the Mass for the

Dead's history, there was neither authoritative Church oversight for the selection of chants for

the propers nor consensus on which chants ought to comprise that particular Mass tradition.

Additionally, four manuscripts offer at least *some* variation in their own local ritual

practice: Cha 47 has two masses, Pri Col has three, and Bal 6 has four. Also, Cha 47[1] and StG

339 each offer multiple proper choices within a single formulary. These two forms of variation

continue in the following century, compounding the difficulty involved in establishing a pattern

of redaction, but revealing the efflorescence of creativity in the use of this type of Mass.

4.2   THE BROADENING LANDSCAPE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Of the next group of sources reviewed, twenty-two certainly come from the eleventh century and another seven date from the threshold between the eleventh and twelfth century. The sources, of Swiss, Italian, French and German origin, show varying degrees of regional variation.

Table 6. 11th- and early 12th-c. manuscripts.

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Neumation
Ben 39	Benevento, Italy	End 11th c.	Beneventan
Ber 15	St. Gall, Switzerland	c. 1030	St. Gallen
Bru 2031-2	Stavelot, Belgium	End of 11th c.	Messine
Col 443	Murbach, France	11th c.	German
Col 444	Murbach, France	11th c.	German
Ein 113	Einsiedeln, Switzerland	Early 12th c.	St. Gall
Ein 114	Einsiedeln, Switzerland	11th-12th c.	St. Gall
Kas 15	Regensburg, Germany	c. 1020	St. Gall
Mad 18	San Millán de la Cogolla, Spain	1090-1137	Aquitanian
Mon 12/75	Monza, Italy	Beginning 11th c.	N. Italian
Mon 13/76	Monza, Italy	11th c.	Italian
Par BM384	Paris, France	11th c.	French
Par BN776	Gaillac, France	c. 1079	Aquitanian
Par BN780	Narbonne, France	Shortly after 1081	Aquitanian
Par BN903	St. Yrieix, France	2nd half 11th c.	Aquitanian
Par BN9436	Paris, France	mid-11th c.	French
Par BN11522	Corbie, France	Late 11th-early 12th c.	French[304]
Rom BAng123	Bologna, Italy	1st half 11th c.	North Italian
Rom BBorg359	Besançon, France	Mid 11th c., before 1066	German
Rom BLat5319	Rome, Italy	Mid-11th-mid 12th c.	Central Italian/Beneventan
Rom Cas1907	Monte Amiata, Italy	11th-12th c.	Central Italian
StG 340	St. Gall, Switzerland	1035-1042[305]	St. Gall
StG 374	St. Gall, Switzerland	Mid-11th c.	St. Gall
StG 376	St. Gall, Switzerland	1070 c.	St. Gall
Sto A139	Freising?, Germany	11th c.	German
Tur GV20	Bobbio, Italy	11th c.	Italian
Vec 161	Vercelli, Italy	End 11th c.	North Italian
Ver CV	Verona, Italy	11th-12th c.	Nonantolan
Vie 1845	Seeon, Germany	1014-24	German

With the exception of the Saint Gall and "Old Roman" traditions, no region seems to favor a particular formulary with any sort of consistency. However, an examination of the overall trends

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[304] Mass for the Dead is unnotated.
[305] In this manuscript, and in StG 374, on the first page in a later hand, with utterly different paleographic features, is another Mass for the Dead representing a fifteenth-century tradition irrelevant to this study.

reveals some preferences, ones that will become more pronounced after changes in monasticism and an increase in the promulgation of purgative dogmas in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see Chapter 5.0, *infra*).

4.2.1 Saint Gall, eleventh and early twelfth centuries

Having already examined one source from St. Gall above, it seems appropriate to begin the eleventh century with a survey of six other manuscripts that either come from that region or use that notation.

Table 7. 11th- and 12th-c. manuscripts using St. Gall neumes.

Manuscript	Provenance	Date
Ber 15	St. Gall	c. 1030
Ein 113	Einsiedeln	Early 12th c.
Ein 114	Einsiedeln	11th-12th c.
Kas 15	Regensburg	c. 1020
StG 340	St. Gall	1035-1042[306]
StG 374	St. Gall	Mid-11th c.
StG 376	St. Gall	1070 c.

With StG 339 discussed above, these eight manuscripts form a nice, clean tradition (the *only* discernable tradition in this time period). Unlike some others discussed below, each manuscript contains only a single Mass for the dead with an unusual uniformity in content and order:

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[306] In this manuscript, and in StG 374, on the first page in a later hand, with utterly different paleographic features, is another Mass for the Dead representing a fifteenth-century tradition irrelevant to this study.

Table 8. Propers in St. Gall manuscripts.[307]

	Proper Text	10th c.	11th-12th c.
In	**Requiem aeternam (Miserere mei Deus)**	StG 339	Ber 15, StG 340, StG 374, StG 376
	Requiem aeternam (Te decet)		Kas 15
	Requiem aeternam (In memoria aeterna)		Ein 113, Ein 114
Gr	**Requiem aeternam (Convertere anima mea)**	StG 339	Ber 15, StG 340, StG 374, StG 376
	Requiem aeternam (In memoria aeterna)		Ein 113, Ein 114, Kas 15
Of	**Domine convertere**	StG 339	Ein 113, StG 340, StG 374, StG 376
	Illumina	StG 339	Ein 113, StG 340, StG 374, StG 376
	Miserere michi Domine	StG 339	Ein 113, StG 340, StG 374, StG 376
	Domine Jesu Christe	StG 339	Ber 15, Ein 113, Ein 114, Kas 15, StG 374, StG 376[308]
v	Hostias et preces[309]		Ber 15, Ein 113, Ein 114, Kas 15, StG 374, StG 376
	Requiem aeternam		Ein 114
v	Redemptor animarum		Ber 15, Ein 113, Ein 114, StG 374, StG 376
Co	**Dona eis Domine**	StG 339	Ber 15, Ein 113, Ein 114, StG, 340, StG 374, StG 376
	Tuam Deus deposcimus (Pro quorum memoria corpus)		Ein 113,[310] Kas 15
	Absolve Domine animas eorum		Ein 113, Ein 114

The four manuscripts housed in St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek, although transcribed over roughly eighty-years, are nearly identical to each other; StG 340 alone lacks the offertory chant *Domine Jesu Christe*.[311] Ber 15, also used in St. Gall, is missing the various offertory incipits (and commits solely to *Domine Jesu Christe*). Amongst these five manuscripts, even the verses for the introits and graduals match identically, a level of concordance which attests to commitment to a particular local tradition. Setting aside the Psalm verses for the propers, the manuscript used in neighboring Einsiedeln, Ein 114, differs by lacking the extra incipits for the offertory (like Ber 15) and offers a second option for the communion.[312] Ein 113's verses match those of Ein 114, but includes the offertory incipits and lists *Pro quorum memoria* as an independent communion.

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[307] The texts in bold highlight the propers found in the tenth-century manuscript; the texts in parentheses refer to the verses for the proper in question.

[308] In what is clearly a scribal error, StG 374 lists this proper as the communion.

[309] The text *Quam olim abrahe* in these and other manuscripts is occasionally listed as one of the verses for the *Domine Jesu Christe*; at other times, it is simply included continuously with the offertory. In either case, I am not considering differences in such marking as a variation worth noting.

[310] Ein 113 lists *Proquorum memoria* as an independent communion.

[311] StG 339 does not specify an offertory verse in this mass or throughout the manuscript.

[312] Discussed with Tur GV20 and Vec 161.

However only *Dona eis Domine* is complete and fully notated. Kas 15 shows the greatest departure from the other manuscripts utilizing St. Gall neumes, although it is still very similar. Kas 15 differs in the verses used, lacks the incipits like Ein 114 has (despite its significantly earlier date of c. 1020), and lacks the communion *Dona eis Domine*. Given the strength of the concordance and the well-established St. Gall tradition, it is clear that the corpus of propers listed in bold in Table 8 above represents the conscious effort on the part of that scriptorium to establish a local tradition. As the practice radiated outwards geographically from St. Gall, a degree of variation was adopted, but always with the core established by St. Gall. Amongst the traditions of the eleventh century, St. Gall stands as the single most consistent.[313]

4.2.2 Italy, eleventh century

Despite the ostensible goal of unity in liturgical practice in the Mass for the Dead, it varied strikingly in Italy. Divided between the Lombardian region (using Northern Italian and, in one case, Nonatolan notation) and central Italian region (using Central Italian and Beneventan notation), six manuscripts containing Masses for the Dead survive which are confidently dated to the eleventh century, and another three are dated between the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

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[313] The St. Gall cantorium was one of the earliest, most coherent and resilient of the early monastic scriptoria. See Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 571-4.

Table 9. 11th-c. manuscripts of Italian provenance.

Table 9. 11th-c. manuscripts of Italian provenance.

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Formularies
	Central Italy		
Ben 39	Benevento	End 11th c.	3
Rom BLat5319	Rome	Mid-11th-mid 12th c.	1
Rom Cas1907	Monte Amiata	11th-12th c.	1
	Northern Italy		
Mon 12/75	Monza	Beginning 11th c.	1
Mon 13/76	Monza	11th c.	1
Rom BAng123	Bologna	1st half 11th c.	2
Tur GV20	Bobbio	11th c.	1
Vec 161	Vercelli	End 11th c.	1
Ver CV	Verona	11th-12th c.	1

Although all derive from modern-day Italy, this map shows that even the northern manuscripts

represent a fairly wide geographic territory:

Figure 9. *Distribution of the nine 11th-century Italian manuscripts with Masses for the Dead.* [314]

[314] NordNordWest. *Location map of Europe, satellite image*.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Europe_satellite_image_location_map.jpg. Cropped for detail, with
locations added by author. As this image was released into the public domain, usage does not require permission.

In significant contrast with St. Gall manuscripts, Italian practice in the eleventh century was quite variable. Even the two manuscripts sharing the same origin, Mon 12/75 and Mon 13/76, exhibit some differences. While these Italian manuscripts exhibit reasonable similarity, Mon 13/76 offers diverse choices, with three introits, two graduals, two offertories and two communions. Though the initial similarities attest to a common source, the diversity in the second source undermines the claim of a single prevailing local tradition, but instead indicates the variety of options available to the cantorum at the celebration of Mass:

Table 10. Mon 12/75 and Mon 13/76, a comparison of their propers.

	Mon 12/75	**Mon 13/76**
In	Si enim credimus (Et sicut in Adam)	Si enim credimus (Et sicut in Adam)
	Requiem aeternam (Te decet)	Requiem aeternam (Te decet)
		Flecte pias aures
Gr	Convertere animam (Quia eripuit)	Convertere animam (Quia eripuit)
		Requiem aeternam (In memoria)
Tr	De profundis	De profundis
Of	Domine convertere	Domine convertere
	Domine Jesu Christe (Hostias et preces)	Domine Jesu Christe (Hostias et preces)
Co	Ego sum resurrectio	Ego sum resurrection
		Audi vocem de caelo

Like the Swiss manuscripts above, there are clear similarities of tradition as well as points of departure. Despite identical provenance and similar dating, and though their basic content is identical, Mon 13/76 offers additional options for the introit, gradual and communion within its formulary. Also, Mon 12/75 represents the earliest example of the use of a tract in the Mass for the Dead (even though Sicard notes that the Gloria and Alleluia are suppressed fairly early on).[315] Lastly, Mon 13/76 offers a third, rare, non-Scriptural choice for an introit, *Flecte pias*

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[315] Sicard, *Liturgie de la Mort*, 175.

aures,[316] representing the earliest example of a proper for the dead without a Scriptural or liturgical progenitor. The text reads:

> Turn your holy ears, Christ, to our prayers and the souls of your servants whom we commend to you, that you would defend them from eternal death, be lenient to all their negligence, that in your presence, they may rejoice in gleaming rest.[317]

The sentiment in this text reflects an early tradition, absent any descriptive qualities for eternal death and with its focus on *requiem claram,* a "rest" which the author describes as "gleaming" or "bright" or even "illustrious/renowned."[318] The other texts in Mon 12/75 can be found amongst the masses in the tenth-century manuscript Pri Col (except the tract), but not within a single formulary. This probably belies any stemmatic connection, but could point to an earlier common source.

Three other north-Italian manuscripts—Tur GV20, Vec 161, and Ver CV—have some points of concordance, although they are otherwise relatively unremarkable. All three use the same introit, gradual, and offertory—*Requiem aeternam, Requiem aeternam,* and *Domine Jesu Christe*, respectively—albeit the recorded verse for the introit differs between Tur GV20 and Vec 161 (Ps 24:13 versus Ps 111:7).[319] The only discernable communion, from Vec 161 is *Omne quod dat*, which was also found in Pri Col[2].[320] Of significant note is the tract *Absolve*

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[316] The other is the 11th c. manuscript from Gaillac, France, Par BN776, discussed below. A transcription based on the French version (the one with diastematic neumes) can be found in section 4.2.6 below. All possible transcriptions of chants can be found in Appendix C along with other salient details. Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Défunts," notes a third source for this text, a manuscript found in the northwestern Italian city, Pavia. None of these three formularies has any remarkable concordance to suggest that *Flecte pias aures* belonged amongst a particular set of propers.

[317] *Flecte pias aures, Christe, ad preces nostras et animas famulorum tuorum quas commendamus tibi ab aeterna morte defendas, omnes negligentias indulge, ut introductae coram te, claram laetentur ad requiem.*

[318] A transcription of this chant, from a contemporary Aquitanian source can be found in Section 4.2.6.

[319] As a *missale*, Ver CV only includes incipits for Mass propers.

[320] The communion in Ver CV is illegible and Tur GV20 lacks one altogether.

Domine animam, found in both Tur GV20 and Vec 161. This text functions in Masses for the Dead as a tract or more typically as a communion.[321] The original text, discussed below in section 5.1.1, can first be traced to the late eighth century in the "Gregorian" sacramentary of Pope Hadrian I, and was reiterated by St. Benedict of Aniane in his supplement to that text.[322] Among the propers, its usage as a tract stands out, because when it functions in this capacity, it is found exclusively with the verses *Et gratia tua* and *Et* (or *Ac*) *lucis aeternae*. These two texts derive from short passages within different *preces* found in the *Supplementum Anianense*.[323] This indicates a deliberate, creative synthesis, and, in a milieu where consistency is a departure from the norm, that these verses never vary suggests that there is a lost, authoritative context for these texts from a time between the early ninth century and these eleventh-century sources. The *Absolve Domine animam* deserves special mention for two reasons: 1) This is the earliest example of this text, which accords (verses and all) with the tract codified by the Council of Trent; and 2) its composite origin (in the *Hadrianum* redacted with the *Supplementum Anianense*) gives it a strong historical tradition.

Equally interesting is that, almost exclusively, when *Absolve Domine* functions as a communion, it has *Requiem aeternam* as its verse, sometimes with the second half of the original prayer found in the *Hadrianum*. This is less surprising since in this case, the text draws from a single source rather than a composite.The only remaining northern Italian source from the eleventh century is Rom BAng123 from Bologna. This source offers two formularies and is a

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[321] Very occasionally, it will be a verse for the gradual *Requiem aeternam.*
[322] *Hadrianum ex Authentico*, item 1016 and *Supplementum Anianense*, item 1404. Both can be found in Emmanuel Bourque, *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains* (Vatican City: Pontifico Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1948).
[323] The *Et gratia tua* comes from the sixth clause of the prayer at item 1401, and the *Et lucis aeternae* derives from the fourth clause of item 1400.
[324] *…ut in resurrectionis gloriam inter sanctos tuos resuscitati respirent.* …that at the glorious resurrection amongst your saints the reawakened might be revived.

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veritable grab-bag of texts. The first formulary, labeled *In agenda plurimorum*, features one introit, two graduals, two tracts, two offertories, and seven (!) communions. No single text is new to this source, although sometimes an old text is utilized in an odd function (e.g., *Erue Domine* as a verse to *Domine Jesu Christe*). Both *De profundis* (as an incipit) and the complete *Absolve Domine animas* with attendant verses are present, as well as nearly every communion text seen in the previous century. The first formulary includes one of the few examples of an "alleluia," though it and its verse, *Requiem aeternam*, are unnotated, which is unusual amongst non-incipit texts. The second formulary, entitled *In die depositionis defunctis* (i.e., on the day of burial of the dead), has only one of each mass proper, except for the communion, which has five. The introit, *Rogamus te, Domine*, is the principal chant for what McKinnon calls the "Roman Mass for the Dead," and is found in one of his primary sources, Rom BLat5319. Along with two eleventh-century, central-Italian manuscripts,[325] and Cha 47, this formulary shows a surprising uniformity:

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[325] Also, it can also be found in several 12th-c. central-Italian manuscripts discussed in Section 6.1.1.

Table 11. Cha 47, Rom BAng123, Ben 39, and Rom BLat5319, a comparison of their propers

	Cha 47[2]	Rom BAng123[2]	Ben 39[2]	Rom BLat5319
	In agenda mortuorum	In die depositionis defunctis	[Missa pro defunctis][326]	Missa defunctorum
In	Rogamus te Domine..	Rogamus te Domine…	Rogamus te Domine…	Rogamus te Domine…
Ps	Requiem.	Et sicut in Adam…	De profundis clamavi…	Benedic anima.
v		Requiem aeternam…		Benedic anima et.
Gr	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
v	Requiem aeternam…	Requiem aeternam…	Requiem aeternam…	Requiem aeternam…
Tr		Convertere anima eius…	De profundis.	De profundis.
v		Quia eripuit anima eius…		
v		Placebo Domino in regione…		
Of			Domine convertere.	Domine convertere.
Of				Domine Jesu Christe…
v				Hostias et preces…
Of	Subvenite sancti Dei…	Subvenite sancti Dei…	Subvenite sancti Dei…	
v	Suscipiat te Christus…	Suscipiat te Christus…		
Co		Credo quod redemptor meus…		
v		Quem visrus sum.		
Co		Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…		
v		Requiem aeternam…		
Co		Tuam Deus deposcimus.		
Co		Sicut pater suscitat…		
Co	Chorus angelorum…	Chorus angelorum…	Chorus angelorum…	
Co				Lux aeterna luceat eis…
Co				Lux aeterna luceat eis…
Co				Christus qui natus est ex Maria virgine…

Though discussion of these propers was outside the scope of McKinnon's book, the tradition represented in Rom BLat 5319 shows the greatest interpolative variation when compared to the other two Roman sources and Cha 47 (the concordance of which, despite provenance, cannot be ignored). Rom BAng123 has more in common with Cha 47 than the manuscripts written somewhat south of Bologna, suggesting that the Breton manuscript as having earlier authority. That is, Cha 47 represents the earliest authority, lacking interpolations, with Ben 39 following

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[326] The rubric indicated is actually *Alia item* indicating that it has the same rubric as the Mass preceding it, which is *Missa pro defunctis*.

closely. Rom BAng123 adds further options to what McKinnon calls the "Old Roman" Mass for the Dead with a number of Frankish additions. This does not suggest any filial stemmatic relationship among the Italian manuscripts to Cha 47, but rather that Cha 47 represents the least adulterated formulary for what one might call the *Missa Rogamus te Domine* for the dead, which found greatest currency in Italy. The eponymous introit for this "Mass" is a highly-decorated mode VII melody, with melismata on the majority of poly-syllabic words.
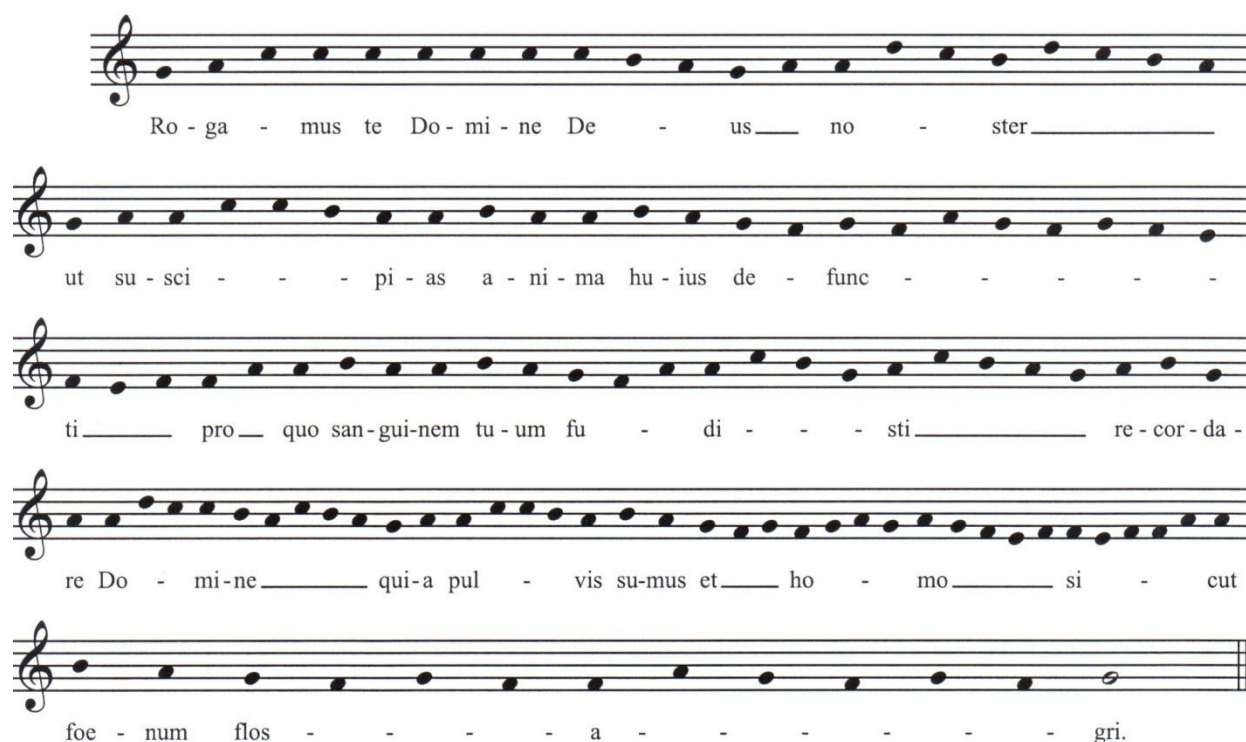
Figure 10. *Modern transcription of* Rogamus Te Domine *from Rom BLat 5319.*

Including twelfth-century manuscripts discussed in Section 6.1.1, the texts *Rogamus te Domine*, *Qui Lazarum resuscitasti* and *Subvenite sancti Dei* are almost always found together (excluding

Rom BLat5319, which uses the offertory *Domine Jesu Christe*). However, they appear as a group only in manuscripts of Italian provenance after Cha 47.[327]

Rom BLat5319, the least concordant amongst the manuscripts with Beneventan notation, has two *different* musical settings of the text *Lux aeterna luceat eis*. One is not a variant of the other, but they are two separate options for use at Mass. Additionally, this Roman manuscript contains the *unicum* text and chant *Christus qui natus est ex Maria virgine*, which has neither precedent nor existence in any later manuscript surveyed. The text departs from any other surveyed in this dissertation:

> Christ, who is born of the Virgin Mary, may revive himself in time whereby he will come to judge the age.[328]

Rather than following the form of a prayer or petition, asking God to grant something to the souls of the dead or, alternatively, to shield them from something else, this text has a didactic, almost creedal quality. Indeed, both *natus ex Maria Virgine* and *venturus est judicare* can be found in the Apostles' Creed. The subjunctive mood of the verb *resuscitare* has an almost admonitory tone, especially given the ambiguity suggested by the phrase *in die*. The chant is a highly-constrained Phrygian melody. Given its very narrow ambitus of only a perfect fifth, it is more appropriately assigned to the fourth rather than third mode.

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[327] According to Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Défunts," this formulary – *Rogamus te Domine*, *Qui Lazarum resuscitasti*, *Subvenite sancti Dei,* and *Chorus angelorum* – can also be found in the following early manuscripts, sometimes with extra propers: the fourth formulary in the eleventh-century Beneventan manuscript "Benevento. Biblioteca Capitolare. VI-40;" the second formulary in late eleventh- or early twelfth-century manuscript from Forlimpopoli, Italy "Modena. Duomo. Archivio capitolare. Manuscript. O. I. 7;" the first formulary in the eleventh-century manuscript from Pavia, Italy "Ivrea. Biblioteca Capitolare. 60;" and, most significantly, the tenth-century manuscript "Angers. Bibliotheque municipale. 91" from Saint Peter's in Angers, in western France, not too far from where Cha 47 was copied, especially given its use of Breton neumes. Again, while it is tantalizing to see the two earliest manuscripts with Breton neumes as closely related to a predicate for the Italian sources, though it is nomologically possible, in the absence of a more intense stemmatic study of the entirety of these sources, this question cannot be answered at this time.

[328] *Christus qui natus est ex Maria Virgine, Ipse resuscitet in die qua venturus est judicare saeculum.*

Figure 11. *Modern transcription of* Christus qui natus est *from Rom BLat 5319.*

Ben 39 has one Mass before and after the "Roman Mass" discussed above in Table 11. Other than its overwhelming interest in Psalm 129—used as the first verse in both introits, and as the tract in the third Mass (as in the second Mass)—the texts are largely unsurprising, perhaps with the exception of the first of the three communion options in the third Mass. Somewhat unexpectedly, the Mass uses *Dona eis Domine*, and represents one of only a handful of examples of this text outside the area represented by St. Gall. The third formulary, in particular, offers a medley of choices; five out of twelve are simply incipit reminders and the propers are not even assembled in a coherent liturgical order. For example, the incipit *Ad te Domine levavi* as an offertory comes from First Advent (among others), *Dirigator oratio mea* as a gradual comes from the nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost, or *Domine memorabor* as an offertory at the sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost (though as a communion proper). This suggests that, at least in this manuscript, the compiler proposed propers from other masses that he thought to be appropriate irrespective of function.

One Italian manuscript remains, Rom Cas1907 of the Abbey of San Salvatore in Monte Amiata, 100 miles north and slightly west of Rome. This source from the Benedictine and later Cistercian abbey represents the one of the closest, earliest manuscripts containing what would later become the authorized Mass propers; only the verse for the gradual differs by using Ps

24:13 rather than Ps 111:7.[329] It would be foolish to conclude that this or any other manuscript

from this period would serve as *the* source for the Council of Trent. However, in a sea of

multifarious Mass propers, those which anticipate (if not anachronistically) the decision of that

sixteenth-century body certainly stand out.

In substantial contrast with the manuscripts from St. Gall, no one tradition prevails

amongst the sources across Italy, even when examining the local practice in Monza. Certain

chants appear more frequently than others, but there is no consensus even within single

manuscripts.

4.2.3   Northern France, eleventh century

There are three eleventh-century manuscripts from northern France containing Masses for the

Dead, two from the same Abbey (now Basilica) of St. Denis, one from Corbie, like roughly

century-older manuscript, Pri Col.

Table 12. 11th-c. manuscripts of northern-French provenance

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Formularies
Par BM384	France. Paris. St. Denis	11th c.	3
Par BN9436	France. Paris. St. Denis	mid-11th c.	1
Par BN11522	France. Corbie	Late 11th-early 12th c.	1

These three northern-French sources contain five Masses, and show significant resemblance to

each other, and less so to their French predecessors, Cha 47 of Brittany and Pri Col of Corbie.

The Masses for the Dead in Par BM384[1], Par BN9436, and Par BN11522 display fair

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[329] Two other sources come equally close: Par BM384[1] and Par BN903[1]. Because of its early date, the former lacks
any tracts; the latter does not include a tract, but does include all the same verses as the future, official "Mass for the
Dead," though the offertory includes several extra ones that would not be codified.

concordance suggesting that they draw from common repertory or reflect a shared mindset about which chants are suitable for the Mass for the Dead.

Table 13. Par BM384, Par BN9436 and Par BN11522, a comparison of their propers

	Par BM384[1]	Par BN9436	Par BN11522
In	Requiem aeternam…	Requiem aeternam…	Requiem aeternam…
Ps	Te decet hymnus.	Te decet.	Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion.
v		Exaudi.	
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	Requiem aeternam…	
v	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…	
Gr			Convertere animam meam…
v			Quia eripuit animam…
Tr			De profundis clamavi.
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	Domine Jesu Christe…	Domine Jesu Christe…
v	Hostias et preces…	Hostias et preces…	
Of		Erue Domine animas eorum…	
v		Tuam Deus deposcimus…	
Co		Ego sum resurrectio…	
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

One notes agreement in all but one gradual (the earlier two manuscripts do not provide tracts), though the variant gradual is represented in Par BM384[2] under the introit *Si enim credimus*. Similarly, the second offertory and first communion of Par BN9436 are also represented in Par BM384[2], leaving only the introit of that second Mass without a pair amongst the other local contemporary sources. Pri Col[3] has three of four points of concordance with Par BM384[2], with only the communion proper differing. The third Mass in this manuscript, however, contains two as yet unseen propers. The introit is *Ne tradas Domine bestiis* (i.e., Psalm 73:19), a text first found associated with liturgies for the dead in St. Benedict of Adiane's supplement to the *Hadrianum* of the early ninth century.[330] This relatively uncommon text is the introit in two other manuscripts, Par BN1087[3] (see Section 5.2.1, *infra*) also from the eleventh century, and Rhe 264[2] (see Section 6.1.2, *infra*) dating from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, each time with

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[330] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 141.

the text *Memor esto congregationis* (Psalm 73:2) serving as its verse.[331] This Mass also contains

what may be the first extant example of the offertory *O pie Deus*, a devotional text, not derived

from either Scripture or from Carolingian sources. Despite the lack of precedent, this text

appears to have begun to flourish in southern France, as it is found in Mad 18[4], Par BN776[6], and

Par BN903[3], which are all described as later eleventh-century sources. Of the lesser-known

propers, this offertory is among the most well represented, with over twenty different

manuscripts attesting to it.[332] The text reads as follows:

> O blessed God, you who have called the first man to the eternal home, Good Shepherd, you who carried the
>
> lost sheep upon your shoulder to the flock, just judge, until you come to give judgment, free their souls
>
> from death whom you have redeemed. You neither surrender the souls confessing to you to the beasts, nor
>
> forsake them at the end. V. Lord Jesus Christ, judge of the dead, the one hope of mortals, you have grieved
>
> the destruction of perishing, you neither enter into judgment with your servants, nor are they found guilty
>
> with the wicked by the arrival of your severe judgment.[333]

A few themes are immediately apparent. First, and most elegantly, the image of the Good

Shepherd saving the lost sheep is the oldest known reference to Jesus in art (see Figure 5, *supra*),

a hopeful image for Christians from antiquity through the Middle Ages.

Somewhat surprisingly, a *Responsorium in agenda mortuorum* is after the third Mass in

Par BM384. Ostensibly, it has the form of the *Libera me Domine*, but it appears highly troped

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[331] Psalm 73:19 also serves as an occasional verse in the offertory *O pie Deus,* to be discussed shortly. An edition
for the introit version from a thirteenth-century source can be found in Appendix C.

[332] A transcription of this chant from a thirteenth-century source as well as other details can be found in Appendix C.

[333] *O pie Deus, qui primum hominem ad aeternam patriam recovasti, pastor bone qui ovem perditam pro humero ad
ovilem reportasti, juste judex, dum veneris judicare, libera de morte animas eorum quos redemisti. Ne tradas
bestiis animas confitentes tibi, ne derelinquas eas in finem. V. Domine Jesu Christe, judex mortuorum, una spes
mortalium, qui moriens, morientium condoluisti interitum, ne inters in judicio cum servis tuis, ne damnentur cum
impiis in adventu tui districti judicii.*

when compared to the version found in the *Liber Usualis*.[334] Its presence amongst Mass propers is unique. Despite the fact that, in the Tridentine Rite, the *Responsorium* was sung during the "Absolution of the Dead," immediately following the Mass, no other manuscript contains it.[335] Given the relatively early date of the Par BN776, the presence of the Responsory is hard to explain. It could be a conveniently placed text for a cantor to use after completion of the Mass, or it could reflect a nascent tradition which died out. The colossal text, comprising over three hundred words across eighteen verses, dwarfs the one codified at the Council of Trent, comprising just three verses. A discussion of some of the more dramatic verses as a reflection of a growing sense of the doctrine of Purgatory is found in section 5.1.1 below.

Like the sources from Italy, these manuscripts show an ambivalence towards any particular formulary for the Mass for the Dead. Table 13 shows that there is a common repertory which has some precedence, but, again, no consensus exists amongst the formularies or even within single liturgical propers. This variety is especially evident amongst the remaining sources in the eleventh century.

4.2.4   Eastern France and Belgium, eleventh century

The traditions of St. Gall, northern Italy, central Italy, and even northern France discussed above each had certain discernable predilections despite often containing multiple formularies or options within a given formulary. In St. Gall, specific trends are clearly visible (see Table 8, *supra*). In central Italy, the use of a reasonably consistent *Missa Rogamus te Domine* can be

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[334] Because the neumes are unheightened, no accurate transcription of this chant can be made.
[335] Par BN776 contains three extensive prayers comprising many verses with the rubric *preces mortuorum.* Textually, there is no similarity, and their general character resembles the *preces* in the sacramentaries, but given their versification, it is possible they functioned as the responsory.

traced (see Table 11, *supra*). North Italian manuscripts varied more widely but had some common tendencies (see Section 4.2.2, *supra*). Finally, the sources from the north of France showed significant concordance (see Table 13, *supra*). However, the propers from eastern France and Belgium, Germany, and central and southwestern France have astonishingly little in common.

The remaining French manuscripts entail a much greater variety, even over relatively modest geographic distributions. While the previously discussed geographic areas showed decreasing concordance amongst complete masses. Regional archetypes do not exist in the western German/Belgian sources, just the use of local practice. These three eleventh-century manuscripts derive from the eastern and southeastern France and they are even less easily linked into a single mass tradition.[336] That is, within each of the St. Gall, Italian and northern-French regions, a set of four prevailing propers is usually quite apparent.[337] This is less true for these eastern-French and Belgian manuscripts, as they demonstrate a wide distribution of propers.

Table 14. 11th-c. manuscripts of eastern-French or Belgian provenance.

Ms.	Provenance	Date	Formularies
Col 443	France. Murbach	11th c.	3
Col 444	France. Murbach	11th c.	3
Rom BBorg359	France. Besançon	Mid 11th c., before 1066	2
Bru 2031-2	Belgium. Stavelot	End of 11th c.	1

Because of their close dating and identical provenance, it is unsurprising that the three masses found in the two Murbach manuscripts are nearly identical; the only differences can be found in the verse of the introit in the third mass and the addition of a third communion in Col 444[3]. However, they concord little with Rom BBorg 359 from Besançon, less than 75 miles southwest

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[336] Par BN1087, though from the eleventh century and proximate to these, reflects a Cluniac tradition and is discussed below in Section 5.2.1.

[337] Any patterns with the tract, which is often omitted in early manuscripts, are difficult to ascertain.

of Murbach. Neither Mass for the Dead in Rom BBorg 359 resembles any of the six formularies from the Colmar manuscripts. However, this manuscript contains a partial formulary which will gain in popularity in the coming centuries. The second Mass for the Dead, containing the introit *Si enim credimus* and the gradual *Si ambulem in medio*, appears, which accords with the opening two propers in Col 443[2] and Col 444[2]. The earliest occasion of this introit can be found in Pri Col[3], and in a few other eleventh-century manuscripts (Mon 12/75, Par BM384[2], and Ben 39[3]). As a gradual, the only instance to this point comes from Bal 6[2]. While these two chants are not exclusively found together, each ultimately becomes the second-most common alternative for proper choices by the fourteenth century, along with the tract *Sicut cervus* (as in the Murbach manuscripts). Textually, both have Scriptural referents—*Si enim credimus* from I Thessalonians 4:14, *Si ambulem* from Psalm 22:4—and both have positive connotations appropriate for the Mass for the Dead.[338]

The fourth manuscript, Bru 2031-2, copied in Stavelot in Belgium, has no nearby contemporaries. The manuscript contains a single formulary with no extra chants and resembles none of the Masses of the Dead above. At best there is a modest overlap with the first and third formularies in Col 443 and Col 444. However, an examination of the eight formularies alongside this manuscript indicates common interests.

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[338] See Appendix C for transcriptions of these two chants from later sources.

	Bru 2031-2	**# times found in the other 8 formularies**	**Total number of texts**
In	Requiem aeternam…	5 of 9 introits	2
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	3 of 8 graduals	3
Tr	Sicut cervus	3 of 8 tracts	2
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	5 of 8 offertories	3
Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…	5 of 11 communions	3

Though the formulary itself is not similar to any eastern-French manuscripts of the eleventh century, the selection of chants for this Mass for the Dead is consistent with the repertory used contemporaneously in eastern France. While the introit and offertory were common throughout western Europe, the other three propers are relatively rare in other eleventh-century sources. This suggests that Bru 2031-2 draws from the same corpus of chants as the eastern-French manuscripts.

4.2.5 Germany, eleventh century

Unfortunately, the number of early German sources containing a Mass for the Dead is extremely limited. In order to supplement the two manuscripts eleventh-century German manuscripts surveyed in this dissertation, Sto A139 and Vie 1845, three others from the same region from Fr. Gay's study are considered with them:

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[339] The final column indicates the number of discrete chant for each proper function.

Table 16. Formularies from five 11th-c. German manuscripts.[340]

Ms.	Sto A139	Vie 1845	Munich, Kat 150	Zurich, Rh 71	Trier, Dom 118
Prov.	Freising?	Seeon	Brixen	Rheinau?	Seeon
Date	11th c.	1014-24	11th c.	11th c.	11th c.
In	Requiem aeternam	Si enim credimus	Si enim credimus	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam
v	Convertere Domine	Sicut in Adam			
Gr	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Qui Lazarum	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam
v	Convertere Domine	Convertere anima mea			
Tr	De profundis	De profundis	De profundis	[n/a]	[n/a]
Of	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine convertere	Erue Domine
v	Hostias et preces	Hostias et preces			
v	Requiem Redemptor animarum				
Of			O pie Deus		
Co	Absolve Domine	Dona eis Domine	Pro quorum	Audivi vocem	[n/a]
Co			Tuam Deus		

At once, the lack of concordance is apparent. No single proper can be consistently found across the five manuscripts and only the gradual *Requiem aeternam* can be found in four. Three chants, the introit *Requiem aeternam*, the tract *De profundis clamavi*, and the offertory *Domine Jesu Christe*, can be found in three sources each, though they are not necessarily found together. However, since Gay's study did not detail the verses used, it is difficult to completely assess the degree of concordance that these manuscripts share. Finally, the four formularies containing a communion proper offer five different chants. At this time in Germany, there was clearly heightened ambivalence about which texts ought to function as propers for the Mass for the Dead.

The diversity across these five manuscripts is reminiscent of that of the earliest manuscripts containing a Mass for the Dead (see Section 4.1, *supra*). One possible explanation is that the need for a separate Mass for the Dead arose later in Germany than in France and Italy, and that earlier manuscripts copied from those regions may not have made their way into

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[340] The contents of the Munich, Zurich and Trier manuscripts were not surveyed for this dissertation but instead come from Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Défunts." Including his sigla, they are B[16], Munich, L. Rosenthal, Kat. 150 n° 316; R[4], Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 71; S[1], Trier, Domschatz, 118. His study does not record verses used, if any, with the propers.

Germany until the eleventh century, and local congregations made their own decisions about which propers to use.

4.2.6 Central and Southwestern France, eleventh century

The manuscripts from southwestern France demonstrate astonishing diversity. Manuscripts of Aquitanian provenance are well known for their creativity.[341] Though from Spain, Mad 18, which also uses Aquitanian notation, is best examined with manuscripts of the southwestern Frankish kingdom, and, given its content, this classification is well justified. While on the other side of the Pyrenees, the kingdom of Pamplona fell to Charlemagne repeatedly during his reign; and, while Louis the Pious tacitly relinquished it by the beginning of his rule, the western pass through the Pyrenees between northeast Spain and the southwest Frankish kingdom was one of the primary trade routes between the Iberian Peninsula and the remainder of western Europe.

Table 17. 11th-c. manuscripts of southern- and central-French provenance.[342]

Ms.	Provenance	Date	Formularies
	South-Western France		
Mad 18	San Millán de la Cogolla, Spain	1090-1137	4
Par BN776	Gaillac, France	c. 1079	6[343]
Par BN780	Narbonne, France	Shortly after 1081	2
	Central France		
Par BN903	St. Yrieix, France	2nd half 11th c.	3

These four manuscripts all derive from the latter portion of the 11th century (with Mad 18 being slightly younger than the rest) and contain an astonishing fifteen Masses for the Dead. Since all four manuscripts utilize heighted Aquitanian notation and originate from a relatively modest

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[341] For a detailed account of the copying and composition of chants in the region of the Abbey of St. Martial in Limoges, see James Grier, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2006).

[342] One may be tempted to include Par BN1132 in the ensuing discussion because of its provenance (Limoges), 11th-dating, and use of Aquitanian notation. However, it is more appropriately discussed in Section 5.2.1 because of its Cluniac affiliation.

[343] Additionally, three extensive *preces mortuorum* succeed the sixth Mass.

geographic distribution, one might expect a certain continuity of tradition. Interestingly, none

shows significant textual concordance with the others. This contrasts dramatically with the

tradition in St. Gall, for example—the manuscripts utilizing that notation were nearly uniform in

liturgical presentation.

The extraordinary number of non-concordant formularies requires a different approach to

examining these Aquitanian sources. The arrangement of masses side-by-side, in this case, does

not yield any coherent data, but an overview of their propers is quite illuminating. These four

manuscripts contain several rare (or unique) chants. Additionally, the notation is heighted,

making them generally transcribable. The introit *De limo terrae*, among the more notable texts,

is recorded solely in Par BN776.

> From the muck of the earth you created him, Lord, you deem to free him from the force of darkness and the
>
> danger of death.[344]

The opening line of this text derives from the *Ordo defunctorum*, which most commonly reads

De terra formasti me.[345] The reference to *limo* which is rendered "clay, muck or slime," is a

humbling image, and derives from the second creation story at Genesis 2:7. The second clause,

however, does not preserve the hope of the *Ordo defunctorum*, which petitions, "Lord, revive me

in the last day,"[346] but instead reflects the growing theological concern with Hell. Along with the

language of the *Domine Jesu Christe*, (discussed in Section 5.1.2, *infra*) and the *Absolve Domine*

animas eorum (discussed in Section 5.1.1, *infra*), this marks the darkest perspective used in the

Masses for the Dead amongst all the manuscripts in this dissertation. Unfortunately, only the

first few notes of this chant are preserved (though the manuscript's scribe clearly prepared the

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[344] *De limo terrae formasti eum Domine, tu ipse liberare digneris de potestate tenebrarum et de periculo mortis*.
[345] "From the earth you formed me," and other variants. See Sicard, *Liturgie de la Mort*, 121, 124.
[346] *…Domine, resuscita me in novissimo die*.

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space for the entire chant to be notated). Another rare introit, *Flecte pias aures*, also was included in this manuscript, although its presence in two other contemporary, non-Aquitanian manuscripts suggests it may not be of Aquitanian origin (see Section 4.2.2, *supra*). However, unlike Mon 13/76, this manuscript utilizes heighted notation, permitting a transcription.
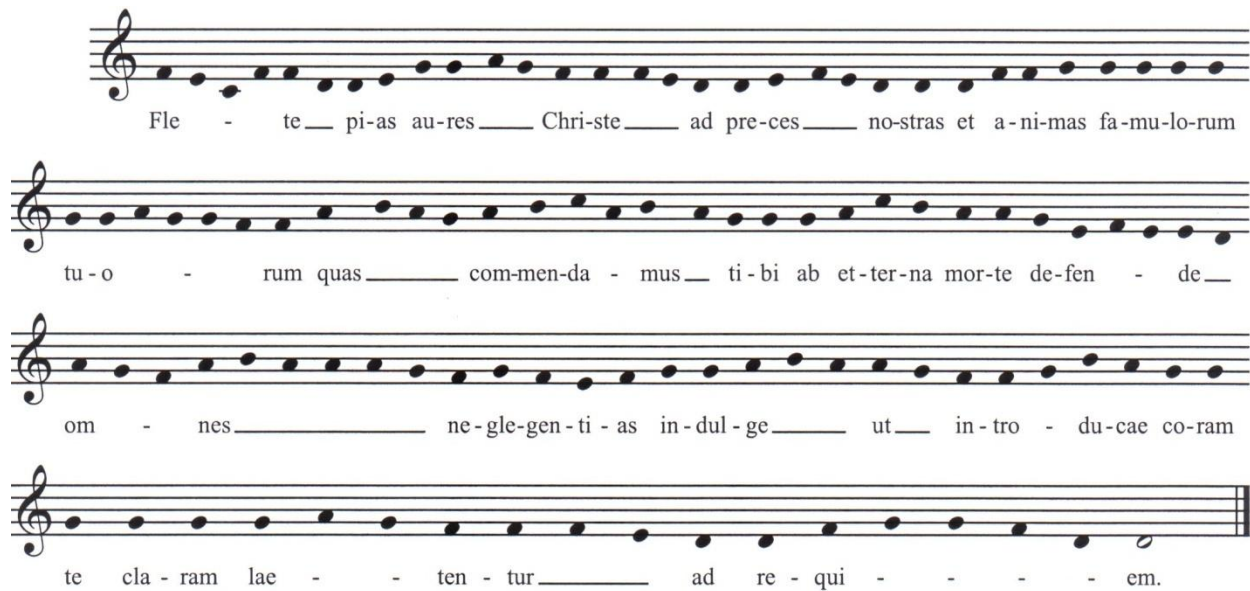
Figure 12. *Modern transcription of* Flecte pias aures *from Par BN776.*

The melody of this first-mode chant utilizes largely conjunct motion with frequent repeated notes (as in *Christe*, *tuorum*, *omnes*, and *requiem*). Text underlay in this source is, at times, ambiguous, but the repetition is fairly patent. The melodic gestures are largely formulaic with the predominant focus on and around the chanted tone of "G." Its fairly unadorned melodic content also argues against an Aquitanian origin, given the florid nature of the other chants.

Par BN776 and Mad 18 share several rare chants. The use of the ancient *Subvenite sancti Dei* as a communion (see Section 4.1, *supra*) is unique to these manuscripts, as is the communion text *Sancta et salubris est*. A reflection of the growing theology of the impact of prayers and oblations for the dead, the text is rendered:

Blessed and salubrious is the notion of offering sacrifices for the dead in order that they may be released from their sin.[347]

This text quotes II Maccabees 12:46. In the early Church (and within the Roman Catholic Church today), this text was considered Scripture and formed the Biblical basis for the notion for intercession on the part of the living for the good of the dead. Its use indicates that a fully-formed conception of Purgatory has germinated within this community, though it remains optimistic rather than reproving. The melody is relatively syllabic, with greatest emphasis on the words "release" (*solverentur*) and "sin" (*peccatis*).
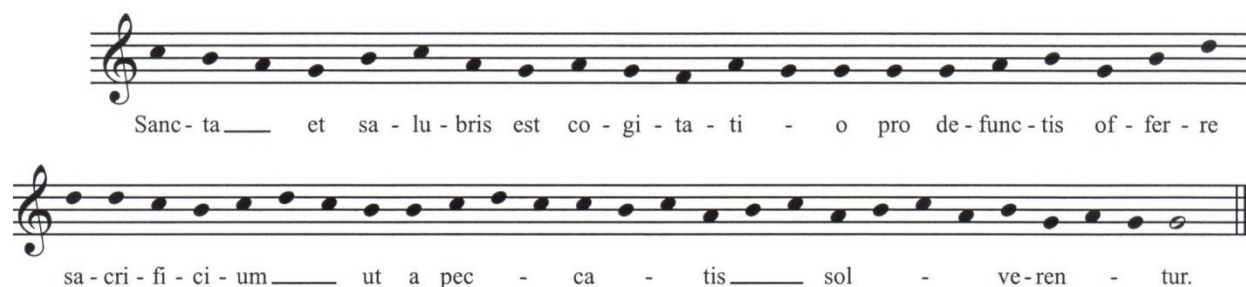
Figure 13. *Modern transcription of* Sancta et salubris est *from Par BN776.*

Par BN776 couples this chant with the introit linked to the previously-examined *De limo terrae*. However, in Mad 18, it is found with the *Sicut portavimus*, also used as an introit in Par BN903[4], which evinces a far more hopeful interpretation:

As we bear an earthly image, we shall bear a heavenly image as well.[348]

This text, which is also used as the verse for the gradual *Si enim credimus* in Mad 18[3], quotes I Corinthians 15:49 and is linked with the verse *Et sicut in Adam*, verse 22 from the same Biblical text. The melody, in the seventh mode, is quite florid, with melismata on nearly every syllable.

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[347] *Sancta et salubris est cogitatio pro defunctis offerre sacrificium, ut a peccatis solvantur.*
[348] *Sicut portavimus imaginem terreni, portemus et imaginem coelestis.*
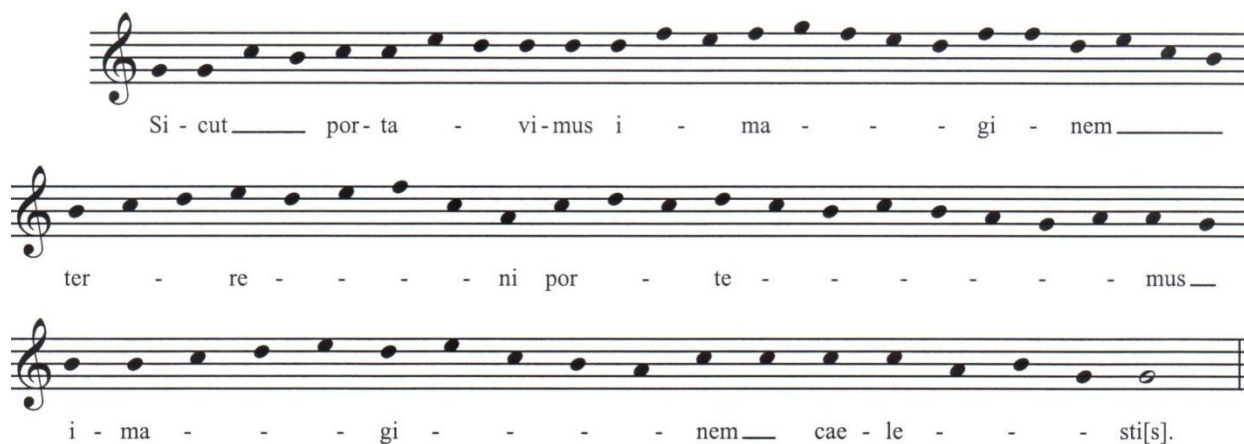
Figure 14. *Modern transcription of* Sicut portavimus *from Par BN903.*

In that same mass in Par BN903 the communion, a *unicum* proper, is equally hopeful:

> May they obtain a portion of the blessed resurrection and may they merit having eternal life in heaven through you, Jesus Christ.[349]

Rather than the imperative mood that petitions often utilize, this text is dominated by the subjunctive mood. Though the tone of the imagery is optimistic, the grammar suggests an element of doubt. It is this apprehension that will nourish the developing doctrine of Purgatory. The chant itself is in the fourth mode which begins relatively syllabically but becomes increasingly melismatic as it progresses.

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[349] *Partem beatae resurrectionis obtineant, vitamque aeternam habere mereantur in coelis per ter, Jesu Christe.*
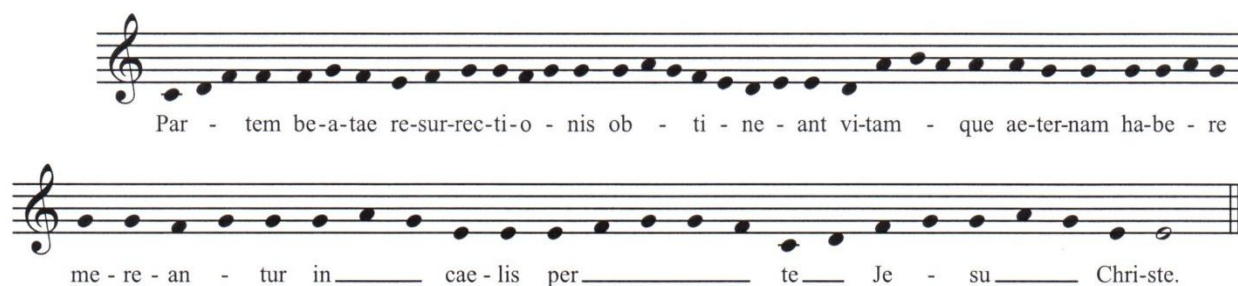
Figure 15. *Modern transcription of* Partem beatae resurrectionis *from Par BN903.*

Two final chants serve unique functions within these manuscripts. First is the very common text *Ego sum resurrectio*, a pastiche of two texts from the Gospel of St. John, 11:25 and 5:24. However, in Par BN776[5] and Mad 18[1], it functions, not as a communion, but as an offertory, and with identical verses:

I am the resurrection and the life. The one who believes in me has eternal life, and does not come to judgment, but will cross from death into life. V. And all who hear my word and believe he that sent me, has eternal life.[350]

This text is set to a highly melismatic fourth-mode melody. The gestures within the melody are non-repetitive, and its disjunct melodic motion vaults the melody from the low register to the high register in several places (across *sum resurrectio*, the syllables in *vitam*, and *te in*). This gives the melody a free-flowing, non-formulaic character.

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[350] *Ego sum resurrectio et vita. Qui credit in me habet vitam aeternam, et in judicio non venit, set transiet de morte ad vitam. V. Et omnis qui cerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me, habet vitam aeternam.*
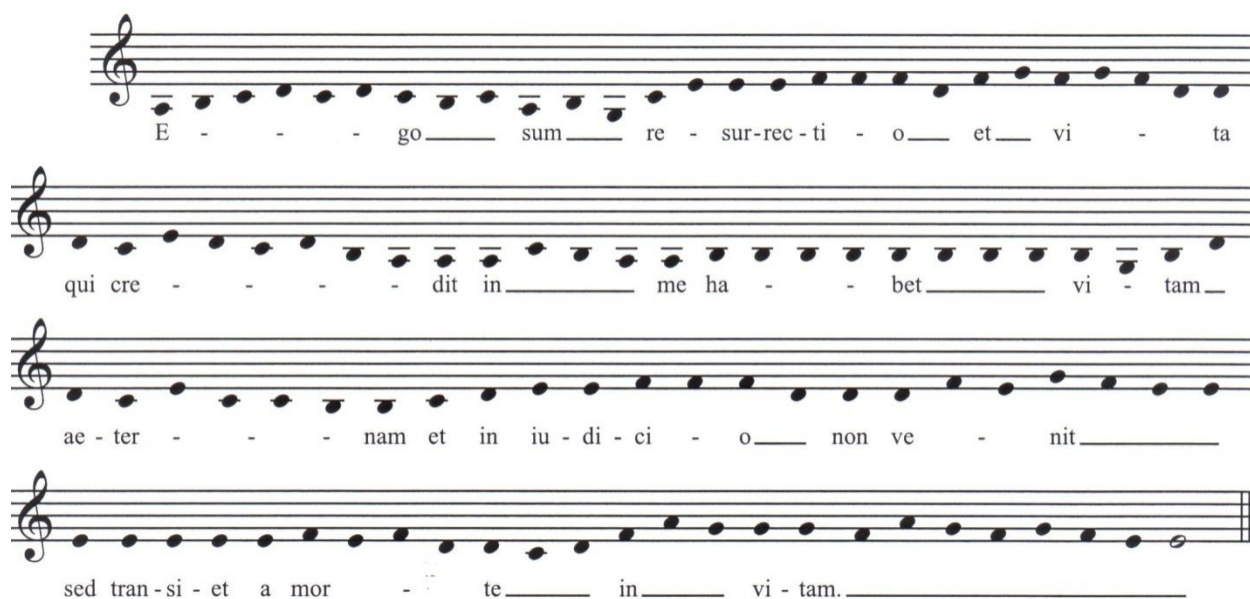
Figure 16. *Modern transcription of* Ego sum resurrectio *from Par BN776.*

Similarly, the text *Dona eis Domine*, only found as an introit in Par BN776[3] and Mad 18[1], was the most common communion text amongst early St. Gall manuscripts (see Table 8, *supra*). Deriving clearly from Isaiah 58:11, the text reads:

> Grant them, Lord, everlasting rest, fill their souls with splendor and that their bones may rest in a holy place.[351]

Though the reference to Hebrew Scripture and its striking similarity to early Christian attitudes about death no doubt made this text attractive, it also addressed the repose of the body in parallel with that of the soul. This idea touches on pre-liturgical theologies tied to the *parousia*, where the bodies of the dead would awaken from their rest and rise up in the Second Kingdom.[352]

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[351] *Dona eis Domine requiem sempiternam, imple splendoribus animas eorum, et ossa eorum requiescant in loco sancto.*

[352] This theology is reflected in the ancient practice of washing the body, that, while the first preoccupation is with the state of the soul, the condition of the body, too, must receive due attention. See Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 40-1, 64-5, etc.
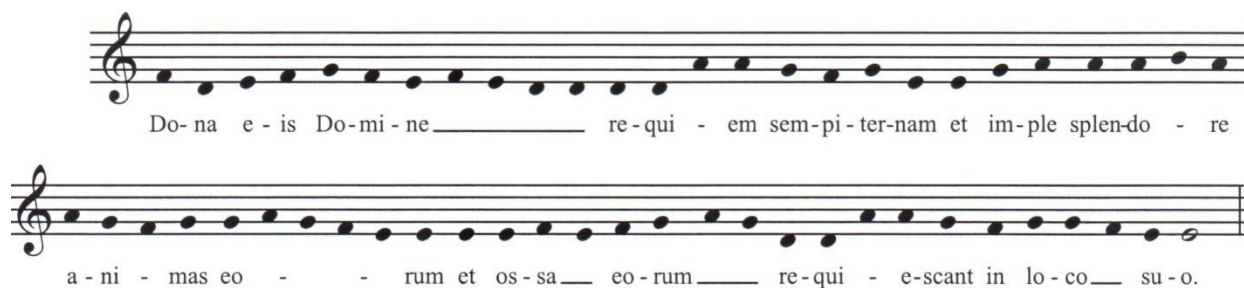
Figure 17. *Modern transcription of* Dona eis Domine *from Par BN776.*

The phyrygian melody is a fairly simple, largely syllabic setting. The leaps of a fifth at the coganates *requiem* and *requiescant* demonstrate deliberate compositional choices rather than adherence to formulaic psalm tone gestures.

The table below lists the thirteen propers exclusively communicated in Aquitanian manuscripts or whose proper function is unique to this region as found in Mad 18, Par BN776 and Par BN903.[353] Considering only introits, offertories and communions in these three manuscripts (because none of the abovementioned texts are used outside of those liturgical functions), the total number of propers is forty, which means the "Aquitanian propers" comprise an astounding 32.5% of their liturgical repertory for the dead.

Table 18. "Aquitanian" propers.

Proper	Function	Sources
De limo terrae	Introit	Par BN776
Dona eis Domine	Introit	Mad 18, ParBN776
Ego sum resurrectio	Offertory	Mad 18, Par BN776
Partem beatae	Communion	Par BN903
Sancta et salubris est	Communion	Mad 18, Par BN776
Sicut portavimus	Introit	Mad 18, Par BN776, Par BN903
Subvenite sancti Dei	Communion	Mad 18, Par BN776

These chants, all of which are melodically distinctive, are likely the product of the well-known profusion of creative issue from eleventh-century Aquitaine, which was responsible for a great

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[353] The presence of the Aquitanian introit *Sicut portavimus* in proximity with the *unicum* communion *Partem beatae* suggests that the latter ought to be counted among the Aquitanian repertory.

regional variety of proper chants across the entire repertory within the *Temporale* and especially the *Sanctorale*.

Besides these unusual propers, summarizing the remaining "common" texts in a concise fashion is difficult. Because of the Aquitanian interpolations, no one formulary predominates. However, as the following table illustrates, setting aside the "Aquitanian chants" makes a common core repertory is evident:

Table 19. Summary of non-Aquitanian propers in Aquitanian manuscripts.

In	**Si enim credimus**	4 of 9 non-Aquitanian propers
	Requiem aeternam	4 of 9 non-Aquitanian propers
	Flecte pias aures	1 of 9 non-Aquitanian propers
Gr	**Requiem aeternam**	6 of 14 non-Aquitanian propers
	Si enim credimus	4 of 14 non-Aquitanian propers
	Si ambulem in medio	2 of 14 non-Aquitanian propers
	Convertere animarum meam	2 of 14 non-Aquitanian propers
Tr	**De profundis**	7 of 9 non-Aquitanian propers
	Domine exaudi orationem	1 of 9 non-Aquitanian propers
	Sicut cervus	1 of 9 non-Aquitanian propers
Of	Domine Jesu Christe	4 of 15 non-Aquitanian propers
	Domine convertere	3 of 15 non-Aquitanian propers
	Erue Domine	3 of 15 non-Aquitanian propers
	O pie Deus	3 of 15 non-Aquitanian propers
	Ad te Domine	1 of 15 non-Aquitanian propers
	Miserere michi Domine	1 of 15 non-Aquitanian propers
Co	**Lux aeterna luceat eis**	4 of 10 non-Aquitanian propers
	Ego sum resurrectio	4 of 10 non-Aquitanian propers[354]
	Absolve Domine animas eorum	2 of 10 non-Aquitanian propers

Although not particularly elegant, the preceding table demonstrates what might be called "controlled equivocation" of proper selection. Though no one formulary dominates, a limited number of propers function in predictable ways. Most obviously, the tract *De profundis* serves as the preferred text for this liturgical function. But within the introit, gradual and communion,

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[354] One text begins with *Amen amen dico vobis...* rather than *Ego sum resurrectio et vita…*, but is otherwise the same.

two texts are co-dominant (listed in bold above). Only the offertory shows a genuine degree of ambiguity.

4.3   SUMMARY OF OBSERVATIONS

The aforementioned "controlled equivocation" is the anonymous voice of growing consensus. In the absence a deliberate and authoritative effort to establish a particular practice (such as the Council of Trent, or the scriptorium at St. Gall, or, as will happen, the new monastic orders), selection of propers was simply the decision of whoever oversaw the compilation of a particular manuscript. The consensus is not visible when viewing individual manuscripts, but requires a more macroscopic analysis. Including the three German manuscripts from Gay's study, a total of thirty-eight manuscripts comprising sixty-five formularies makes up the corpus of pre-twelfth-century sources containing a Mass for the Dead. The charts in Figure 18 illustrate the various texts which represent the growing consensus regarding the use of propers in pre-twelfth-century western Europe. However, it is important to note that these data do not reflect the manner in which the formularies are constructed; that is, popular introits may be found with unpopular graduals in one formulary and the reverse may be true in a second set of propers.
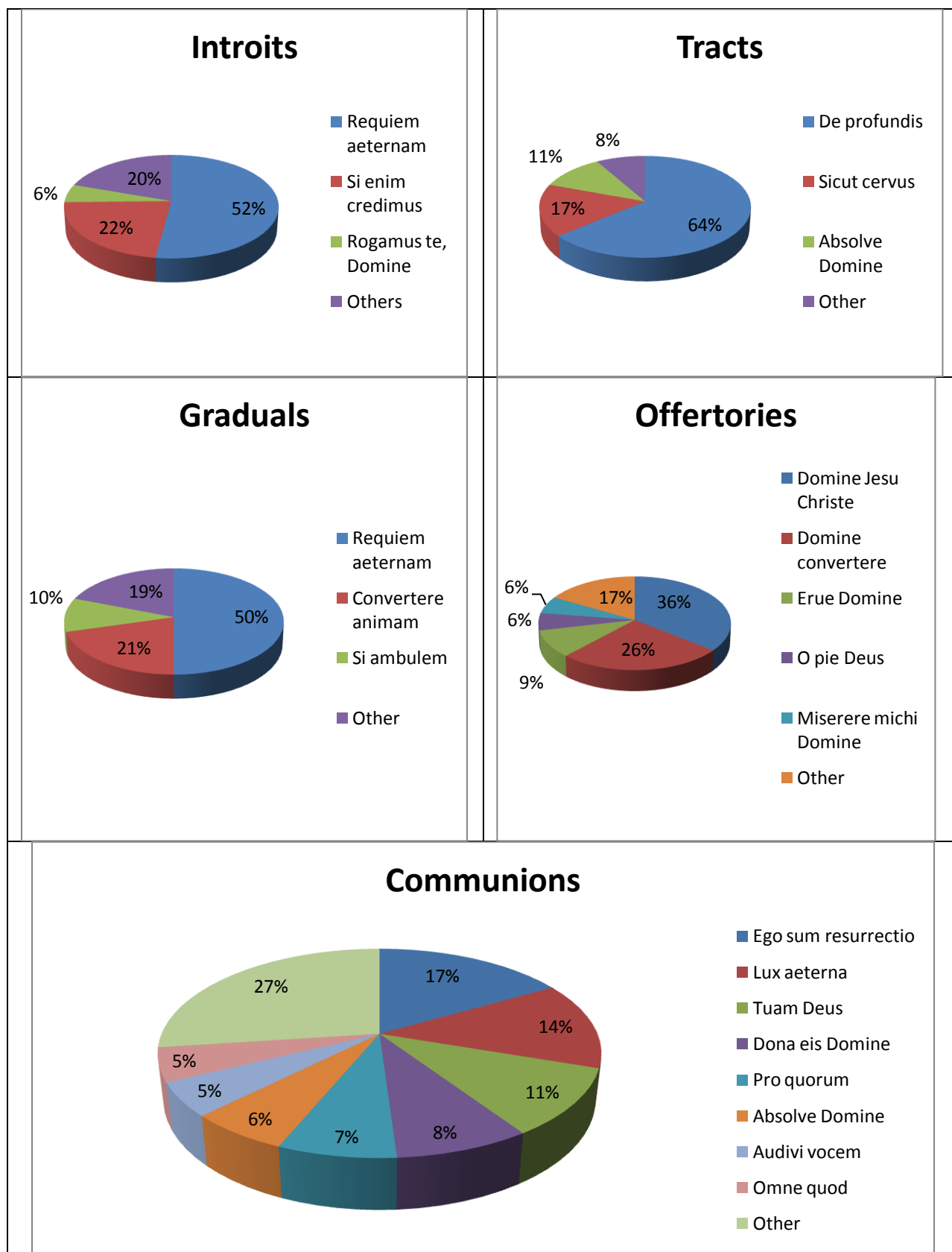
Figure 18. *Distribution of all the earliest mass propers.*

To summarize the pie charts above: of the 71 introits comprising 11 unique texts, 3 texts predominate; of the 68 graduals comprising 6 unique texts, 3 texts predominate; of the 36 tracts comprising 6 unique texts, 3 texts predominate; of the 84 offertories comprising 12 unique texts, 6 texts predominate; of the 96 communions comprising 19 unique texts, 8 texts predominate.

4.4   CONCLUSION

By the end of the eleventh century, the formularies for the Mass for the Dead varied widely. In this survey of thirty-eight manuscripts comprising sixty-five formularies, there is no authoritative agreement on a single formulary that ought to serve as *the* Mass for the Dead. Of the thirty-eight manuscripts, thirteen have multiple formularies (ranging from two to six), and of the ones that have a single formulary, only a handful afford the *cantor* (or *cantorum*) a single selection for each proper. This diversity stands in stark contrast with the striking uniformity amongst formularies for the other masses in the church year that were circulating in the first 250 years' worth of propers.

Several circumstances contributed to this departure from an otherwise fairly neat cycle. The increasing use of notation certainly would have made Charlemagne's goal of liturgical unity easier; it is unquestionably tempting to see his legendary acquisition of Pope Hadrian's sacramentary as *the* impetus for notation, but this anecdotal claim remains an implausibly neat solution. It is more likely that, as Treitler proposes, chant notation was initially only an aid to transmission, not a vehicle for it:

As Treitler has repeatedly stressed, neumes must not be viewed as imperfect forerunners of staff notation.

Had it been desired to represent exact pitches, the means to do so would have been found. Neumes remind

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their reader of the essential features of a melody that has already been learnt. The singer retains in his or her memory the store of typical melodic gestures implied by the genre and mode of the piece. The neumes guide the adaptation of those turns of phrase to the liturgical text in question.[355]

While notational practice may reflect local protocols, the texts and chants of the Mass with which they are associated point towards a common source. This is one of the basic theses of McKinnon's study, which provides a strong abductive argument for the formation of the cycle of propers (summarized above in section 4.0).[356]

Yet, as it pertains to the Mass for the Dead, the ninth-, tenth-, and especially eleventh-century sources testify to significant variation of propers, a departure from a fundamental tenet of McKinnon's argument. The key to reconciling this seeming disparity lies in the old Roman *Ordo Defunctorum*. Sicard, summarizing his survey of the celebration of Mass in the *Ordo Defunctorum*, says: "The origins of a proper Mass for the departed were certainly not in Rome."[357] Paxton repeats the same:

> [Sicard] argues that the oldest tradition did not entail an office of the dead or a mass that was specifically a mass for the dead rather than simply the mass of the day… The rubrics referring to a mass in some of the manuscripts of the Roman *ordo* are additions made under the influence of the Gallican milieux through which it passed.[358]

Sicard, whose emphasis was not the Mass for the Dead, notes that sources with increased Gallican influence make reference to votive masses, redacting the *Ordo Defunctorum* and ultimately incorporating the expectation that specific Masses for the Dead would be

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[355] Bent, *"Notation."* See also Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, chapters 6 and 14.
[356] McKinnon, *The Advent Project.*
[357] Sicard, *Liturgie de la Mort*, 183. "Il n'y avait certainement pas à Rome aux origines, de messe propre pour les obsèques."
[358] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 41n90.

celebrated.[359] To make up for the paucity of sources, he carefully traces both the rubrics and prayers from Gallican sources from the eighth through the eleventh centuries, giving strong credence to their influence on the formation of the Mass for the Dead.

Sicard's conclusions harmonize neatly with McKinnon's observations of a deliberate constructive processes completed by the beginning of the eighth century. By contrast, the slow redactive progression toward a separate liturgical formulary Mass for the Dead only begins in the eighth century, after McKinnon's cycle of propers was completed and beginning to be disseminated. While Paxton's text does not comment on the content of the Masses themselves, his conclusions offer further insight. Whereas the pagan migrants entering into Gaul would not have influenced the development of Advent or Easter celebrations (for these are specific concepts to the Christian mythos), death was a universal experience:

> The Christian communities of late Roman antiquity celebrated death. … It ritualized death as a passage of the triumphant soul to the celestial regions... [and] marked the entry into the real life of a Christian. To the new communities of Christians in the early medieval West, however, death held more terror. Salvation was not ensured by virtue of membership in the community, or in the imperial religion of the fourth or fifth centuries. *In a world of disorder, among people for whom Christianity was an alien faith conveyed in a foreign tongue, the question of personal salvation had less easy answers.* Humankind's fallen condition demanded penitence; converse with the world necessarily brought pollution.[360]

Local Christian interpretations refracted through a pagan lens had more personal meaning than which introit was intoned on *Quadrigesima*, for example. But cultural identity does play a role in the influencing of death ritual. The notion of a mass specifically for the dead occurs simultaneously during the synthesis—and is indeed parcel to it—of the various autochthonous

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[359] Sicard, *Liturgie de la Mort*, 176-81, and especially, 183-91.
[360] Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 202-3. Emphasis mine.

traditions surrounding death (and dying) across eighth- and ninth-century Europe, and is subsequent to the completion of McKinnon's proposed Advent Project.

To conclude, the inconsistency in Masses for the Dead contrasts sharply with McKinnon's argument for a conscientious formation of a cycle of propers for the liturgical year in Rome. However, the notion of such a Mass at the time proposed for the Advent Project is, in fact, an anachronism. By that time, the integration of the varying ideological notions about the afterlife and preparation for it was just beginning to blossom, too late for the efforts of the Advent Project. Consequently, rather than the calculated planning of a committee of liturgists, the selection of propers was the product of local traditions, either drawing from the psalmody, antiphons and *preces* of the ordos they inherited, or created as their own texts to reflect regional beliefs and customs.

Given that social unity is intrinsic to religious identity, the heterogeneity of a liturgy as important as one for the dead could not persist. The attenuation of a "pagan" identity combined with theological and theo-political events in the twelfth century helped spawn a more unified vision for the Mass of the Dead.

5.0   IDEOLOGICAL CHANGES

The second half of the eleventh century was a turning point in ideological development. Offshoots of monastic tradition, frustrated with the state of affairs in monasteries, began to sprout—first the Cluniac monks, and shortly thereafter the Cistercians and Carthusians. Their common vision, neatly-confined hierarchical organization, and commitment to liturgy led to rapid codification of liturgies for the dead within their respective traditions. Simultaneously, the indefinite quality of the *interim refrigerium* became imbued with an increasingly tenebrous character, with the pains of hell moving ever closer to the foreground.

5.1   THEOLOGICAL SHIFTS

As discussed extensively in chapter 2.0, especially 2.3, death became an ironically positive symbol for Christians in the first few centuries of their faith. Jesus's death was interpreted as necessary for salvation of all humankind, and martyrdom was the highest and most noble expression of faith. As such, the believers' attention was focused on the rewards of the kingdom of heaven. In the early medieval period, as shown in chapter 3.0, though the idea of heaven remained prominent, theological eyes were lowered to an indefinite "third place" (as Purgatory would later be called) where the sins of life are purged away by fire. The gaze descended further and even more dramatically as the theological emphasis shifted in the twelfth century. During

this time, the concept of purgation underwent its first substantial revision since the late sixth and early seventh centuries, from an indefinite cleansing to a more concrete institution, called "Purgatory." Additionally, the Church moved the pains of Hell and the fear of everlasting torment into the forefront of the minds of the faithful.

5.1.1 Purgatory

The seeds of purgatory were planted at least five centuries before they flowered. As discussed in section 2.7, the general vision of the saints and their martyrdom in particular contributed to the early Christians' positive perception of death. However, the increasing role of the church in mediating between the "two places" of heaven and hell spurred the development of the concept of a "third place." The writings of Sts. Augustine and Gregory (see sections 3.3 and 3.4) articulated more explicitly the notions of purgation which remained relatively unaltered for centuries. The ninth- and tenth-century Church also had a conception of this "third place," but it remained vaguely defined.

The initial conception of the afterlife in the first decades of Christianity differed starkly from later centuries. Rooted in the *parousia*, St. Paul contended that the faithful were not going anywhere; instead Jesus was coming back, and soon. The "afterlife" was the Messianic return and the reign of Christ over the Kingdom of God *on earth*. Heaven as understood by Christians of the Middle Ages was simply not part of St. Paul's hermeneutic. The Gospel of St. Mark, the earliest gospel text, makes little reference to the afterlife, save that sacrificing on earth will yield treasure in heaven[361] and the dramatic warning about temptation wherein Jesus hyperbolically

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[361] St. Mark 10:21.

recommends self-mutilation if it diminishes sinfulness.[362] The hypothetical early source "Q," which transmitted the "sayings" of Jesus, makes somewhat more pointed references which parallel the tenor of St. Mark.[363] For example, the Beatitudes[364] refer to those who are persecuted or unfortunate being compensated in Heaven, and a similar example includes the aphorism at St. Matthew 6:19-21, advising storing treasures in heaven, not on earth.

Sts. Matthew and Luke, however, composed their texts at the end of the first century, a generation and half after Jesus's death, and do make reference to the afterlife. By this point, the Christians had adopted the stance that the *parousia* might not come in their lifetimes. Each author had his own take on the subject, and both perspectives influenced later thought. In the Gospel of St. Luke, the "Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus" paints a vivid mental image:[365] A rich man had all the worldly blessings whereas Lazarus, a leper and a beggar, had none of these. The rich man ignores the starving Lazarus, not even feeding him the paltry scraps from his table. Lazarus, meanwhile, was so pathetic that the dogs even felt sorry for him and licked his sores. When both Lazarus and the rich man died, the former was "carried away by angels to the bosom of Abraham," and the latter was "in torment" in the "netherworld," where he longed for Lazarus (whom he did not help in life) to dip his finger in water and simply touch his tongue.

In St. Luke's depiction, the ascent (or descent) to the afterlife was immediate upon death: one was carried (or dragged) to the place commensurable with one's actions. St. Matthew's image is just as dramatic, but with a different emphasis. In what came to be known as "The Last

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[362] St. Mark 9:43-48, also in St. Matthew 5:29-30 and 18:7-9.
[363] Because of the close concordance of aphorisms and parables between the Gospels of Sts. Matthew and Luke, biblical scholars have conjectured that a lost source which is called "Q" (meaning "Quelle") was available to those authors and served as one of the stemmatic antecedents for their Gospels. Cf. Davies, *New Testament Fundamentals*, or Theissen and Merz, *The Historical Jesus.*
[364] St. Matthew 6:2-12, St. Luke 6:20-23.
[365] St. Luke 16:19-31.

Judgment," St. Matthew describes a situation in which "all nations" come before Jesus, who acts as their judge.[366] Jesus divides the nations into "sheep" and "goats," and informs the former that they will "inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world" and tells the latter, "depart from me, you accursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels." Like the parable above, the judgment meted is based on a person's conduct in life, but the timing is different. St. Matthew's account entails a delay, because Jesus the judge has gathered *all nations* for simultaneous judgment.

This contradiction of timing had to be harmonized, and so the *interim refrigerium* arose. First articulated in the late-second or early-third century by Tertullian,[367] this concept erased the contradiction: souls of the faithful entered the state of paradisal *rest* (cf. section 2.4) and there awaited the *parousia*.

As the theology of the afterlife developed under such theologians as Sts. Augustine and Gregory, early and medieval Christians held a tacit belief in an undefined "stasis" for souls before the Last Judgment. Attendant to this belief was the idea that prayers by the living can influence the final resting place for the dead.

> Prayer for the dead, then, fulfilled a variety of functions in the early medieval texts. The theologians
> agreed that it might help to speed up or mitigate the process of purgation after death, or simply celebrate
> the passage of a saint to heaven. But other members of early medieval society attributed powers to prayer
> for the dead which were not recognized by the theologians: the power to mitigate the sufferings of the
> damned or liberate souls from hell, the power to affect the outcome of the individual judgment or even the

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[366] St. Matthew 25:31-46.
[367] LeGoff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 46 ff.

last judgment. In many cases, intercession was seen not just as helpful but as necessary to the salvation of a sinful soul.[368]

Thus, the prayers for the dead arose in early sacramentaries (see Section 3.5, *supra*) and, later, in masses specifically for the dead. This simple and perhaps innocent theological solution yielded to more formalized conceptions for the place (and period) of waiting before admission into either heaven or hell. This burgeoning sentiment contributed to the doctrine of Purgatory in the twelfth century. Under this conception, the living influence the judgment rendered *post mortem*, and, more significantly, the Church could mediate on behalf of souls.

The monk Alcuin of York, one of Charlemagne's early advisors in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, offered a contemporary understanding of the vague but developing sense of purgation:

> All souls must pass through this transitory fire (*ignis transitorius*). Some will go to damnation, others to coronation. The former will be tormented either more or less, depending on the degree of their wickedness, while the latter will be rewarded more or less, depending on the degree of their sanctity.[369]

This summary of Alcuin's viewpoints, found in his treatise *De fide Sanctae Trinitatis* of 802, represents the view that continued well through the ninth into the tenth century, when the first propers for the Mass for the Dead were recorded. Theologians throughout western Europe, including Rabanus Maurus (d. 856), Paschasius Radbertus (d. 860), Haymo of Halberstadt (d. 853), Atto of Vercelli (d. 921), and Ratherius of Verona (d. 974), have similarly indistinct representations of the transition between death and the final resting place (variously, *tribulationis ignis*, *ignis charitatis*, fire of conflagration, purgatorial fire) for the venial sins of a relatively

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[368] McLaughlin, *Consorting with the Saints*, 212.
[369] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 103.

good individual.[370]   Once these conceptions of the afterlife took root and became firmly embedded in the theological understanding of clergy and faithful, the *state* of purgation became the *place* of Purgatory.

The doctrine of Purgatory crystallized in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and with that came a progressive posthumous justice which mirrored the reform of the justice system in the secular realm.[371] Sins became like crimes, each requiring a penance. Whereas severe sins had always merited contrition and penance, this twelfth-century change in perception meant that an individual ought to confess frequently to continually cleanse his soul of even the most minor sin.[372] By the thirteenth century, the Fourth Lateran Council commanded that an individual *must* have a confession heard by a priest at least once a year.[373] This put the faithful in immediate touch with their sinfulness, their relationship with the Church, and the implications of mortality with respect to the state of their souls. Purgatory became an extension of the penance that the faithful were now obliged to consider, and their heightened awareness of a just application of penance (harsher punishments for greater sins) was extended to this "third place:"

> Purgatorial punishment was thus marked not only by its *quality* or intensity (typically by fire), but by its *quantity* and duration. Hence by the thirteenth century there was a new and somewhat literal concern with the ratio of time's passage on earth and in Purgatory, such that the internal coherence and validity of the idea of punishment and suffrage could be coordinated. This was one important basis of what has been called the "quantitative piety" of the later Middle Ages, its obsessive concern with the notion that the repetition of an action (like a prayer) ensures its validity. [374]

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[370] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 103-5.
[371] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 210 ff.
[372] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 215.
[373] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 216.
[374] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 186-7.

By the early twelfth century, the doctrine of Purgatory had become a fully-developed concept. Not only did souls have a post-mortem destination for the cleansing of sin, but now a commensuration of sinfulness and purgation. Gone are the abstractions of Sts. Augustine and Gregory; their logical supposition that souls with different degrees of sinfulness obtain Paradise at different rates now had fully-realized dimensions. And, with this, the priest (and thereby the Church) had subsumed all spiritual power, able to remit the sins of anyone and offer immediate access to Heaven, or not.

This gradual, but pointed, theological shift is accompanied by a "harrowing" of chants, the complete discussion of which occurs in Section 6.2. Because most of the chants accompanying the Masses for the Dead significantly antedate this more substantial conception of Purgatory, no chant explicitly refers to the process of purgation. However, the *Sacramentum Hadrianum ex Authentico* of the eighth century, sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne himself in 785 or 786, contains the prayer *Absolve Domine* that would have a lasting impact on the Mass for the Dead.[375] The opening sentence of this *preces* would be used as a tract or communion, modified slightly to shift the focus from a dead individual to "the dead" generally. This text, *Absolve, Domine, animas omnium*, anticipates the developments that Purgatory would undergo in the future:

> Absolve, Lord, all of the souls of the faithful departed from the all chains of [their] transgressions and by the aid of your grace may they merit to deserve to avoid the judgment of retribution and enjoy the blessedness of eternal light.[376]

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[375] *Hadrianum ex Authentico*, item 1016. This was later reiterated nearly identically in St. Benedict of Aniane's *Supplementum Anianense*, item 1404.

[376] *Absolve, Domine, animas omnium fidelium defunctorum ab omni vinculo delictorum. Et gratia tua illis succurente, mereantur evader judicium ultionis. Et lucis aeternae beatitudine perfrui.*

This prayer juxtaposes several afterlife concepts. The depiction of "eternal light" (*aeternae lucis*) is familiar, and the nature of enjoyment is especially paradisal. The peculiar elegancy of *perfrui* (rendered "enjoy") is lost in translation; the double entendre with "fructus," (i.e., fruit) recalls an Eden-like image. Alongside this is the *judicium ultionis*, meaning the "judgment or sentence" of "retribution or vengeance" which has a more sinister character. More visceral are the *vinculo delictorum*, or "chains of transgressions" from which the sinner must be freed (cf. Figure 23, *infra*) which evinces the image of purgation.

Perhaps then it is no coincidence that this text ultimately became affixed as the tract for the Mass for the Dead at the Council of Trent, even though it never had a strong history functioning in that capacity; in the centuries before its official codification, the Psalm *De profundis* was by far the most well-represented tract and *Absolve Domine* was more commonly used as a communion proper. In contrast with the *Requiem aeternam* or *Domine Jesu Christe*, whose trajectories as the codified introit and offertory are clear, the inclusions of *Absolve Domine* was not a process of redaction but of deliberate appointment in the Roman Missal of 1570.

Albeit uncommon, another chant found in Masses for the Dead during these formative centuries is the Aquitanian communion *Sancta et salubris est* (for details and a transcription, see Section 4.2.6, *supra*). There are two proto-Purgatorial aspects to this text. First, and more obviously, is the notion that the offering of sacrifices is causally linked to the release from sin. However, rather than simply referring to the forgiveness of sin, the verb *solvantur*, meaning "loosen, free, or unbind," quietly affirms the intrinsic *bondage* that sin effects upon the

individual.[377] This same motif is explicitly articulated in the text *vinculo delictorum*, or "chains of transgression," utilized in *Absolve Domine*. The second proto-Purgatorial aspect is the subtle praise for the action of offering sacrifices; not only does the soul of the sinner reap the benefits of having his sins loosened, but the act itself, as blessed and healthy, reflects well upon the actor.

A final text which refers overtly to issues of purgation comes not from a mass, but the highly-troped *Libera Domine* found after the three formularies in the eleventh-century manuscript from St. Denis, Par BM384. The massive scope of the text, with eighteen attendant verses, does not permit a complete examination of what is clearly a pastiche (the object of the prayer changes from third-person plural, or "their souls" to first-person singular "my soul"). However, a sample of a few of the verses will help to illustrate the development of the theology of Purgatory.

> Christ, creator of heaven, who endured the torment of the cross for us, pluck our souls from the flames of hell. God, giver of good things, kind listener of your prayer, you would not permit my soul to suffer torture by the fire of the underworld, but to slay it with the chosen meeting of angels. King of the universe, Jesus Christ, good as well as kindly, you make me a partaker of your glory, who divided the inheritance to be the redemption of all men. Creator of all the living, who suffered greatly the untimely death of wretched deaths, you will be mindful of the imprisoned, and you relinquish by your loyalty, therefore, those who are redeemed by you from the one who smites. Good creator, life of the living, hope of the dead, grant to us, not that the redeemed would be destroyed by the deceit of the evil ensared, but the fires of hell would be overthrown and would return to eternal life.[378]

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[377] Indeed, the conception of being bound by sin is a Biblical one. St. Matthew 18:18: *Amen dico vobis quaecumque **alligaveritis** super terram erunt **ligata** et in caelo et quaecumque **solveritis** super terram erunt **soluta** et in caelo.* Amen, I say to you: whatsoever you may have **bound** upon earth will be **bound** in heaven, and whatsoever you have **loosed** upon earth will be **loosed** in heaven.

[378] *Christe, caeli factor, qui crucis pro nobis subisti tormenta, erue nostras animas ab incendiis gehennalibus. Bonorum retributor Deus, tuorum precum auditor benignus ne sinas animam meam baratri cruciari ignibus, sed fac*

Clearly, the author, who expanded the more ancient responsory, believed that intercession aided those "imprisoned" by death. The chant impels Christ, the Judge, to spare the dead from the fires of Hell and to grant salvation in eternal life.

Purgatory does not have a central function in the propers for the Mass for the Dead, but its impact on the increased importance of the Mass for the Dead is undeniable. Scripture makes clear that both Heaven and Hell are eternal.[379] That is, prayers of the living will have no impact on the dead in either of these places. However, in Purgatory, there is potential; the dead could be advanced from a less-desired state to Paradise, based on the actions of the living. McKinnon's "Advent Project," completed by the beginning of the eighth century, was undertaken when no clear particular Mass for the Dead appears to have existed. Rather, an ordinary mass was supplemented by prayers for the dead. However, the growing theological concern regarding the state of the departed souls impelled the formation of dedicated Masses for the Dead with the multifaceted purpose of commendation, commemoration and, now, assisting the souls' migration through a place of purgation to Paradise.

5.1.2 Hell

The change from a quiet optimism in the tranquil repose of Paradise to the vividly lurid grotesqueries of Hell began gradually as the concept of Purgatory developed. Through Hell, the afterlife attained an unrivaled dramatic vigor. The literary climax is, of course, Dante Alighieri's

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eam loetari cum electis angelorum coetibus. Rex seculorum, Christe Jesu, bone ac benigne, fac me tuae gloriae participem, quae tribuisti redemptionis omnium esse consortem. Cunctorum creator viventium, qui interitui condoluisti morientium miserorum. Memor esto captivorum, et concede, ut, qui a te redempti sunt, ne a tua pietate ab iciantur. Bone conditor, vita vivorum, spes mortuorum. Praesta nobis, ne perdantur redempti circumventi fraude maligni, sed eruantur a poenis inferni et reddantur vitae perhenni.

[379] St. Luke 16:26 makes reference to "a great chasm" between Lazarus and the rich man which prevents crossing between the two sides.

Divina Commedia of the early fourteenth century. But the road to Dante's Hell was paved over the preceding centuries.

As the theology of Purgatory crystallized, the imagery of Hell served to elucidate the value of intercessory prayer, because the process of purgation was likened to a temporary Hell. While the "third place" was initially conceived as static, it moved to an ambiguously defined purgation, and finally became a place adjunct and likened to Hell, but with the potential of leading to Heaven. Thus, the depiction of Hell has the dual benefit of acting as a deterrent, but tacitly illustrating the temporary fate of souls who were in Purgatory.

Several early images depict the graphic nature of Hell. The following image, which depicts the familiar parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man (often called "Dives") mentioned above, exemplifies the drama surrounding Hell in the mid-eleventh century.

Figure 19. *Lazarus and the Rich Man.* 1035-1040 C.E. Codex Aureus Epternacensis (The Golden Gospel of

Echternach), Folio 78[r][380]

The top panel of the manuscript depicts a scene while Lazarus and Dives were alive. The second

and third panels show the death and post-mortem states of Lazarus and the rich man respectively.

Lazarus is conducted to Paradise by a pair of psychopomps (angelic guides), where he sits, child-

[380] The Yorck Project: 10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN 3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH. The compilation copyright is held by Zenodot Verlagsgesellschaft mbH and licensed under the GNU Free Documentation License.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Meister_des_Codex_Aureus_Epternacensis_001.jpg.

like, on Abraham's knee. By contrast, a devil carries Dives uncomfortably away to a tortuous

end. This bottom panel becomes the eventual subject of future afterlife depictions.

An earlier image in Mozarabic Spain depicts an anonymous scene in which the souls of

the dead either are ushered kindly into Heaven or, more dramatically, get wrenched by a devil,

snakes, or a two-headed bird to join the devil in hellish torture.
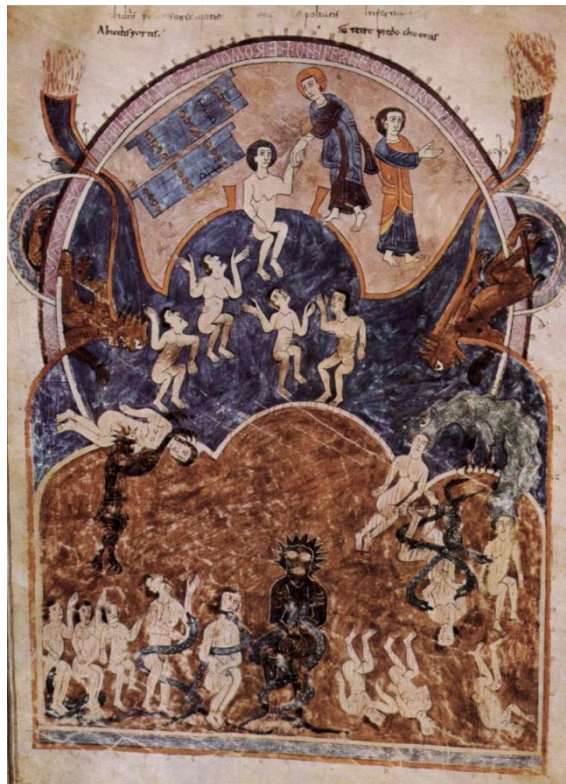
Figure 20. *Group from Beatus's Apocalypse from the Compendium of the Spanish Monk, St. Beatus.* 975 C.E.[381]

Like the slightly later image, here Hell dominates even this very early depiction. While a

solitary soul is lifted up, four await judgment, another four are dragged to Hell, and eight are

already suffering.

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[381] The Yorck Project: 10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN 3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH. The compilation copyright is held by Zenodot Verlagsgesellschaft mbH and licensed under the GNU Free Documentation License.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ende_(Meisterin_der_Schule_von_T%C3%A1vara)_002.jpg.

The Last Judgment in St. Matthew's Gospel also lent itself to artistic depictions of Hell, particularly in the tympana of several medieval churches. One such example can be found above the main portal of the west entrance of St. Foy in Conques, France.
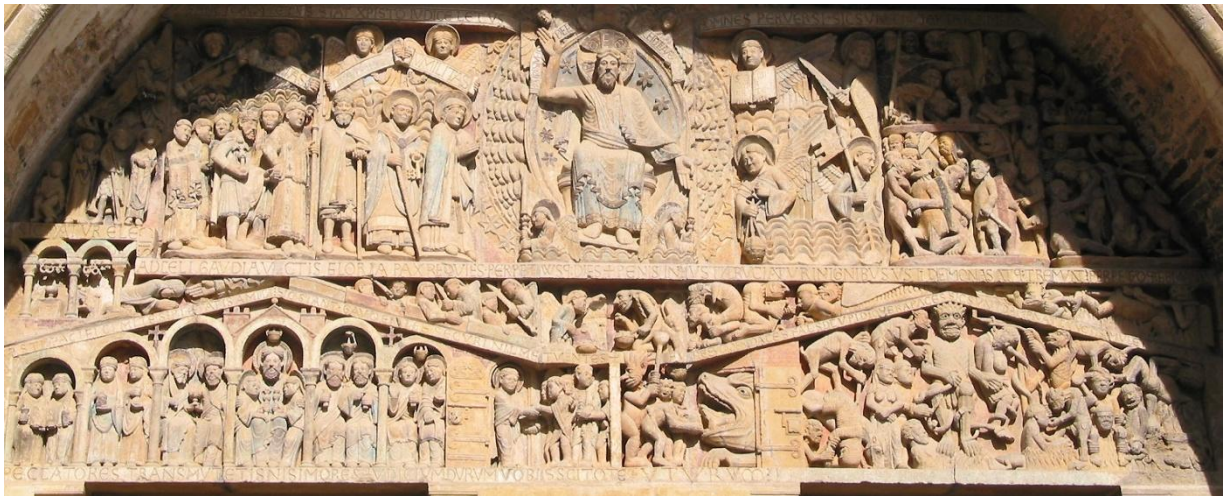
Figure 21. *The Tympanum over the west entrance to the Abbey of St. Foy,* Conques (Aveyron), France. c. 1130.[382]

In vivid detail over the main entrance to this magnificent church, this image clearly communicates a reckoning in the afterlife. The inscription underneath reads: "O sinners, if you do not change your ways, know ye of a future hard judgment."[383] Other inscriptions are alternatively positive—e.g., joy (*gaudia*), rest (*requies*) and perpetual day (*perpetuusque dies*)— or punitive—e.g., the "perverse men" (*hominess perversi*) are "tortured in fire" (*cruciantur in ignibus*), are damned (*sunt dampnati*) and groan perpetually (*perpetuoque gemunt*, mirroring the perpetual day of the blessed). The focus of the tympanum is Christ the Judge, with the blessed at Christ's right hand, the accursed on the left. A true predecessor to Dante's work, the image explores the full gamut of judgment. At the bottom, in the center, the psychostasy, or "weighing

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[382] Photograph by Jean-Pol Grandmont, cropped to emphasize the tympanum. Used under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Conques_JPG03.jpg.
[383] *O peccatores transmutetis nisi mores judicium durum vobis scitote futurum.*

of souls" takes place; on the Judge's right, an angel weighs the soul while on His left awaits a demon. Behind each of them, souls process to their respective eternities. Below, the good souls are guided through the gate to Heaven, while sinners are crammed into the gaping maw of Hell.

Figure 22. *Detail of the tympanum over the west entrance to the Abbey of St. Foy, Conques*[384]

Elsewhere, the tympanum depicts angels guarding Heaven from demons, a grim Satan presiding over tortured souls, and Abraham and unnamed martyrs in regal positions within the halls of Heaven. Most significantly, just below Heaven, but ascending to it, a penitent crawls to Paradise, which receives her with an outstretched hand, while behind her stands an altar (a depiction of the altar at St. Foy) with unlocked manacles, signifying her freedom from the bond of sin by intercession.

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[384] See note 382.

Figure 23. *Detail of the tympanum over the west entrance to the Abbey of St. Foy, Conques*[385]

Several other twelfth-century French cathedrals have similar tympana, such as those in Chartres and Autun, as well as the Abbey of St. Mary Magdalene. In the thirteenth-century, the main doors in the cathedrals in Laon, Amiens and Bourges all were decorated with similar dramas of the Last Judgment. Although French exemplars dominate, other countries did utilize the imagery. In Spain, the Cathedrals of Santiago de Compostela from the twelfth century and of St. Mary in the thirteenth use the same theme. In Germany, the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. George in Bamberg offers a thirteenth-century example.

The impact of these tympana in major churches in the later middle ages reflects a changing theological mindset. Set over the doors, most often the main portal, they immediately reminded the faithful, often dramatically, of the potential implications of death, both their own and of loved ones. These vivid and often grotesque images—often iterated elsewhere in the church—reveal the growing acceptance of Hell and Purgatory. No longer visually emphasizing the themes of peace, the Masses for the Dead utilized by the new monastic orders provide the counterbalance to this drama of Hell.

The most dramatic of the early texts is the offertory *O Domine Jesu Christe*. In contrast with the exclusively peaceful images of rest and peace found in the text for the *Requiem*

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[385] See note 382.

aeternam, this text, first found in St. Gall 339 discussed above in section 4.1, prays not that souls

obtain the pleasures of Paradise, but avoid the suffering of Hell.

> O Lord Jesus Christ, King of Glory, free the souls of all the faithful dead from the pains of Hell and the
>
> deep pit. Free them from the mouth of the lion; do not let them be swallowed into Tartarus nor let them fall
>
> into darkness. But let the standard-bearer Saint Michael lead them into the holy light which you once
>
> promised to Abraham and his seed.[386]

Within this text are five specific images associated with Hell: the pains of hell or the underworld

(*poenis inferni*), the deep pit (*profundo lacu*), the mouth of the lion (*ore leonis*), the swallowing

of Tartarus (*absorbeat eas tartarus*), and the darkness (*obscurum*). These images are preceded

by the petitions in the imperative mood, requesting that Christ, the King, liberate the souls from

these images of damnation. The final sentence involves a psychopomp, St. Michael the

Archangel, whose role in Revelation 12:7-9 is to lead the fight against the Devil and his army.

By the post-Carolingian era, St. Michael was viewed in western Europe as the chief judge of

souls in advance of the Last Judgment.[387] Recalling the ancient *topos*, the souls are led from

darkness into "holy light" (*lucem sanctam*).[388]

Consider also *O pie Deus,* (for a translation, see Section 4.2.3, *supra*) which appeared

occasionally as an offertory in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. This proper reverses the

direction seen in *Domine Jesu Christe*; it begins with positive imagery and concludes with the

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[386] *Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriae, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de poenis inferni et de profundo lacu. Libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum; sed signifier sanctus Michael repraesentet eas in lucem sanctam, quem olim Abrahae promisisti et semini eius.*

[387] For a comprehensive study of St. Michael's role throughout Christianity, cf. John Charles Arnold, "Ego sum Michael: The Origin and Diffusion of the Christian Cult of St. Michael the Archangel" (PhD dissertation: University of Arkansas, 1997).

[388] A thorough discussion of this text can be found in Mary Cecilia Hilferty, "The *Domine Jesu Christe, Libera Me,* and *Dies Irae* of the Requiem: A Historical and Literary Study" (PhD dissertation: The Catholic University of America, 1973).

potential horrors of everlasting death. Opening with the "Good Shepherd," the prayer petitions the release of redeemed souls from death before the Last Judgment (another reference to a proto-Purgatorial state). Quoting Psalm 73:19, the reference to beasts conjures the image of demonic creatures and their consumption of souls.[389]

Figure 24. *Three capitals depicting grotesques feasting on people. 1ˢᵗ qtr of the 12ᵗʰ c., Saint-Pierre, Chauvigny*[390]

With the verse, this offertory uses words derived from "judge" five times (six including the related concept of justice). When combined with the images of the beasts, the damnation of the wicked (*damnentur cum impiis*) is a terrifying prospect, cast in full relief against the *Pastor bone* mentioned at the outset of the proper.
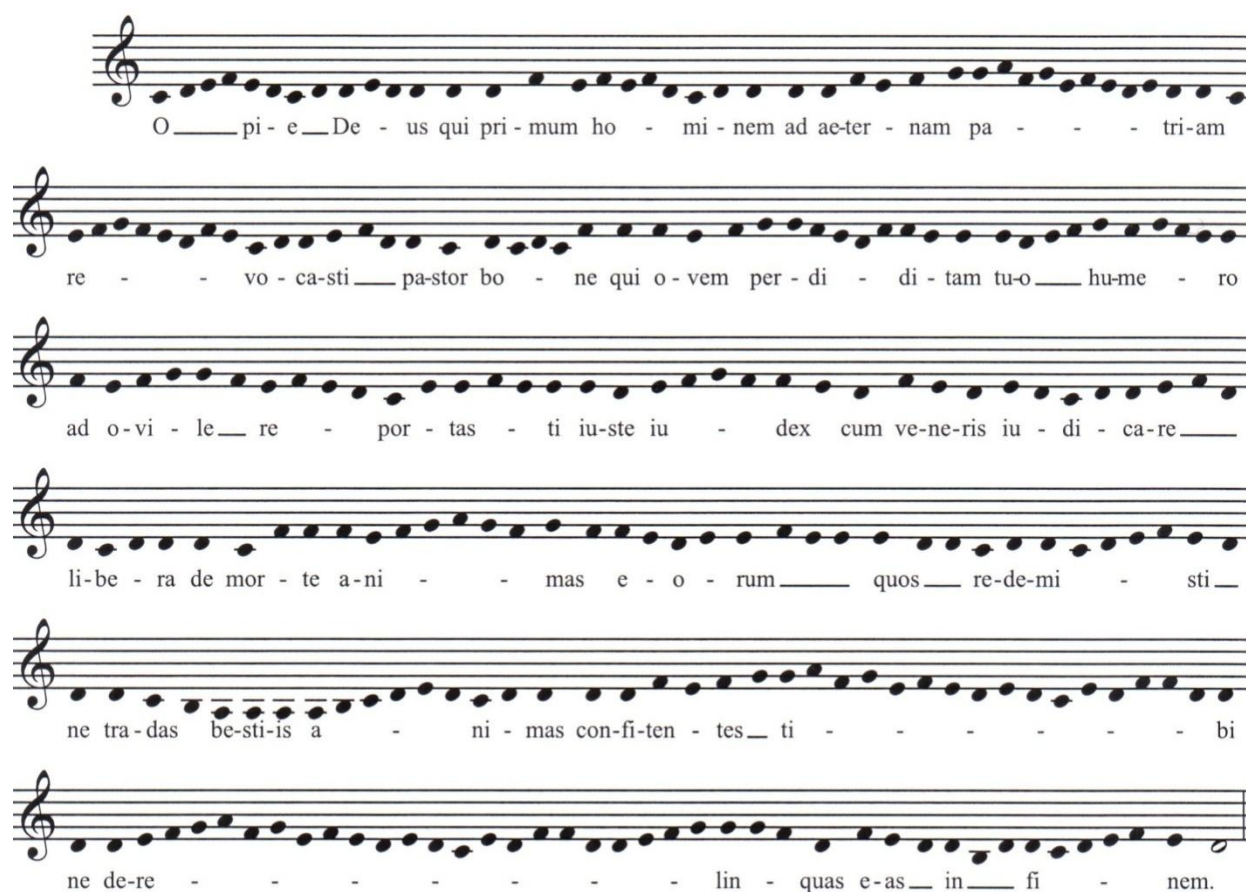
Figure 25. *Modern transcription of* O Pie Deus *from Par BN13253.*
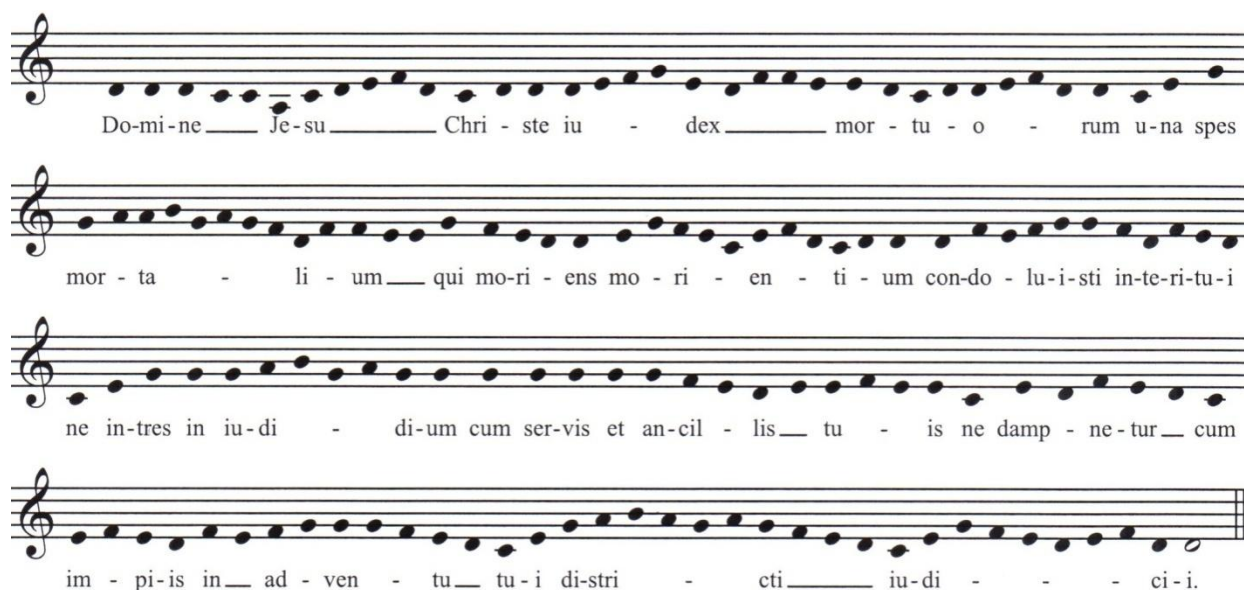
Figure 26. *Continuation of transcription of* O Pie Deus *from Par BN13253.*

The florid melody shows some sensitivity to its text. The word *bestiis* is set syllabically to the lowest notes of the chant followed by extensive melismata. In a similar melodic gesture, the word *Jesu* begins on the same note, but rather than staying in the lower register, it rises (like the word *animas* after *bestiis*). The chant aurally and visually articulates the theology—the beasts remain in the pit, but the souls, like Jesus, rises from it.

A final text, derived literally from Scripture, when interpreted through a medieval hermeneutic, certainly evokes the image of Hell: Psalm 129, *De profundis clamavi*. Even through the fourteenth century, it enjoyed overwhelming popularity as the tract for the Mass for the Dead (see Figure 18, *supra*). With all the concomitant verses, it reads:

From the abyss I called to you, Lord. Lord, hear my voice. May your ears be exerted by the prayer of your

servant. If you were to have watched iniquities, Lord, Lord, who will be sustained? Because through you

is atonement, and on account of your law, I am sustained by you, Lord.[391]

Refracted through the lens of a medieval Christian, the echoes of Hell resonate in the opening

line of the text. Similarly, the act of petition, the stain of iniquity, and absolution through God

and His Law (and His Church) all link to the theology of death, purgation and salvation and, in

particular, the role of the living to mitigate the sins of the dead.

Despite a general preference for certain propers, by the twelfth century, excepting the

tradition represented by St. Gall, no single formulary predominates. While this variety is

unsurprising given the absence of an authoritative body dictating the composition of such a

formulary, it begins to change with the resurgence of monasticism and the customs surrounding

the liturgies for the dead that arose as a result.

5.2   MONASTIC REFORM

Though the influential theologians St. Chrodegang (under Pippin) and St. Benedict of Aniane

(under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious) were committed to monastic reform in their respective

times, their effort yielded no manifest results during their lives. However, they laid groundwork

for liturgical and monastic repair and reorganization, which took root in the late tenth century

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[391] *De profundis clamavi ad te Domine: Domine exaudi vocem meam. V. Fiant aures tuae intendentes in orationem servi tui. V. Si iniquitates observaveris, Domine, Domine, quis sustinebit? V. Quia apud te propitiatio est, et propter legem tuam sustinui te, Domine.*

and lent to rapid flourishing of monastic communities punctuated by strict liturgical reform, most significantly in Cluny.[392]

Despite its seemingly insignificant status in the first decade of the tenth century, Cluny's reputation as a holy and observant monastery, combined with the support of Pope John XI, was instrumental in its role as a leading reformer by the middle of the century.[393] William III, Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Auvergne, decided that the monastery in Cluny was to answer directly to the Pope rather than to the local secular authorities.[394] As this arrangement was consistent with historical precedent—and since, as a practical matter, the Pope had no influence at such a distance—this innovation spread like wildfire with the resultant monastic orders liberated from the lords of their provinces. Strictly following the Rule of St. Benedict (of Nursia) and the commentaries of St. Benedict of Aniane, over its first two centuries, Cluny influenced hundreds of monasteries with its customs and practices as far south as Italy and as far west as Spain.[395] Because of the strong leadership of three successive, long-lived abbots, Cluny enjoyed a "very strong sense of continuity and purpose" in establishing its own interpretation of Benedictine tradition.[396]

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[392] Christopher Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister: The Story of Monastic Life in the Middle Ages* (Mahwah, NJ: HiddenSpring, 2003), 62.

[393] Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 12.

[394] Michel Huglo and Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Cluniac monks," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05991 (accessed January 14, 2011).

[395] Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister*, 65. Also, Bryan Gillingham, *Music in the Cluniac Ecclesia: A Pilot Project* (Ottawa: The Institute for Medieval Music, 2006), 20.

[396] Gillingham, *Music in the Cluniac Ecclesia*, 21.

5.2.1   Cluny, its manuscripts, and advances in the idea of Purgatory

As Cluniac practice flourished, the idea of the intercessory duty of the living to the dead began to fully crystallize. The growing focus on purgation percolating throughout the Latin Church blossomed in Cluny between 1024 and 1033. St. Odilo, the Abbot of Cluny, in response to the greater interest in the souls of the dead, established "All Souls' Day" in commemoration of those dead who had not obtained the beatific vision.[397] To indicate the deliberate connection between the celebration of All Souls to that of All Saints, St. Odilo selected 2 November, the day following the Solemnity of All Saints.[398] Cluny's monastery's close relationship with the Papacy enabled it to serve as a model of innovation for the Church at large:

> The prestige of the Cluniac order was such that before long the "Day of the Dead" was being celebrated
> throughout Christendom. This solemn new bond between the living and the dead cleared the ground for the
> inception of Purgatory.[399]

That the decree—the "Statute of St. Odilo Concerning the Dead"—was adopted so quickly and universally testifies to the level of concern among the faithful with the salvation of their dead.

Several stories describe the believed efficacy of Cluniac practice within a generation of this new commemoration. There are reports which tell of hermits who have revelations about the ability of Cluny's masses to liberate souls. One example reads:

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[397] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 125.
[398] The Solemnity of All Saints, with precedent in the early seventh century, codified in the mid-eighth century by Pope Gregory III, and extended to the entire Church in the ninth century by Pope Gregory IV, was a celebration of men and women so holy that they obtained the rewards of heaven immediately upon their death. See Francis Mershman, "All Saints' Day," *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 1* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907).
[399] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 125.

> [The demons tormenting souls are] lamenting and making great complaint because the souls of the damned are liberated from their sufferings by the prayers of pious men and the alms which are given to the poor at various places devoted to the saints, and mostly through the mercy of God. Among all the others [the demons] mentioned and made complaint especially of the convent of Cluny and its abbot…[400]

This testimony, and the many like it, was quite powerful in its time and strengthened Cluniac monastic practice while simultaneously forming the basis of future interpretation of the doctrine of Purgatory. Indeed, such reports often reached further than the doctrine of Purgatory would; though the sinners appear to undergo some sort of purgation, the use of the word "damned" (i.e., *damnatorum*) gives point to the efficacy of the prayers of Cluny and, by extension, those of the Church:

> What is remarkable about all of these texts is their concentration not on the sufferings of the dead, but on the power of Cluny's intercession. The dead are faceless entities in all three passages…We do not really know what their status is, nor how long they will suffer without help. Our attention is drawn, instead, to the contest between the demons and the holy men who pray for the dead…Without completely abandoning the traditional association of suffrages with vicarious penance and the process of purgation after death, monastic writers now began to paint monastic intercession in more brilliant colors, using images drawn from the hagiographical tradition to suggest the great holiness and power of their communities.[401]

The full manifestation of this sentiment—that the clergy via the Church could influence the fates of those already passed—is the final step in transforming the vaguely defined theology of purgation into the formal doctrine of Purgatory.

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[400] McLaughlin, *Consorting with the Saints*, 232, translating from Jotsald of Cluny's *De vita sancti Odilonis*, 2:13. The others come from Raoul Glaber's *Historiae*, 5:1, and St. Peter Damian's *Vita sancti Odilonis*.
[401] McLaughlin, *Consorting with the Saints*, 233-4.

Because so very few Cluniac manuscripts have survived,[402] it is difficult to get a clear picture of their liturgy for the dead.[403]   Sadly, only three sources comprising a total of five Masses for the Dead are all that remain of the movement that sparked liturgical and social reform within monastic Christianity.

Table 20. Cluniac Manuscripts

Manuscript	Provenance	Date[404]	Formularies
Par BN1087	Cluny, France	c. 1080	3
Par BN1132	St. Martial, Limoges, France	c. 1100	3
Bru II3823	Auvergne, France	Early 12th c.	1

Unlike the earlier two, the latest manuscript only has a single Mass for the Dead and, with it, only single choices for each proper. This limited selection would be a common feature of the two offshoot monastic traditions, Carthusian and Cistercian.
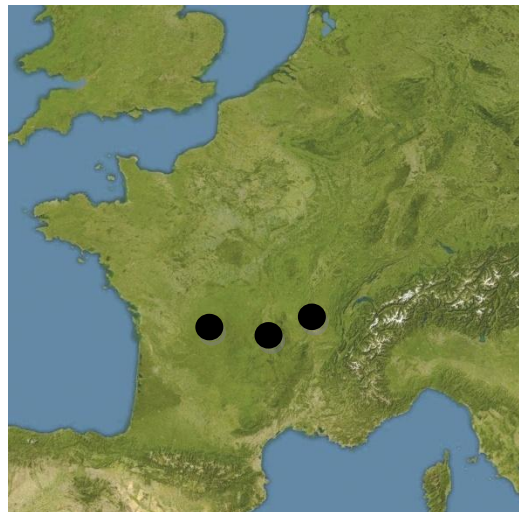
Figure 27. *Distribution of the three Cluniac manuscripts with Masses for the Dead.*

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[402] Gillingham, *Music in the Cluniac Ecclesia,* 133.
[403] This will change when Paxton publishes *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages* (Belgium: Brepols Publishing: expected 2011).
[404] Gillingham, *Music in the Cluniac Ecclesia*, 297.

The manuscript from Cluny, the farthest east, uses French neumes. The other two use Aquitanian notation, Limoges being the farthest west. The table compares the one common formulary across all three manuscripts.

Table 21. Comparison of primary Cluniac propers for the Mass for the Dead.

	Par BN1087[1]	Par BN1132[1]	Bru II3823
In	Requiem aeternam…	Requiem aeternam…	Requiem aeternam…
Ps	Te decet hymnus.	Te decet.	Te decet hymnus.
Gr	Converetere anima mea…	Requiem aeternam…	Requiem aeternam…
v	Qui eripuit…	Anime eorum in bonis…	Anime eorum in bonis…
Gr	Si ambulem. (In anniversario)		
	Virga tua et baculus.		
Tr		De profundis.	
Tr		Commovisti.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	Domine Jesu Christe…	Domine Jesu Christe…
v	Hostias et preces…	Hostias et preces…	Hostias et preces…
v	Redemptor animarum…	Redemptor animarum…	Redemptor animarum…
Of		Erue Domine animas eorum…	
v		Tuam Deus deposcimus…	
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
Co		Ego sum resurrectio…	
Co		Audivi vocem de caelo…	

Though lacking perfect concordance, these manuscripts are remarkably similar. Except for the variance in the gradual of Par BN1087[1] and the absence of the tracts, the three formularies concord identically. Par BN1087[2] utilizes the same gradual and verse, and the gradual *In anniversario* in the first formulary is a tradition that will be continued in the "Cistercian liturgy" and will be the alternate for the "Carthusian liturgy" as well (see, respectively, Sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.2, *infra*). The chants which comprise this core repertory are drawn from the proper choices that were fairly stable at the time. The common introit, tract, offertory and communion, as well the gradual *Requiem aeternam*, all were fairly well represented in this region (see Table 19, *supra*). The stability of the traditions in these manuscripts is itself striking, since two of these manuscripts arose in the vibrant Aquitanianian milieu. The absence of the creative interpolations suggests a degree of concerted coordination. The similarity amongst Cluniac formularies extends further, however, as the following table illustrates:

Table 22. Comparison of Cluniac propers for auxiliary Masses for the Dead.

	Par BN1087[2]	Par BN1132[2]
In	Si enim credimus…	Si enim credimus…
Ps	Sicut in Adam.	Sicut in Adam…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	Convertere anima mea…
v	Anime eorum in bonis…	Quia eripuit…
Of	Erue Domine animas eorum…	Domine convertere.
v	Tuam Deus deposcimus…	
Co	Omne quod dicit michi…	Ego sum resurrectio.
	Par BN1087[3]	Par BN1132[3]
In	Ne tradas Domine bestiis…	Ne tradas Domine bestiis…
Ps	Memor esto congregationis…	Memor esto congregationis…
Gr	Si enim credimus…	Si enim credimus…
v	Sicut in Adam…	Sicut in Adam…
Tr	De profundis.	
Of	Miserere michi Domine.	Miserere [michi Domine].
Of	Domine convertere.	
Co	Pro quorum memoria…	Audivi [vocem de caelo].

Again, the manuscripts concord strongly, but are not identical. However, looking mesoscopically, a common repertory amongst the propers of the two manuscripts is apparent. Along with the propers in the two tables above, when abstracted from their respective formularies, the three introits and graduals match identically, including the verses, as do the four discrete offertories. Additionally, the tract *De profundis*, absent in the first formulary of Par BN1087 appears in the third, matching with the first in Par BN1132[1]. Only the communions lack concordance, which is the most common place to have such deviation.

In fact, the presence of a single formulary in the twelfth-century manuscript from Auvergne, Bru II3823 is the most striking aspect of the Cluniac repertory. Its formulary is identical to the first propers of Par BN1132[1], suggesting a certain deliberation. One possible and persuasive explanation is that later Cluniac practice began to focus on a single formulary for their liturgies for the dead. While the limited number of sources makes this difficult to prove, the examination of the formularies of the two orders that formed in reaction to the Cluniac

monks supports this theory: one can abduce that there were efforts within the monastic community to settle on a single, consistent liturgical formulary. These later traditions, branching from that of Cluny, followed suit, the earlier with a pair of well-constructed formularies, the latter with a single one.

5.2.2   The Carthusians and their manuscripts

Resurgence in monastic reforms in Cluny, naturally, led to criticisms of their practice. By all contemporary accounts, Cluniac interpretation of The Rule of St. Benedict, which guided the monks' philosophy and practice, was at best permissive. In contrast with the traditional interpretation of Benedictine practice of a humble life filled with manual labor and quiet prayer, the Cluniac monks lived in elaborate and wealthy abbeys, with servants attending to the day-to-day duties.[405] This is not to say that the Cluniac order abused its authority but, instead, took a very different interpretation of St. Benedict's writing from historical precedent. Whereas previously, labor was seen as a means of spiritual purification, the Cluniac's believed that liturgy was the path to holiness and that labor interfered with this goal:

> …a large team of monastic servants and a fairly large number of officials and specialists [did] the various administrative and routine tasks of the community, [which means] there came to be little necessary work for the rank and file to perform. At the same time the development of more elaborate liturgy and of church music meant a much greater part of the day was spent in church.[406]

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[405] Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister*, 72 ff.
[406] Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister*, 73.

The absence of private, hermetic, and labor-intensive monastic communities led to a counter-resurgence. Cluny's lenient interpretation of monastic tradition found opposition by those seeking a literal "deserted" monastic experience:

> Contemporary sources make abundantly clear that monks from Cluny and elsewhere did not simply banish the laity from their range of vision in order to devote themselves to contemplation and prayer without distraction… [These monks] who were renowned for their asceticism and sanctity were everywhere among the most highly esteemed advisors of kings, bishops, and nobles, who entrusted them with the reform of monasteries, or that the greatest among them bore the mark of missionary zeal.[407]

Cluniac interpretation of Benedictine life created tension amongst those who desired a more literal, labor-oriented, detached lifestyle. The writings of St. Peter Damian (one of the commentators on purgatorial transition mentioned above) were influential in establishing competing monastic communities. Initially an active member in the Cluniac community, he grew increasingly dissatisfied with the Cluniac opulence and instead elected to live a more severe life. Brooke writes that: "Peter Damian's writings were one of the means by which the knowledge of the hermit ideal, and of monastic ideals in general, spread through Italy and over the Alps into France and the Low Countries."[408] His writings had a direct impact on St. Bruno, who with Sts. Peter Damian and Robert of Molesme essentially founded the Carthusian order on a site near Grenoble now known as La Grand Chartreuse.[409] The Carthusians took St. Benedict's Rule quite literally, reducing their corporate participation in liturgical celebration and increasing time for private prayer, meditation and devotion. While the order stressed the eremitic lifestyle, like Cluny it remained focused on the salvation of souls in the Body of the Church who had

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[407] Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*, 67.
[408] Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister*, 90-91.
[409] Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister*, 91. St. Bruno organized the hermitage, but died before it was formally founded as a monastic tradition by Guigo I, the Carthusian's first prior.

already passed away. In St. Bruno's reflections on I Corinthians in his *Commentary on the Epistles of Saint Paul*, he embraced the Cluniac, proto-Purgatory viewpoint, that:

> even those who have loved the world will be saved provided they did not prefer the world to God, but that first they must be punished by fire. Those who built of wood will be punished for a long time, because wood is slow to burn; those who build of hay, which burns quickly, will escape fiery purgation more quickly; and finally, those who built of straw, which burns even more quickly than hay, will pass most rapidly through the fire.[410]

Despite differences in monastic philosophy, the threads of purgation remain intertwined in Carthusian theology.

The earliest Carthusian manuscripts containing a Mass for the Dead appear around the middle of the twelfth century, less than fifty years after the founding of the order. The others follow sporadically afterwards.

Table 23. Summary of the contents of early Carthusian manuscripts

Ms	Date	Provenance	Contents
PGr DD10	1st half 12th c.	England. Parkminster. St. Hugh's Charterhouse	Respice Domine, Requiem aeternam.[411]
Gre 84	End 12th c.	France. Grenoble. La Grande Chartreuse	Respice Domine
Lon 17303	1229-59	France. Chartreuse du Reposoir or Durbon	Respice Domine, Requiem aeternam
Nap VIE11	13th c.	Italy. Padula. San Lorenzo	Requiem aeternam, Respice Domine

Like Cluny, there are only a handful of early sources which ought to make drawing conclusions a tenuous task. Additionally, in contrast with their progenitors, they are widely scattered—from near the tip of the Italian peninsula to southern England. Despite this, they all have an exacting precision of contents. Each formulary—the "Carthusian" one, beginning with the introit *Respice*

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[410] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 138.
[411] The formulary beginning with *Requiem aeternam* was added in a later hand.

Domine and the one probably derived from their Cluniac forebears beginning with *Requiem aeternam*—has exact concordance across all of the manuscripts from Table 23.

Table 24. Carthusian propers for the Mass for the Dead

	"Carthusian" liturgy	**"Cluniac?" liturgy**
In	Respice Domine	Requiem aeternam
v	Ut quid Deus	Te decet hymnus
Gr	Si ambulem in medio	Requiem aeternam
v	Virga tua et baculus	Anime eorum in bonis
Tr	De profundis clamavi	(De profundis clamavi)[412]
Of	Domine convertere et eripe	Domine Jesu Christe
Co	Ego sum resurrectio	Lux aeterna luceat eis

Immediately, one is struck by the manuscripts' deliberate uniformity. Both formularies are identical in all four manuscripts, and the second mass matches precisely with that found in the later Cluniac graduale Bru II3823 (which itself shows strong concordance with the other manuscripts from that order). For the sake of clarity, first and second formularies found in these manuscripts shall be identified informally as the "Carthusian" and "Cluniac" liturgies respectively.

The introit for the Carthusian liturgy, *Respice Domine*, is not unique to that order—it is found in Rom BBarb 559, which is contemporary with the earliest Carthusian sources. However, its formulary does not otherwise resemble that of the Carthusian liturgy. The chant, *Respice Domine*, reads:

> Have respect, Lord, to your covenant, and you shall not abandon the souls of your poor at the end. Rise up, Lord, and judge your cause, and you shall not forget the voices seeking you.[413]

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[412] This text is found added in the margin of PGr DD10. It is similarly found in all four later Carthusian manuscripts, listed in Table 25.

[413] *Respice, Domine, in testamentum tuum, et animas pauperum tuorum ne derelinquas in finem. Exurge, Domine, et judica causam tuam et ne obliviscaris voces quaerentium te.*

This text is a paraphrase of Psalm 73:20-23, rewritten for greater poetic symmetry. It begins with an imperative command that the Lord consider something of His own, followed by the reaction to that consideration in the form of a negative subjunctive. The chant is an elegant seventh-mode melody that, apart from its opening fifth, utilizes largely conjunct motion and balances syllabic and melismatic treatment of the text.
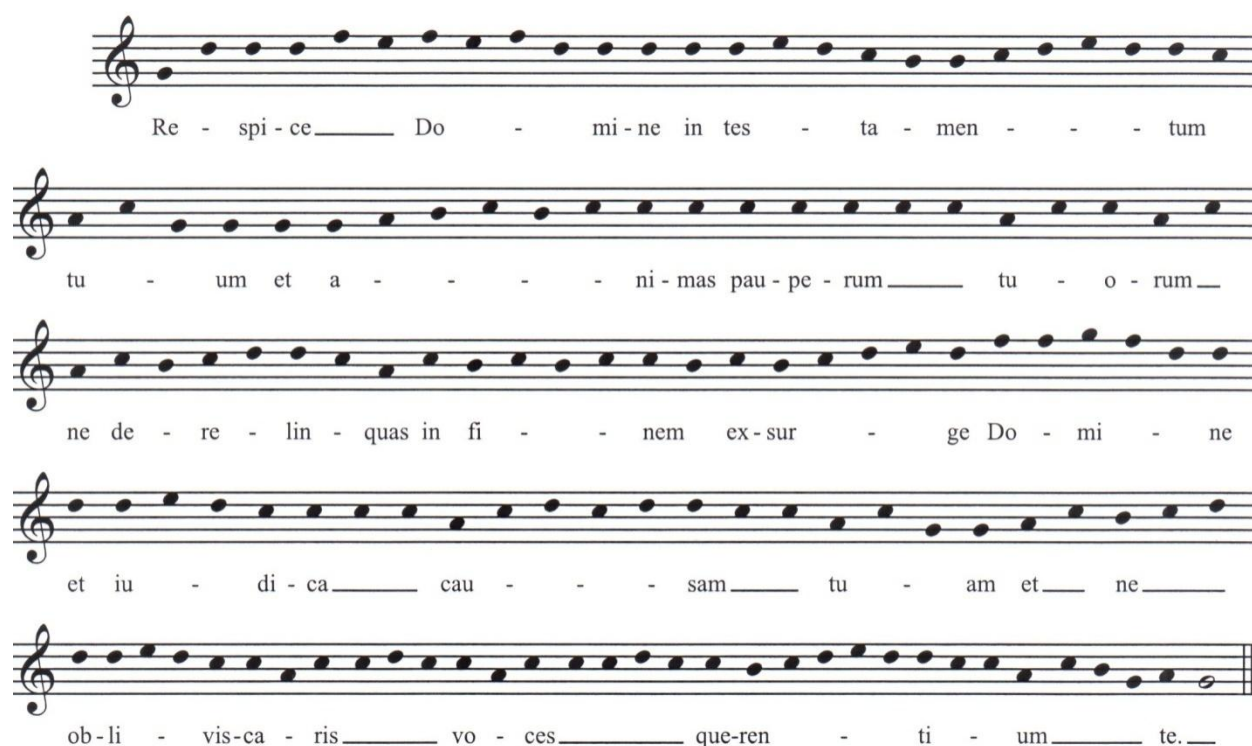
Figure 28. *Modern transcription of* Respice Domine *from Gre 84.*

The verse for the introit comes from the opening of the Psalm, which reads:

How, God, do you spurn those [sheep] at the end; how is your rage angered over the sheep of your pasture?

The question is begged: why did the Carthusians select this introit, seemingly without precedent, from the Cluniac source? The answer, perhaps, is in one of the discarded Cluniac formularies, *Ne tradas Domine bestiis*, which derives from Psalm 73:19 and uses 73:2 as its verse. The common usage indicates that Psalm 73 was a clear focal point for both traditions. The

Carthusians evidently elected to use a poetic rendition of the Psalm rather than the more literal reading found in the Cluniac sources.

There is a vague favoritism shown to the Carthusian formulary in these early manuscripts, as shown in Table 23. Gre 84 has only this setting, as did PGr DD10 before the addition of the Cluniac formulary. Lon 17303 leads with it, but Nap VIE11 has it second. The precedence for the Carthusian Mass for the Dead is more apparent when considering later manuscripts:

Table 25. Summary of the contents of later Carthusian manuscripts

Ms	Date	Contents
PGr DD23	14th c.	Respice Domine, Requiem aeternam[414]
Mai 435	14th/15th c.	Respice Domine, Requiem aeternam
Fre 95	1405-1417	Respice Domine, Requiem aeternam
Gra 376	15th c.	Respice Domine, Requiem aeternam[415]

Three out of four give pride of place to *Respice Domine*, while the fourth is equivocal. Thus, in six of the seven manuscripts in which it is possible to divine scribal intent, the Carthusian Mass for the Dead is primary for that monastic tradition, indicative of intentional planning.

In summary, the Carthusians embraced a clear liturgical pattern. Despite the wide distribution of sources, there is a deliberately established tradition; this contrasts markedly with the manuscripts with local diocesan practices in which even sources with proximate provenance can show wide variation. The establishment of a "new" Mass for the Dead exclusively within the Carthusian manuscripts persuasively indicates a centralized effort to institute a specific

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[414] This manuscript has several missing leaves. The formulary containing *Respice Domine* is inserted within the Mass beginning with *Requiem aeternam* in a different but seemingly contemporary hand. It is difficult to guess which Mass may have had precedence under such circumstances.
[415] With the exception of the communion, the "Carthusian" formulary is entirely indicated by incipits pointing to other page numbers within the manuscripts. The introit, Psalm, and the beginning of the gradual are recorded in a contemporary hand, but the following leaves are lost and were completed in a much later but faithful hand (complete with incipit and reference to the tract earlier in the manuscript).

liturgical practice within that community. Thus, this formulary, previously unseen, represents the same sort of conscious effort similar to the Advent Project, albeit on a much smaller scale.

5.2.3   The Cistercians and their manuscripts

One of St. Bruno's principal colleagues, St. Robert of Molesme, also objected to the seeming sumptuousness of Cluniac and Benedictine monasticism. After the establishment of La Grande Chartreuse in 1084, St. Robert left the burgeoning Carthusians and founded the Cistercian order in Cîteaux in the last few years of the eleventh century.[416] After an uncertain beginning, the order flourished under the guidance of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Like the Carthusians, the Cistercians "sought to strip away from monasticism the additions made since the Carolingian period and to live the monastic life according to the letter of St. Benedict's *Rule*."[417] While the Cistercians did encourage greater individualism in the spiritual development of its members, unlike the Carthusians, they did not embrace a fully eremitic lifestyle:

> They accepted from the traditional monasticism a monastic plan and a way of life essentially communal; they pruned the liturgy, but it remained a major part of their life. They accepted from the hermit tradition that prayer and spiritual reading should have a larger place in the daily round and the raison d'être of a community than could be squeezed out of the customs of Cluny; they inherited something of the ferocious asceticism of the Italian hermits.[418]

By contrast, Carthusians encouraged profound self-deprivation and nearly complete withdrawal from the world at large. But, like the Cluniacs and Carthusians, the Cistercians also embraced

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[416] Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister*, 166.
[417] Joseph H. Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (New York: Longman, 1992), 200.
[418] Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister*, 169-70.

the viewpoint that the Church had a duty to encourage the purgation of souls. The most significant figure in early Cistercian development, St. Bernard, wrote in a sermon:

> It is justly said that souls that suffer in these purgatory places run hither and yon in dark and dirty places, since in this life they were not afraid to inhabit these places in thought. … We confess not only that we sympathize with the dead and pray for them but also that we wish them the joy of hope. For if we must feel sorry about their suffering in purgatorial places, we must also rejoice at the approach of the moment when "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away." [419]

He also wrote in another sermon:

> The first hell is obligatory, for there one is required to pay the uttermost farthing and so the punishment is without end. The second is purgatorial [in which] although the punishment is sometimes remitted, the crime never is, but is purged. [420]

Like the earlier Cluniacs and contemporary Carthusians, there is a clear sense of cleansing for those not deserving of eternal punishment. Furthermore, all three orders were strong, vocal proponents of the concept of post-mortem purgation. Though the Carthusians did not ultimately play a significant role in the development of the Doctrine of Purgatory, the Church-wide adoption of the Cluniac celebration of the Commemoration of All Souls and the later Cistercian codification of Purgatory as a distinct location (rather than the vaguely defined "place of purgation") was the foundation upon which the thirteenth-century doctrine was built.

The first concrete notions of Purgatory proper can be found in the late twelfth century, envisioned likely by Peter Comestor in Paris and by Odo of Ourscamp (Aisne), both c. 1170. [421]

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[419] Reported in Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 145.
[420] Reported in Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 145.
[421] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 155-9

The dating of the precise usage is somewhat questionable—the documents attributed to these authors may have been "updated" and "edited" by later scribes—but the tide was clearly shifting by the end of the twelfth century. Two other critical texts, though falsely attributed to Sts. Peter Damian and Bernard of Clairvaux, continue this theological shift. Likely dating from only a few years after the texts of Peter Comestor and Odo, they mirror each other closely, and the latter uses the term *purgatorium* as a proper noun.[422] This semantic shift from an adjectival particple (a place of purging) to an independently nominalized word (a place of purgation) exemplified the inexorable path towards theological codification (in which the term becomes a proper noun, Purgatory). This shift occurred in the last decade of the twelfth century, promoted by Peter the Chanter and Simon of Tournai, both teaching in Paris at the time. The latter advanced even closer towards the indoctrinated theological stance, believing that:

> …during a person's lifetime, he can win exemption from Purgatory through suffrages of the Church and can even become worthy not to enter Purgatory… Simon of Tournai distinguished very carefully between *purgatorium*, a noun designating a place, and purgatorial fire, a place describing the punishment endured there.[423]

In the thirteenth century, the texts of such theologians became ammunition for the heresies arising at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth centuries, such as those of the Waldensians or the Cathari. The conception of Purgatory contained within them was formally sanctioned by Pope Innocent III in a sermon delivered on All Saints' Day in the early thirteenth

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[422] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 161-2. The latter document is stemmatically related to the former, but both use language which belies their respective attributions, and suggests a close temporal relationship to each other.
[423] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 166.

century. There he unequivocally establishes the "third place," Purgatory, for the dead before the Last Judgment and admission into Heaven.[424]

Although the musical picture during this formative period between 1098 and 1140 is unclear, the later writing of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the works of Guy de Cherlieu and Guy d'Eu were instrumental in the revision of Cistercian liturgy.[425] The formative years for this order, not unlike that of the Carthusians, are cloaked in silence. But amongst the earliest available manuscripts (two generations after the inception of the order), there is a surprising uniformity across time and region in the formulary for the Mass for the Dead. The indentical propers that ten of the twelve available Cistercian manuscripts contain can be found in the following table:

[424] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 174-5.
[425] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 609-10.

Table 26. Cistercian propers for the Mass for the Dead

In	Requiem aeternam…
Ps	Te decet…
v	Exaudi orationem…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…
v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	Absolve Domine…
v	Et gratia tua…
v	Et lucis aeterne…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat…

Although the homogeneity of the propers is itself remarkable, the fact that there is nearly complete concordance among even the verses of the four propers containing them is even more striking. A review of the dates and provenance of each manuscript elucidates just how surprising this is, especially when compared with the secular practices of the century which preceded it (as seen in chapter 4.0). The final column indicates any deviation from the model above or other relevant notes.

Table 27. Summary of the contents of early Cistercian manuscripts.

Ms.	Date	Provenance	Variants
Par BN17328	before 1174	Northern France	None.
Col 445	c. 1175	Lucelle Abbey, Alsace, France[426]	None.
Mun 7905	before 1185	Kaisheim Abbey, Kaisheim, Germany[427]	None.
Mun 2542	before 1192	Aldersbach Abbey, Aldersbach, Germany[428]	None.
Par BNNA1413	1244	Chiaravalle Abbey, Milan, Italy[429]	None.
Lis 249	13th c.	Alcobaça monastery, Alcobaça, Portugal[430]	Added in a later hand.
Lis 252	13th c.	Alcobaça monastery, Alcobaça, Portugal	Original missing *Si ambulem* and *Absolve Domine*. Both were added as well as a second tract, *De profundis* in a later hand.
Lis 253	13th c.	Alcobaça monastery, Alcobaça, Portugal	Includes second tract, *De profundis*
Pob 11	13th c.	Santa Maria monastery, Poblet, Spain[431]	None.
Zwe 196	13th c.	Zwettl Abbey, Zwettl, Austria[432]	None.
Zwe 199	13th c.	Zwettl Abbey, Zwettl, Austria	None.
Zwe 245	13th c.	Zwettl Abbey, Zwettl, Austria	None.

Very clearly, with the exception of the distant monastery of Alcobaça, the Cistercians maintained tight rein on liturgical variation, and even in Alcobaça, the overall liturgical theme closely follows the model. The only substantive addition is the appearance of the tract *De profundis* in two of the Alcobaçan manuscripts, a text previously found largely in Italian sources and with strong precedent in the Cluniac (and Carthusian) sources.

The development of manuscripts of Cistercian origin parallels that of the Carthusian manuscripts. The consistency of formularies does not quite approach that of the Carthusians, but certainly indicates deliberate efforts for a singular Mass for the Dead.

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[426] Founded in 1124, suppressed in 1792.
[427] Founded in 1135, suppressed in 1802.
[428] Founded in 1127, suppressed in 1803.
[429] Founded in 1135.
[430] Founded in 1153.
[431] Founded in 1151.
[432] Founded in 1138.

Table 28. Summary of the contents of later Cistercian manuscripts.

Ms	Date	Variants
Val 19	13th-14th c.	None.
Gra 9	15th c.	None.
Gra 10	15th c.	*Si ambulem*, listed as incipit, does not indicate a verse.
Reg XX	15th c.	*Si ambulem* listed by incipit as the first gradual with no indication of verse and an incipit for the tract to be used with it, *Sicut cervus*. After the gradual *Requiem aeternam* the tract *De profundis* is listed by incipit before *Absolve Domine*. The offertory lists a second verse *In spiritu* and there is a second communion *Animas de corpore*.
Val 20	15th c.	Includes a *Kyrie* between the introit and gradual. First gradual uses the verse *In memoria*. First tract is *De profundis* with no verse before *Absolve Domine*. Includes two settings of the *Sanctus* and two settings of the *Agnus Dei* (with variant text used for funeral masses) between offertory and communion.

With the exception of the added verse for the offertory in Reg XX, the core formulary remains completely intact. Both Val 20 and Reg XX add *De profundis*—overwhelmingly the most common tract seen between the tenth and fourteenth centuries—as an option, and the latter offers an additional tract and communion. Evidently, the Cistercians did not safeguard their formulary as carefully as the Carthusians, though the nearly unwavering stability of the core propers suggests no lack of conscious forethought. Indeed, both of these Cluniac offshoots manifest a substantial coherency over the four centuries of manuscripts surveyed, one which, in microcosm, compares with the overall concordance of propers for the liturgical year.

It is tempting to see this uniformity as a product of the codification of ritual appearing across the non-ordered manuscripts discussed in the next chapter. However, it differs in two major respects. First, the normalizing of the texts was an immediate process, not a gradual one, the product of pointed reform, not the slow, anonymous convergence of tradition. Second, the homogeneity is manifest across a wide geographic area rather than appearing in centralized locations. In fact, it is a more persuasive conjecture that the Cistercian practice influenced the secular realm, because it was consistent in application despite being widely dispersed. Indeed, all five propers correspond to the ones ultimately codified in the sixteenth century; only the verse

for the gradual differs from the Tridentine Rite, and the *Lux aeterna* lacks a verse for comparison. The *Si ambulem*, the only alternate proper offered in the earlier Cisterican manuscripts, is often accompanied by detailed marginalia or a rubric. In those circumstances where it is legible, it indicates that this gradual option is to be used *in anniversario*, indicating a different utility than the primary gradual which was likely used at the commemoration itself. The only reasonable explanation is that, like the Carthusians—and perhaps influenced by their decisions—the leaders of the Cistercian order decided to codify a specific Mass for the Dead for use within their own monastic houses. Consequently, they disseminated their manuscripts, which were specifically for Carthusian use, containing a complete formulary for that liturgy.

5.3   CONCLUSIONS REGARDING EARLY MONASTIC MANUSCRIPTS

The three monastic practices detailed above, scattered across a broad geographic area, stand out in pronounced relief when compared with the tremendous variation found in manuscripts outside of these traditions—even those with nearby provenance. In diametric contrast with the secular practices preceding the formation of the respective monastic traditions, there is strong coherence within the Cistercian and Carthusian liturgies for the dead. Although the shortage of sources for Cluniac liturgical practice does not allow any strong conclusions about their tradition to be drawn, it clearly influenced the later, reactionary monastic traditions of the Carthusians and Cistercians. Although the early Cluniac manuscripts have several formularies from which to choose, the contents of the latest manuscript, Bru II3823, mirror that found in the Cistercian liturgy with the sole exception of the tract (that Cluniac source is silent on which tract should be used). Similarly, the same Cluniac thread can be found in the "alternate" mass for the dead

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found in Carthusian practice. Consequently, it seems plausible that Bru II3823 represents refinement of the propers that would ultimately spread to the Cistercian and Carthusian communities. This conclusion is supported by the clearly deliberate, centralized effort from within the respective communities. Given the widely contrasting traditions in the secular practice, the substantial uniformity found in both the Cistercian and Carthusian formularies testifies to a common precedent, most likely from their common ancestor in Cluny. Furthermore, this consistency strongly suggests a conscious and purposeful effort to pare the variety down to a homogeneous standard within a given monastic community. The lack of variation in the "Carthusian liturgy" (which has no known precedent as a mass for the dead prior to Carthusian use) and its consistent appearance in Carthusian sources, and especially the precedence which it is given, also supports the conclusion that the monasteries engaged in the mindful establishment (or even creation) of "their" liturgical practice distinct from the secular dioceses and apparently uninfluenced by the regional variants.

6.0   APPROACHING LITURGICAL CONSENSUS

As mentioned above, there were two basic streams of formularies for the Mass for the Dead: the unguided formulary assembly of local practice and the strict codification seen in the monastic manuscripts. Because no specific formulary existed by the time the proper chant repertory was collated by the beginning of the eighth century (in what is contemporarily known as the "Advent Project"), the former stream is uneven and inconsistent. The decades-long Carolingian efforts towards establishing a universal liturgical identity were, for varying reasons, not successful. Thus, despite the relatively stable core repertory of propers for the vast majority of the liturgical year, formularies for the Mass for the Dead arose sporadically and according to very localized custom.

However, as Figure 18 demonstrates above, there was a preference for certain texts for specific liturgical functions. For example, there are no exemplars of *Domine Jesu Christe* as a gradual, or *Lux aeterna luceat eis* as an introit, or *Rogamus te Domine* as a communion, despite the lack of a centralized model. The selection of propers and their function was by no means happenstance, but predicated on an invisible tradition that becomes increasingly apparent upon a more global examination of text and usage.

Added to this "controlled equivocation" is the deliberate selection of propers by the reformed monastic orders of the twelfth centuries. Both filially derived from the Clunaic ecclesia and thus highly attuned to liturgical propriety and conformity, the Carthusians and Cistercians imposed and enforced a strict liturgical formulary for the Mass for the Dead. An "Advent Project" in miniature, the *Projectum Commemoris* effected by these two traditions would have resonance outside their own monasteries. Between the twelfth and fourteenth

centuries, the breadth of propers used shrinks markedly, an indication of a narrowing of consensus.

6.1   TOWARDS CONVERGENCE

The sheer volume of manuscripts considered in this period—over a hundred—requires a slightly different methodological approach than that used in Chapter 4.0. Whereas there, the lack of concordance made it provident to discuss the contents of the early manuscripts side by side, the increasing concordance of later manuscripts makes examining formularies as a whole a more sensible approach. During this era, the propers selected began to coalesce towards a common consensus and relatively few new texts appear. The bulk of remaining manuscripts surveyed come from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, with an emphasis on the thirteenth.

The survey of geographical areas will proceed in the same order as in Chapter 4.0, though the absence of later sources from St. Gall necessitates its omission and the appearance of sources in regions not yet discussed—like England, Ireland, the Netherlands and central Spain—requires a "miscellany" section.

6.1.1   Italy, twelfth and thirteenth centuries

The nine Northern- and Central-Italian manuscripts examined in Section 4.2.2 show a relatively broad collection of propers comprising divergent formularies. Even sister manuscripts Mon 12/75 and Mon 13/76, though containing overlap, also show some variation. Clearly no broad consensus on formularies for the Mass for the Dead had yet blossomed in this area. The twelfth-century Italian manuscripts, with nineteen formularies (many containing multiple options for each proper) across twelve sources continue to demonstrate a fairly broad variation in content.

Table 29. 12th-c. manuscripts of Italian provenance

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Formularies
	Central Italy		
Ben 34	Benevento	12th c.	1
Ben 35	Benevento	Early 12th c.	3
Rom BLat6082	Monte Cassino	1st half 12th c.	1
Rom Cas1574	Gaeta	12th c.	1
	Northern Italy		
Oxf 321	Ravenna	12th c.	3
Oxf 350	Beligna?	12th c.	1
Pad A47	Ravenna	Early 12th c.	3
Pad S697	Padua	Beginning 12th c.	1
Pia 65	Piacenza	2nd quarter 12th c.	1
Tur FIV18	Bobbio	12th c.	1
Vec 162	Vercelli	Early 12th c.	1
	Southern Italy		
Mad 20-4	Palermo	1130-1138	2

Amongst the six formularies of central-Italian origin, the propers inspired by Frankish sources have not yet coalesced into a focused repertory; a substantial variety remains integral to these manuscripts.

Table 30. Ben 34, Ben 35[2], Rom BLat6082, and Rom Cas1574, a comparison of their propers

	Ben 34	**Ben 35[2]**	**Rom BLat6082**	**Rom Cas1574**
Requiem aeternam	In	In[2]	In	In
Convertere animarum	Gr[A]		Gr[A]	
Requiem aeternam	Gr[B]	Gr[2]	Gr[B]	Gr
De profundis	Tr		Tr	Tr
Domine Jesu Christe	Of[A]	Of[2]	Of[A]	Of
Domine convertere	Of[B]		Of[B]	
Domine ne in ira			Of[C]	
Miserere michi			Of[D]	
Dona eis Domine	Co[A]		Co[B]	
Omne quod dat	Co[B]	Co[2B]		
Ego sum resurrectio	Co[C]	Co[2A]	Co[A]	
Lux aeterna	Co[D]			Co
Requiem aeternam			Co[C]	

Three out of the four manuscripts use the list format, and Ben 34 and Rom BLat6082 offer multiple choices for gradual, offertory and communion. Except for the introit and gradual sharing the text *Requiem aeternam*, and the dominance of *Domine Jesu Christe*, the selection of propers is quite varied.

Ben 35, the sole source containing independent formularies, shows some northern-Italian tendencies. Except for Mon 12/75 and Mon 13/76, the formularies from northern Italy tend not to offer additional proper choices, except occasionally in the selection of communions. By contrast, it is far more likely for a central Italian source—such as Ben 34, Rom Blat6082, and Rom Cas 1574—to contain options for each proper within a single formulary. Additionally, the introit *Si enim credimus* appears in many northern-Italian sources, but only one other central one, Ben 39[3]. Finally, Ben 35[1] represents one of the three latest examples of the "Roman" Mass for the Dead.

Table 31. The final appearances of the "Roman" Mass for the Dead

	Ben 35[1]	**Oxf 321[1]**	**Pad A47[2]**
In	Rogamus te Domine	Rogamus te Domine	Rogamus te Domine
Ps	De profundis	Et sicut in Adam	Et sicut in Adam
v		Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam
Gr	Qui Lazarum	Qui Lazarum	Qui Lazarum
v	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam
Tr		De profundis	
v		Fiant aures tuae	
v		Si iniquitates	
v		Quia apud te	
Of	Subvenite sancti	Subvenite sancti	Subvenite sancti
v	Suscipiat te Christus		Suscipiat te Christus
v			Pro cuius memoria
Co	Dona eis Domine	Qui Lazarum	Pro quorum memoria
v			Et lux perpetua
Co			Absolve Domine
Co			Chorus angelorum

This Roman tradition remains durable—the texts for the introit, gradual and offertory remain the same (although the verse for the introit equivocates). Only the communion is inconsistent; this is unsurprising as it already had shown a degree of variability in the previous century (see

Table 11, *supra*). The most ancient communion, *Chorus angelorum*, endures in the twelfth-century manuscript from Ravenna, Pad A47[2]. However, after the twelfth century, this formulary for the "Roman Mass for the Dead" disappears, subsumed by the growing consensus of the other texts.

Other than the *Missa Romana*, a basic formulary begins to manifest in the northern manuscripts, as well as the sole southern one, Mad 20,4.

Table 32. Dominant propers amongst the thirteen northern-Italian formularies of the 12th c.[433]

Function	Text	Source	% usage
In	Requiem aeternam	Mad 20,4[1], Oxf 321[3], Pad A47[1], Pad S697, Pia 65, Tur FIV18, Vec 162	63.6% of introits
Gr	Requiem aeternam	Mad 20,4[1A], Oxf 350, Pad A47[1], Pad A47[3], Pad S697, Pia 65, Tur FIV18, Vec 162	66.7% of graduals
Tr	Absolve Domine	Mad 20,4[1A], Mad 20,4[2B], Oxf 321[3], Pad A47[3], Pia 65[A], Tur FIV18, Vec 162	46.7% of tracts
Of	Domine Jesu Christe	Mad 20,4[1A], Oxf 321[2], Oxf 350, Pad A47[3], Pia 65, Tur FIV18, Vec 162	58.3% of offertories

When compared with the graphs in Figure 18 above, one can see the movement towards consensus in propers.[434] *Absolve Domine*, in particular, has a strong showing within these Italian manuscripts when compared to the findings of the previous century, but the three other texts in the table above all have increased their dominance. Only communion texts remain equivocal, as they were in the eleventh century; no one or two texts even capture a substantial fraction of the entire corpus. In fact, the variety across all twelfth-century Italian sources is quite surprising: amongst nineteen formularies there are a total of twenty-seven communions represented

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[433] Mad 20,4 is included in this group, despite deriving from Palermo because it is structured like northern-Italian manuscripts.
[434] As of this time period, no dominant proper for communion appears amongst these sources.

(including those found amongst the "Roman" Mass for the Dead). This is consistent with the findings of the previous centuries, in which no consensus was apparent.

Before we examine the convergence of Italian propers in the thirteenth century, a few rare chants, perhaps representing failed local traditions, merit some attention. In the eleventh-century manuscript Vec 161 and the twelfth-century manuscript Vec 162, both from Vercelli, the unusual tract *Qui seminant* appears:

He who sows with tears, will reap with joy.[435]

This chant, listed in both manuscripts as incipits, is found in the *Liber Usualis* as the tract for use during *Septuagisma* through the end of Lent in the "Common Mass for Two or More Martyrs."[436] As elegant and sensitive as this text is, it is otherwise not found amongst Masses for the Dead.

Another such chant, *Credo quod redemptor*, appears as a communion in Pia 65 (from twelfth-century Piacenza) and Oxf 321^2 (from twelfth-century Ravenna). Previously seen in the eleventh-century manuscript from Bologna, Rom BAng123, the text, Job 19:25, is the only excerpt from that book of Scripture. Though the bulk of the story of Job is about his sufferings, this particular text is one of profound confidence and hope:

I believe that my redeemer lives, who from the earth fashioned me, and at the end of ends will restore my body.[437]

Redacted through a Christian lens, this passage is interpreted to mean the resurrection of the body—an ancient creedal dogma—that will come at the end of time.

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[435] *Qui seminant in lacrimis, in gaudio metent.*
[436] *Liber Usualis*, p. 1164.
[437] *Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit, qui de terra ipse me fecit, et in novissimo restaurabit corpus meum.*

Figure 29. *Modern transcription of* Credo quod Redemptor *from Pia 65.*

The largely syllabic, mixolydian chant resembles a decorated Psalm tone. According to Fr. Gay,[438] this chant is found in four other Italian manuscripts from Reggio d'Emilia, Forlimpopoli, Bologna, and Piacenza, not surveyed in this dissertation, indicating another Italian tradition that did not survive in the Mass, but persisted in the Office for the Dead as the responsory after the first lesson at Matins.

Also found in Pia 65 is a rare tract appended to the Mass for the Dead that refers to the *Ego sum resurrectio*, shown below. Introduced with the text *Dixit Dominus* ("The Lord says"), it utilizes a highly-decorated, second-mode melody. The *Ego sum resurrectio* is among the more common of early communion texts, but functions as a tract in this source, and is found only in this manuscript and in the fourteenth-century French source Lim 2.[439]

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[438] Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Défunts," 98.

[439] This text is found in two Aquitanian sources not surveyed: Hautecombe, Abbey of Saint Madeleine of Marseille, of the twelfth century and Burgos, Biblioteca Capitolare, 274 from between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Consequently, it is unlikely that this tract is of Italian origin.
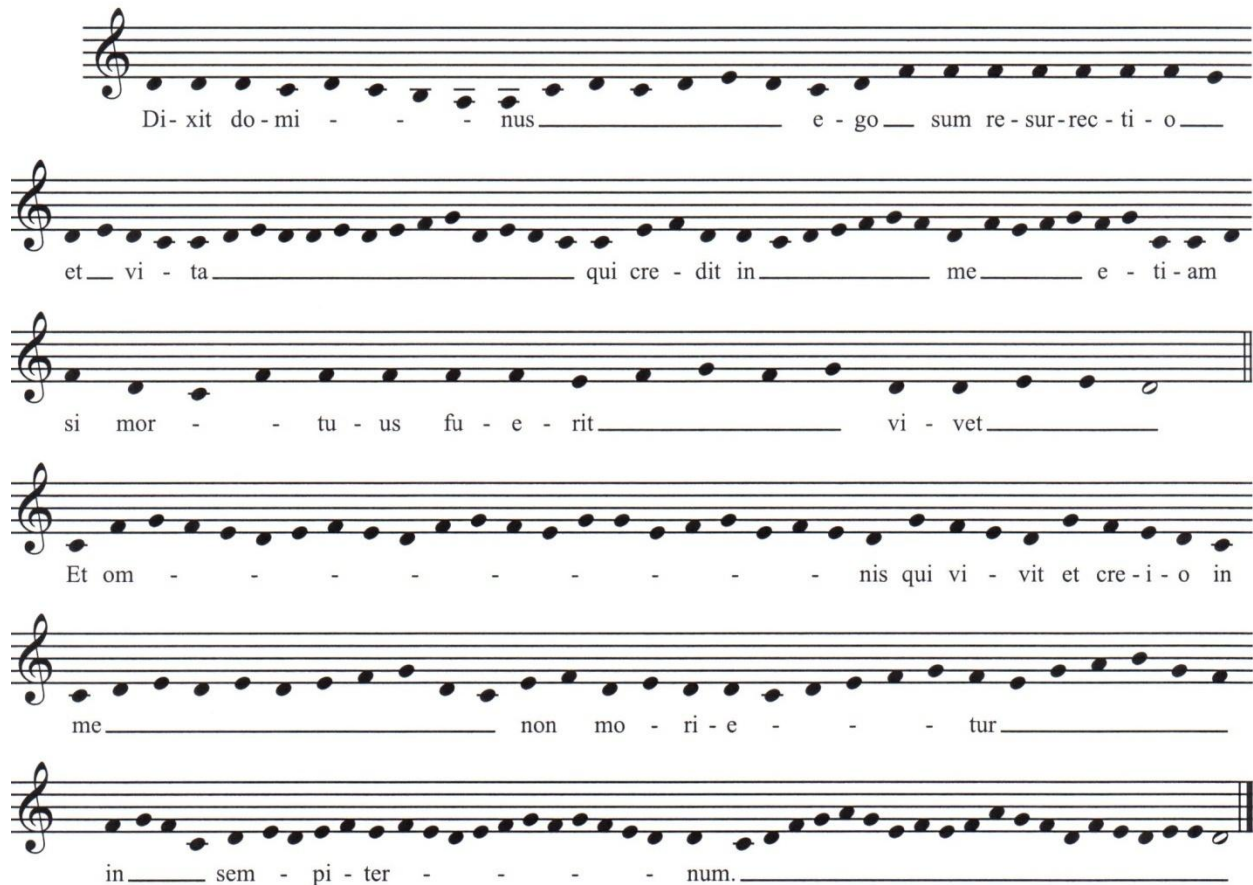
Figure 30. *Modern transcription of* Dixit dominus *from Pia 65.*

Although highly melismatic, the gestures used in this tract are confined.   Although several melismata comprise over a dozen notes, they generally have a narrow ambitus and are generally improvisatory in nature.

A final unfamiliar chant can be found in Pad S697, *Sicut pater suscitat,* used as a communion. Seen previously in Rom BAng123, it seems to represent another local tradition that fell out of favor with the collective consensus. Found at St. John 5:21, the text reads:

As the Father raises the dead and brings [them] back to life, so, too, the Son gives life to whom he is willing.[440]

Like the other "Roman" traditions which did not survive, this text speaks of hope in the future resurrection implicitly through the belief in the Last Judgment. This text emphasizes that only the Father resurrects people, but the Son judges their worthiness. Its melody, in the third mode, is florid but, except for a pair of leaps in the word *Pater*, relatively conjunct in motion.
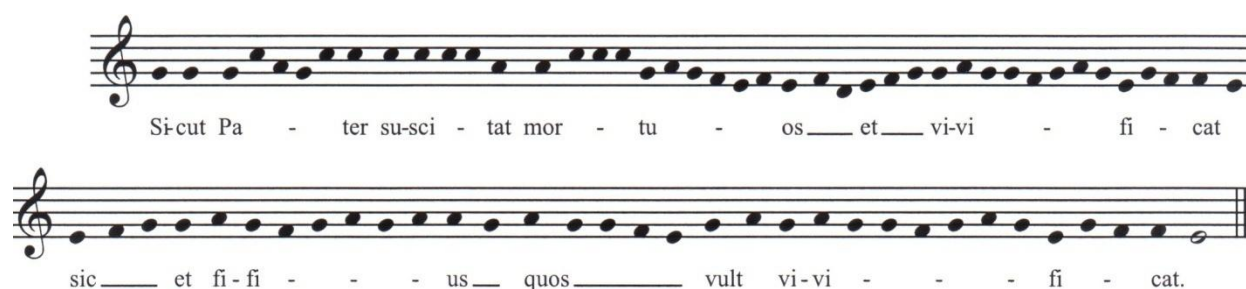
Figure 31. *Modern transcription of* Sicut Pater suscitat *from Pad S697.*

The thirteenth-century Italian manuscripts continue the refinement of propers. The formularies no longer contain the aforementioned "Roman" interpolations, save a pair of communions, and lacks the "Roman" Mass for the Dead.

Table 33. 13th-c. manuscripts of Italian provenance

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Formularies
Mil 74	North Italy?	13th c.	2
Mon 14/77	Monza	13th c.	1
Mon K11	Monza	13th c.	2
Nap VIG38	Naples	1230-50	1
Rom BRos76	L'Aquila	13th c.	2

Though the limited number of sources constrain any conclusive interpretation, the consistency of propers amongst the eight formularies is telling.

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[440] *Sicut Pater suscitat mortuos et vivificat, sic et Filius quos vult vivificat.*

Table 34. 13th-c. manuscripts of Italian provenance, a summary of their propers.

Propers	Mil 74	Mon 14/77	Mon K11	Nap VIG38	Rom BRos76
	North Italy?	Monza	Monza	Naples	L'Aquila
Requiem aeternam	In^1	In^B	In^1	In	In^1
Si enim credimus	In^2	In^A	In^2		In^2
Requiem aeternam	Gr^1	Gr^A	Gr^1	Gr	Gr^2
Convertere animam	Gr^2	Gr^B	Gr^2		
Si ambulem					Gr^1
Absolve Domine	Tr^1	Tr	Tr^1	Tr	
De profundis			Tr^2		
Sicut cervus					Tr^1, Tr^2
Domine Jesu Christe	Of^1	Of	Of^1, Of^2	Of	Of^2
O pie Deus					Of^1
Domine convertere	Of^2				
Pro quorum memoria			Co^2		Co^1
Lux aeterna	Co^1			Co	
Amen dico vobis	Co^2				
Archangele Christi		Co^A			
Ego sum resurrectio		Co^B			
Absolve Domine			Co^1		Co^2

Immediately, except for the communions again, the texts demonstrate increased convergence. The introits are represented by precisely two texts, the graduals are dominated by a pair of texts, and the tract and offertory each see strong dominance of a single text. Only the communions have equivocation; and amongst them there are two rare texts: *Archangele Christi* and *Amen dico vobis*. The former communion text is found in no other known manuscript. It reads:

> Archangel of Christ, you merited the crown that we pray of you through our only-begotten Lord, that you may snatch them away from the snare of death.[441]

This prayer is less like the rare texts found in Italian sources mentioned above; rather than petitioning for something pleasant, it pleads for the avoidance of unpropitious circumstances. But the fact that it is only found once makes confidently determining its provenance impossible.

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[441] *Archangele Christi, coronam quam meruisti deprecamur te per Unigenitum Dominum nostrum, ut eripias eas de laqueis mortis.*
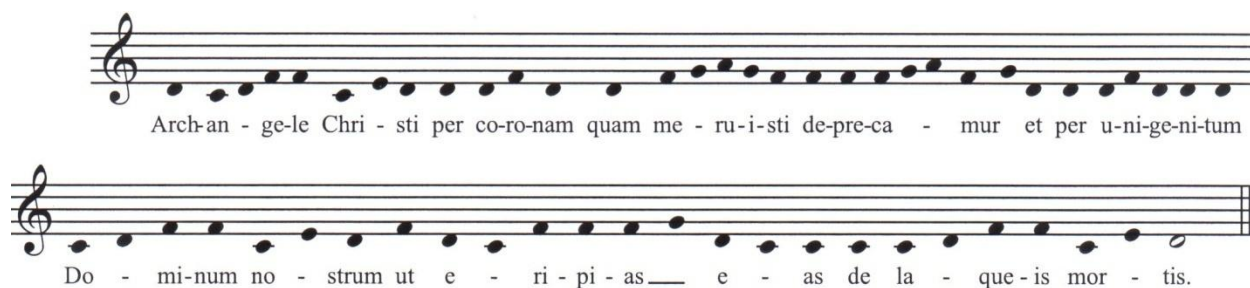
Figure 32. *Modern transcription of* Archangele Christi *from Mon 14/77.*

The chant utilizes formulaic gestures common to the second mode in order to derive its relatively straight-forward melody.

The other unusual text derives from a pastiche of two verses from the Gospel of St. John, 5:25 and 5:28:

Amen I say to you: the hour will come when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who are in graves will rise again.[442]

Though this proper recalls the optimistic Italian formulas, Fr. Gay[443] notes that a thirteenth-century Prussian manuscript from Wrocław (*olim* Breslau) also uses this as a communion proper.[444] The lack of sources makes determining provenance fruitless, although this text certainly is consistent with other Italian interpolations.

An examination of the convergence of propers for the thirteenth-century manuscripts is very telling. All of the introits are represented by two texts, 88.9% of graduals by two texts, 75% of offertories and 57.1% of tracts by a single text each. Unfortunately, I was not able to include any fourteenth-century Italian manuscripts in this study, so projecting the convergence for Italy

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[442] *Amen dico vobis: veniet hora quando mortui audient vocem Filii Dei, et resurgent qui in monumentis sunt.*
[443] Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Défunts," 98.
[444] This text is not to be confused with the communion from Par BN776² which derives from St. John 5:24.

ends at this point.[445]   However, an examination of sources from the other regions suggests that this coalescence can be extrapolated with reasonable safety.

6.1.2   Northern France, twelfth through fourteenth centuries

A vast number of sources containing a Mass for the Dead derive from northern France; eleven from the twelfth century, fifteen from the thirteenth, and another five from the fourteenth, or twenty-six in total. They are as follows:

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[445] *Le Graduel Romain,* lists one Roman *missale* as its single fourteenth-century Italian source, Toulouse, Archives de la Haute-Garonne, 94 (III 64). This source is not listed by Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Défunts," as having a Mass for the Dead, although such exclusion is not dispositive.

Table 35. 12th-, 13th-, and 14th-c. manuscripts of northern-French provenance.

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Formularies
Cab B61	Lille. St. Pierre	12th c., beginning	2
Cht 45	Montier-en-Der	12th c.	1
Lao 226	Verdun. St. Paul	12th c., 1st half	1
Par BN10511	Auxerre	12th c., end	2
Par BN13254	Paris. St. Maur-des-Fosses	12th c.	1
Par BN17307	Paris. Compiegne. St. Corneille	12th c., end	1
Par BNNA1235	Nevers	12th c.	2
Par BNNA1890	Barbechat	12th c., 4th quarter	2
Rhe 221	Rheims	12th c.	1
Rou A280	Rouen. St. Ouen	12th c.	1
Rou A401	Jumièges	12th c.	1
Arr 437	Arras. St. Vaast	13th c.	1
Par Ar197	Paris. St. Victor	1270-97	1
Par BN904	Rouen. Rouen Cathedral	13th c.	1[446]
Par BN1105	Le Bec Hellouin. Bec Abbey	1265-72	1?[447]
Par BN1107	Paris. St. Denis	13th c., 2nd half	1
Par BN9441	Paris. Notre Dame Cathedral	13th c., middle	1
Par BN13253	Paris. St. Maur-des-Fosses	13th c.	1
Par BN15615	Paris	13th c.	1
Par BNNA541	Rouen	13th c., 1st half	1
Par BNNA1773	Evreux	13th c.	1
Pro 12	Chartres	1205-18	1
Rhe 264	Rheims. St. Thierry	13th c.	3
Rom Cas1695	Paris	13th c., early	1
Rou A166	Montaure	13th c., 1st half	1
Rou Y50	Rouen	1231-45	1
Ami 159	Amienes. St. Austreberta	13th-14th c.	1
Dou 114	Marchiennes	14th c., beginning	1
Par Ar595	Châlons-en-Champagne. St. Etienne	13th-14th c.	1
Par Ar608	Paris. Ste. Chapelle	14th c.	1
Par G99	Senlis	13th-14th c.	1

With a few exceptions, the vast majority of these manuscripts are "list" manuscripts, with multiple options for propers within a single formulary. This concentration of manuscripts in northern France demonstrating an increasingly focused repertory. Whereas the three eleventh-century sources from the same geographic area all showed respectable concordance, the following eleven twelfth-century sources comprising fifteen formularies and ninety-one discrete

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[446] Manuscript defective; stops after tract.

[447] After a complete formulary, the *missale* offers partial formularies with other lections and *preces*.

propers draws even closer to consensus. Although cumbersome, the following table illustrates very clearly the growing consensus within the repertory of propers.

Table 36. 12th-c. northern-French manuscripts, a summary of propers.

	Cab B61	Cht 45	Lao 226	Par BN 10511	Par BN 13254	Par BN 17307	Par BNNA 1235	Par BNNA 1890	Rhe 221	Rou A280	Rou A401
Requiem aeternam	In^1	In	In^A, In^B	In^1	In	In	In^2	In^1	In	In	In
Si enim credimus	In^2			In^2				In^2			
Dirige Domine							In^1				
Requiem aeternam	Gr^1	Gr^A		Gr^1	Gr^A	Gr	Gr^2	Gr^1	Gr	Gr^B	
Si ambulem	Gr^{2A}	Gr^B	Gr	Gr^{2B}	Gr^B		Gr^1			Gr^A	Gr
Convertere animam	Gr^{2B}										
Si enim credimus				Gr^{2A}				Gr^2			
De profundis	Tr^1		Tr	Tr^1	Tr^A	Tr	Tr^1	Tr^1	Tr		Tr
Domine Jesu Christe seculorum	Tr^{2A}										
De necessitatibus	Tr^{2B}										
Sicut cervus	Tr^{2C}			Tr^{2A}	Tr^B					Tr	
Commovisti	Tr^{2D}			Tr^{2B}							
Erue Domine	Of^1			Of^{2A}				Of^2	Of		
Domine Jesu Christe	Of^{2A}	Of	Of	Of^1	Of	Of	Of^1	Of^1		Of	Of
Domine convertere	Of^{2B}										
Domine in auxilium	Of^{2C}										
Miserere michi	Of^{2D}										
O pie Deus				Of^{2B}			Of^2				
Ego sum resurrectio	Co^1			Co^{2A}							
Absolve Domine	Co^{2B}			Co^{1A}							
Lux aeterna	Co^{2A}	Co		Co^{1B}	Co^A	Co	Co^2	Co^1	Co	Co	Co
Pro quorum memoria							Co^1				
Audivi vocem				Co^{2B}							
Non mortui				Co^{2C}							
Redemptor animarum					Co^B						
Suscipe Domine					Co^C						

The six texts labeled in bold, comprising a single introit, tract, offertory, communion and two graduals, represent fifty-eight of the propers represented, or 63.7%, and at least five of these six texts are found in each manuscript except the defective source Lao 226, which is cut off before

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the communion proper. Only two other texts—*Sicut cervus* and *Erue Domine*—have a fair presence, with four instances each.

Four chants within this set of manuscripts are rare or unique propers. The first, used as an introit, is *Dirige Domine Deus*, an edition of which can be found below. This text, derived from Psalm 5:9, is rendered as follows:

Direct Lord, my God, my way in your sight.[448]

Curiously, the objects possessed are reversed in the original Psalm—it is God's way and "my" sight. Amongst propers for the Mass for the Dead, this text is a *unicum*, and thus it is unclear whether this transposition is intentional or accidental.[449] The verses for this introit derive from the second and third verses of Psalm 5. Additionally, the chant's first-mode melody is moderately decorated rather than just a simple Psalm tone. The inclusion of this chant seems to be a deliberate act of creativity, not a simple substitution of a fitting text.[450]

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[448] *Dirige Domine Deus meus in conspectu tuo viam meam*.

[449] The Douay-Rheims translation, which translated from St. Jerome's *Biblica Vulgata*, reverses it to concord with the introit above. Astonishingly, the NAB, which is derived from the original Hebrew, matches St. Jerome's text. Ultimately, the basic sense of going the "right" way (whether it is based on God's way or sight) is clear, regardless of the possessors of the objects in question.

[450] This same text is used as the opening antiphon for the first nocturn of the Office for the Dead, though the melody is far more ornate in the introit.
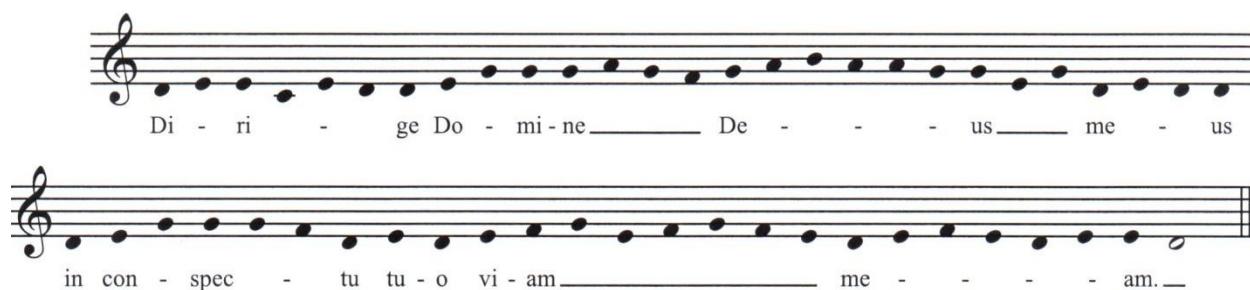
Figure 33. *Modern transcription of* Dirige Domine *from Par BNNA1235.*

Two tracts appear in Cab 61 which are found in no other surveyed source. The first, *Domine Jesu Christe Rex saeculorum*, clearly borrows its poetry from the offertory *Domine Jesu Christe*.[451] Although the manuscript allowed the space for this text to be notated, most of the second formulary, including this tract, is blank. The text is rendered:

> Lord Jesus Christ, King of the world, mercy of sinners, resurrection of the dead: have mercy, God of compassion, to the souls of all the faithful departed. Free them from the mouth of the lion, and lead them to the paradise of exultation. And according to the blood which you poured, Lord, grant them eternal rest.[452]

This text, which gleans from the more familiar offertory text *Domine Jesu Christe*, balances the strongly punitive images with optimism. The acts of freeing from the mouth of the lion and leading to exultant paradise evoke the image of Purgatory which, by this time, was a fully-defined doctrine.

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[451] According to Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Défunts," it is found in another manuscript (Hautecombe, Abbey of Saint Madeleine of Marseille) from St. Vaast in Arras, less than thirty miles away.

[452] *Domine Jesu Christe, Rex saeculorum, misericordia peccatorum, resurrectio mortuorum. V. Miserere, Deus miserationum, animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. V. Libera eas de ore leonis, et perduc eas in paradisum exsultationis. V. Et pro quibus tuum fudisti sanguine, tu eis, Domine, aeternam concede requiem.*

Figure 34. *Christ rescuing souls.* East window, Dorchester Abbey, 14th c. [453]

Figure 35. *Christ in Limbo.* Cotton Psalter, c. 1050[454]

Images like those above can be found in a variety of media from the eleventh century on. Images of Purgatory, as a place to burn away sins reminiscent of a temporary Hell, are depicted by of a toothy mouth, implying that the mouth can swallow the soul that could be lost forever (cf. the text in the offertory *Domine Jesu Christe*: *ne absorbeat eas Tartarus*).

The second tract in Cab 61, with the text *De necessitatibus meis*, is only found in incipit and derives from Psalm 24:17. Also found in the St. Vaast manuscript, according to Fr. Gay, it

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[453] Photograph by Br. Lawrence Lew, O.P. Used with permission under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 2.0 Generic license. http://www.flickr.com/photos/paullew/504992553/.

[454] The Yorck Project: 10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei. DVD-ROM, 2002. ISBN 3936122202. Distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing GmbH. The compilation copyright is held by Zenodot Verlagsgesellschaft mbH and licensed under the GNU Free Documentation License.
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Meister_des_Cotton-Psalters_001.jpg.

appears in a manuscript from Senlis, roughly a hundred miles south of Lille, where Cab B61 was used.[455]

The last text, *Non mortui laudabat*, the final communion in Par BN10511, comes directly from Psalm 113:25-26. It reads:

> The dying will not praise you, Lord, neither will all those who descend into Hell, but we praise you who are alive.[456]

Though without verse, this fully-notated proper, found in Figure 36, is unique to Par BN10511. While quite appropriate in the Jewish context as a song of praise for delivery from slavery in Egypt, the text in the context of the Mass for the Dead almost betrays a degree of hubris. It is neither a petition nor a creedal assertion. Its confidence, manifested in indicative mood rather than the more typical subjunctive, suggests foreknowledge of salvation. It must not have been particularly popular as it is only found in one other source, as a verse to the communion *Lux aeterna* in Parisian manuscript Par BN13254. Like many second-mode melodies, it is constrained in ambitus, even though it avoids the descent to low a. It does, however, include the d-f-a triadic motive common to second-mode melodies. However, its melody is more melismatic than most communions; the final word, *Domine*, is the only poly-syllabic word given syllabic treatment.

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[455] Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Défunts," 95. Also see note 451.

[456] *Non mortui laudabunt te Domine, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum, sed nos qui vivimus benedicimus Dominum.*
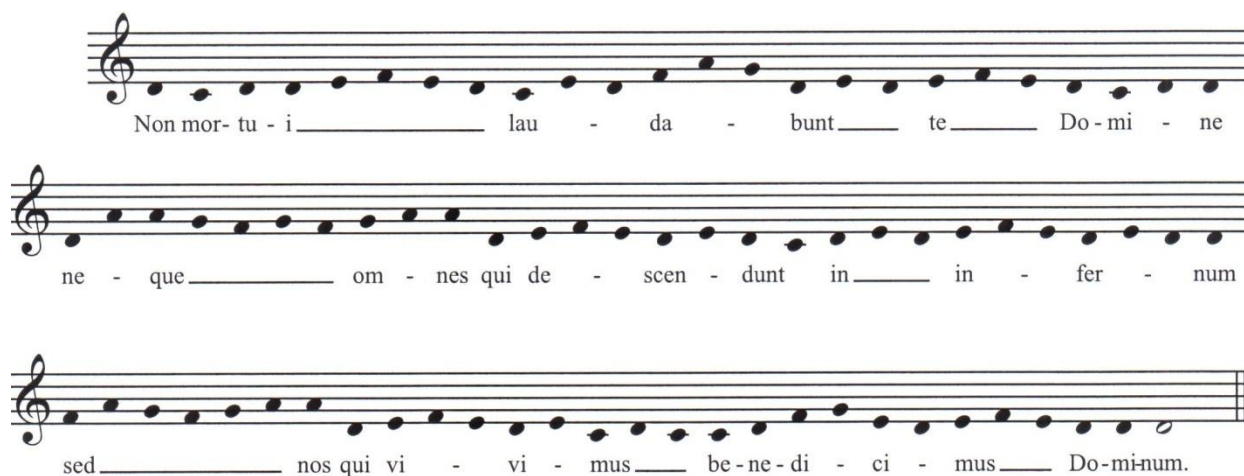
Figure 36. *Modern transcription of* Non mortui laudabunt *from Par BN10511.*

I have subdivided the thirteenth-century northern-French manuscripts into three sections: the Masses used in Rouen, in Paris, and elsewhere. Across all three groups, the propers continue to converge.

Table 37. 13th-c. manuscripts from Rouen, a summary of propers.

	Par BN904	Par BNNA541	Rou Y50
In	Requiem aeternam[457]	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam
Ps	Te decet	Te decet	Te decet
Ps	Exaudi orationem		
Gr	Requiem aeternam		
v	Absolve Domine		
Gr	Si ambulem	Si ambulem	Si ambulem
v	Virga tua	Virga tua	Virga tua
Tr	De profundis	De profundis	De profundis
v		Fiant aures	Fiant aures
v		Si iniquitates	Si iniquitates
v		Quia apud te	Quia apud te
Of		Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe
v		Hostias et preces	Hostias et preces
v			Requiem aeternam
Co		Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna
v		Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam

Apart from the addition of another gradual in Par BN904 and an extra verse in the offertory of Rou Y50, the manuscripts in Table 37 are completely concordant. This may be due to a small

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[457] The manuscript indicates the repetition of the introit by incipit before continuing with the next verse of the Psalm. It is obviously not a second introit.

sample size and common provenance, but the stability of tradition coheres with the trends of this time. Except for the common gradual, the four other common propers found in these sources from Rouen represent the overwhelming percentage of Parisian manuscripts as well, as the table below illustrates:

Table 38. 13th-c. manuscripts from Paris, a summary of propers.

	Par Ar197	**Par BN1107**	**Par BN1112**	**Par BN9441**	**Par BN13253**	**Par BN15615**	**Rom Cas1695**
	St. Victor	St. Denis		Notre Dame	St-Maur-des Fossés		
	1270-1297	After 1254	c.1225	Mid-13th c.	13th c.	13th c.	Early 13th c.
In	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam
Gr	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam[458]	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam[459]	
Gr							Qui Lazarum
Gr		Si ambulem	Si ambulem	Si ambulem		Si ambulem	
Tr	De profundis	De profundis	De profundis	De profundis	De profundis	De profundis[460]	De profundis
Tr			Sicut cervus	Sicut cervus	Sicut cervus	Sicut cervus	Sicut cervus
Of	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe
Of		Erue Domine			Erue Domine		
Of					O pie Deus		
Of					Jesu bone triumphator		
Co	Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna
Co		Ego sum resurrectio					
Co					Absolve Domine		
Co					Audivi vocem		

The similitude of these seven manuscripts, representing at least four church traditions in Paris, is immediately striking. All share a singular introit *Requiem aeternam*, all have the tract *De profundis*, the offertory *Domine Jesu Christe*, and communion *Lux aeterna*, and six of seven

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[458] Second gradual; *Si ambulem* is listed first, followed by the tracts *Sicut cervus* and *De profundis*.
[459] Second gradual; *Si ambulem* is listed first.
[460] Second tract; *Sicut cervus* is listed first with the rubric *In anniversario iste tractus*, suggesting the order of the gradual listed above follows the same instruction.

have the gradual *Requiem aeternam*.[461]   Amongst these sources, these five texts comprise thirty-four of fifty-one, or two-thirds, of the propers.

Par BN13253 contains a *unicum* offertory, *Jesu bone triumphator*. A transcription of this chant can be found below. The text reads:

> Kindly Jesus, triumphant over death on the cross, lift the shining eyes of mercy, and gaze upon the face of the church, our widowed mother, which weeps for her sons, our dead brothers, who groan for the guilt of sin, dwellers beneath the darkness of death, where no order but miserable horror inhabits. V. O Christ, propitious judge greater than clement David, so that mercy shall rise above judgment, accept the sacrifice of the mother church on behalf of the dead whom the Catholic faith buries, reflecting upon that which [you], a potter mindful of [his] creation, promised formerly through the prophet: I have made [you], I will carry [you] and, even through old age and grey hairs, I will save [you].[462]

References to Scripture punctuate both the offertory and its verse. The end of the offertory paraphrases Job 10:21-22; in it, Job despairs his cursed life and prays for death. The prophetic reference at the end of the verse derives from Isaiah 46:4, in which the idols of Babylonian gods are destroyed and God asserts His omnipotence and support for the people of Israel. These two references balance each other: the promise of God's salvation offsets the hopelessness of death. Furthermore, this expansive text refers explicitly to the Church's role in the intercession of souls from the "horrors" of Purgatory.

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[461] The seventh has the gradual *Qui Lazarum* with the verse of *Requiem aeternam*, exactly the opposite of the other six, which have *Qui Lazarum* as the verse. Although this gradual is not unique, it is unusual, particularly against the concordance of the other manuscripts. As the gradual is unnotated, it is possible that the scribe reversed the responsory and verse.

[462] *Jesu bone, triumphator mortis in cruce, attolle oculos clementia rutilos et respice in faciem ecclesiae, matris nostrae viduae, quae plorat filios suos, fratres nostros defunctos, qui pro culpa offensionis gemunt incolae sub mortis caligine ubi nullus ordo, set miserabilis in habitat error. V. Christe, propicius iudex ultra David in mansuetudinem, ut super exaltet misericordia iudicium, suscipe pro mortuis, quos fides catholica sepelit, sacrificium ecclesiae matris, illud revoluens, quod memor figulus figmenti olim per prophetam prompsisti: ego feci ego feram ego usque ad canos et senectam portabo ego salvabo.*

Figure 37. *Modern transcription of* Christe bone triumphator *from Par BN12353.*

Figure 38. *Continuation of transcription of* Jesu bone triumphator *from Par BN12353.*

This offertory and verse were clearly the product of a deliberate and concerted compositional effort. Well-proportioned and structured, this third-mode melody represents an exquisite example of melismatic thirteenth-century chant composition. Its frequent use e-f-e-d in both offertory and verse suggests possible improvisational origin.

Finally, the remaining manuscripts from northern France show a similar degree of convergence amongst their primary formularies.

Table 39. 13th-c. manuscripts from northern-French, a summary of propers.

	Arr 437	**Par BN1105[1]**	**Par BNNA1773**	**Pro 12**	**Rhe 264[1]**	**Rou A166**
	Arras	Le Bec Hellouin	Evreux	Chartres	Rheims	Montaure
In	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam
P	Te decet	Te decet	Te decet	Te decet	Te decet	Te decet
v	Exaudi Deus					
In				Si enim credimus		
P				Et sicut in Adam		
Gr	Requiem aeternam		Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam
v	Anime eorum				Anime eorum	
v			In memoria	In memoria		
Gr						Si ambulem
Gr		Convertere anima				
		Quia eripuit				
Tr		De profundis	De profundis[463]	De profundis	De profundis	De profundis
v		Fiant aures				
v		Si iniquitates				
v		Quia apud te				
Tr			Sicut cervus			Sicut cervus
Of	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe	Domine Jesu Christe
v	Hostias et preces	Hostias et preces	Hostias et preces	Hostias et preces	Hostias et preces	Hostias et preces
v	Redemptor animarum				Redemptor animarum	
v	Hanc lucem					
v	Venturus in mundum					
v				Anime eorum		
v					Erue Domine	
v					Tuam Deus	
Co	Animam de corpora					
Co	Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna	Lux aeterna
v	Requiem aeternam		Requiem aeternam			Requiem aeternam
Co	Absolve Domine					

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[463] Second tract; *Sicut cervus* is listed first.

Again, the approaching consensus is clear. Six of seven introits, five of seven graduals, five of seven tracts, all six offertories (assuming the scribe's use of *Erue Domine* is not an error, as this is more commonly found as an independent offertory) and six of eight communions are all in common. In fact, these five texts comprise twenty-eight of thirty-four propers, or 82.4% of those used in these first formularies.

Table 40. Extra propers in Par BN1105 and extra formularies in Rhe 264.

	Par BN1105		**Rhe 264[2] & Rhe 264[3]**
Gr	Requiem aeternam	In	Ne tradas
v	Anime eorum	P	Memor esto
Tr	Sicut cervus	Gr	Convertere anima
v	Sitivit anima	v	Quia eripuit
Gr	Si enim credimus	Of	Domine convertere
v	Et sicut in Adam	Co	Omne quod
Tr	Qui Lazarum	In	Si enim credimus
v	Lux aeterna	v	Sicut in Adam
v	Miserere defunctis	Of	Miserere mihi
v	Qui venturus	Co	Audivi vocem
Of	O pie Deus		
Co	Qui es Domine		
Gr	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti		
v	Requiem aeternam		
Gr	Si ambulem in medio		
v	Virga tua		

Both Par BN1105 and Rhe 264 offer options for use at a Mass for the Dead, the former as reasonably complete formularies, the latter based on the reading selected at Mass. With the exception of the communion *Qui es Domine* and the use of *Qui Lazarum* as a tract in Par BN1105, the propers in both manuscripts derive from previously established sources. The new communion is rare (found below) and is only found in this manuscript and a twefth-century one from Rouen.[464] The text is rendered:

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[464] Leningrad. Public Library. O. v. I. 6., as per Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Défunts," 100.

Who, Lord, is rest after labor? Who is life after death? You. Give them everlasting rest.[465]

The rhetorical nature of this communion chant is unusual, but the theme it uses—everlasting rest—is ancient.

Figure 39. *Modern transcription of* Qui es Domine *from Par BN1105.*

The eighth-mode melody is fairly simple and unadorned, but compliments the understated and tranquil text.

Finally, though only a few fourteenth-century manuscripts from northern France were examined for this dissertation, they offer a glimpse of the continued focus on specific propers within formularies.

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[465] *Qui es, Domine, requies post laborem, qui es vita post mortem, tu dona eis requiem sempiternam.*

Table 41. 14th-c. manuscripts from northern-French, a summary of propers.

	Ami 159	Dou 114	Par Ar595	Par Ar608	Par G99
	Amiens	Marchiennes	Châlons-en Champagne	Paris	Senlis
Requiem aeternam	**In**	**In**	**In**	**In**	**In**
In memoria	v				
Te decet		v	v	v	v
Requiem aeternam		**Gr[1]**	**Gr**		**Gr[2]**
Anime eorum		v			v
Qui Lazarum					v
Ne tradas Domine			v		
Si ambulem	Gr	Gr[2]		Gr	Gr[1]
Virga tua	v	v		v	v
De profundis		**Tr[1]**			**Tr[1]**
Fiant aures		v			v
Si iniquitates		v			v
Quia apud		v			v
Sicut cervus		Tr[2]		Tr	Tr[2]
Sitivit anima mea		v			v
Fuerunt michi		v			v
Domine Jesu Christe	**Of**	**Of[1]**	**Of**	**Of**	**Of**
Hostias et preces	v	v	v	v	
Hanc lucem		v			
Redemptor animarum		v			
Requiem aeternam			v		
Erue Domine		Of[2]			
Tuam Deus		v			
In spiritu		v			
Pro quorum memoria			Co[1]		
Et lux perpetua			v		
Pro quorum memoria			v		
Lux aeterna	**Co**	**Co[1]**	**Co[2]**	**Co**	
Requiem aeternam	v		v		
Semel iuravi		Co[2]			

Surprisingly, *Si ambulem* appears more than *Requiem aeternam*; *Si ambulem* represents the second most common gradual in northern France. However, the five proper chants that dominated the thirteenth century maintain a strong presence among these manuscripts, with nineteen of twenty-nine propers, or 65.5%.

The final communion in Dou 114, *Semel iuravi*, is unique to this manuscript. Deriving from Psalm 88:36-38, it reads:

Once I swore by my holiness, his seed will remain for eternity, and his throne as the sun in my sight, and as the moon, perfect in eternity, and a faithful witness in heaven. [466]

The original Psalm refers to David and his descendents who, having the sworn favor of God, will continue forever. In the context of the Mass for the Dead, the persistence is of the soul, which, in the promise of God, will join the shining ranks of heaven. The use of the "sun" and "moon" evoke the image of light, while the use of "throne" conjures an image of majesty and the soul's reigning with Christ in Heaven.
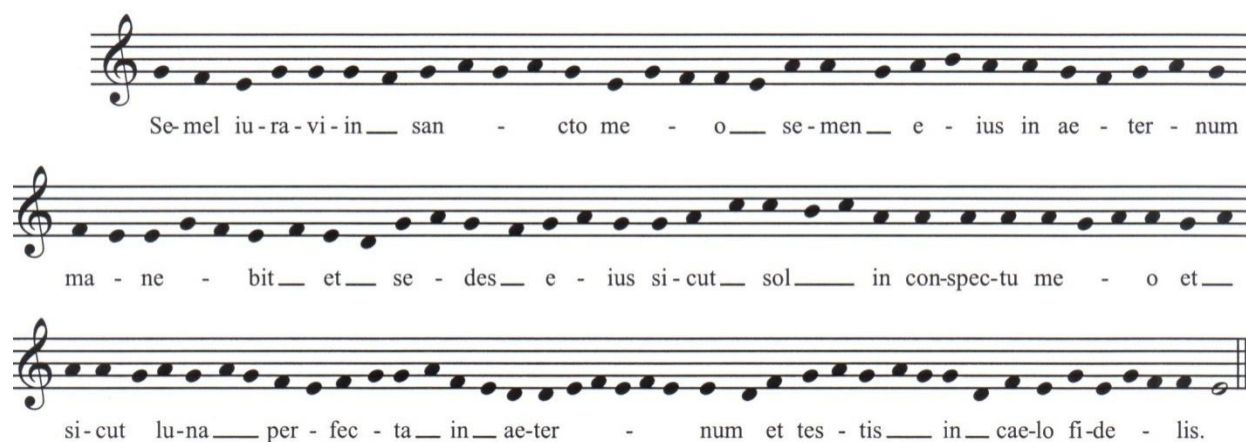
Figure 40. *Modern transcription of* Semel Iuravi *from Dou 114.*

Resembling a decorated Psalm tone, this third-mode chant uses simple improvisational gestures around the note "A."

The lack of fourteenth-century sources makes drawing strong conclusions a bit specious; *Si ambulem* and *Sicut cervus* have a greater presence than *Requiem aeternam* and *De profundis* respectively which dominated the previous century. The small sample size compromises

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[466] *Semel iuravi in sancto meo, semen eius in eternum manebit, et sedes eius sicut sol in conspectus meo, et sicut luna perfecta in eternum, et testis in caelo fidelis.*

interpretation, but when considered with other fourteenth-century sources in section 6.2, the trends become clearer.

Overall, the sources from northern France contain 235 discrete propers: forty introits, fifty-four graduals, forty-six tracts, forty-seven offertories, and forty-eight communions. Of those, the following chart indicates the dominance of the six most common chants:

Table 42. Summary of 12th- through 14th-c. northern-French propers.

In	*Requiem aeternam*	33 of 40 (82.5%)
Gr	*Requiem aeternam*	25 of 54 (46.3%)
Gr	*Si ambulem*	20 of 54 (37.0%)
Tr	*De profundis*	26 of 46 (56.5%)
Of	*Domine Jesu Christe*	30 of 47 (63.8%)
Co	*Lux aeterna*	29 of 48 (60.4%)
	Total	**163 of 235 (69.4%)**

Though a preference for particular propers is evident in northern France, they have not converged nearly as much as the Italian manuscripts, except in the communion (Italy showed no statistically significant convergence on a communion). Northern France demonstrates a high level of independent thought, with manuscripts frequently utilizing rare or seemingly unique texts and chants (*Jesu bone Triumphator* being the most notable example), or continuing peripheral traditions that have little or no presence outside this region (e.g., *Erue Domine* as an offertory). However, a core repertory clearly exists, with greater focus than in the preceding two centuries.

6.1.3 Belgium, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

Only one early source from Belgium, Bru 2031-2, deriving from the end of the eleventh century (see Section 4.2.4, *supra*), was surveyed in the previous chapter. Six other manuscripts from later centuries were surveyed for this dissertation.

Table 43. Later manuscripts of Belgian provenance.

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Formularies
Bru 19389	Quesnast. St. Martin	13th	1
Lon 18031	Stavelot	13th, beginning	1
Lon 18032	Stavelot	13th, beginning	1
Nam 1	Andenne	12th-13th	2
Nam 2	Liege	13th	2
Nam 3	Andenne	14th	2

The nine formularies represented draw from a common repertory, as the consistency amongst the manuscripts clearly indicates.

Table 44. Later manuscripts from Belgium, a summary of propers.

	Bru 19389	Lon 18031	Lon 18032	Nam 1	Nam 2	Nam 3
Si enim credimus		In^{A}	In^{A}	In^{1}	In^{1}	In^{1}
Et sicut in Adam		v	v	v	v	v
Requiem aeternam	In	In^{B}	In^{B}	In^{2}	In^{2}	In^{2}
Te decet	v			v	v	v
Anime eorum		v	v			
Si ambulem		Gr^{A}	Gr^{A}	Gr^{1}	Gr^{1}	Gr^{1}
Virga tua		v	v	v		
Requiem aeternam	Gr	Gr^{B}	Gr^{B}	Gr^{2}	Gr^{2}	Gr^{2}
Anime eorum	v	v	v	v	v	v
De profundis	Tr	Tr^{A}	Tr^{A}	Tr^{1}	Tr^{1}	Tr^{1}
Fiant aures		v	v			
Si inquitates		v	v			
Quia apud te		v	v			
Sicut cervus		Tr^{B}	Tr^{B}	Tr^{2A}	Tr^{2}	
Sitivit anima		v	v			
Fuerunt mihi		v	v			
Commovisti				Tr^{2B}		
Erue Domine		Of^{A}	Of^{A}			
Tuam Deus deposcimus		v	v			
O pie Jesu		Of^{B}	Of^{B}	Of^{2}		
Domine Jesu Christe iudex		v	v	v		
Domine Jesu Christe	Of	Of^{C}	Of^{C}	Of^{1A}	Of^{1}, Of^{2}	Of^{1}, Of^{2}
Hostias et preces	v			v	v	v
Ut mereantur	v					
Requiem aeternam	v				v	v
In spiritu humilitates				v	v	
Hanc lucem				v		
Venturus in mundi				v		
Redemptor animarum		v	v	v		
Domine convertere				Of^{1B}		
Sicut in holocausto				Of^{1C}		
Domine in auxilium				Of^{1D}		
Absolve Domine		Co^{A}	Co^{A}	Co^{1}	Co^{1}	Co^{1}
Requiem aeternam			v	v		v
Tuam Deus deposcimus			Co^{B}			
Requiem aeternam			v			
Pro quorum memoria				Co^{2A}	Co^{2A}	
Et lux aeterna					v	
Pro quorum memoria					v	
Lux aeterna	Co			Co^{2B}[467]	Co^{2B}	Co^{2}
Requiem aeternam	v					v

In Nam 1, Nam 2 and Nam 3, the introit *Si enim credimus* is paired with the gradual *Si ambulem*

and the tract *De profundis* and the communion *Absolve Domine*. The first choices in the list-

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[467] The final communion for Nam 1 reads *Lux aeterna lucebit sanctis tuis in aeternum*, which is a variant of the common *Lux aeterna* text.

manuscripts Lon 18031 and Lon 18032 concord exactly. Similarly, in the second formularies of the three manuscripts housed in Namur, the *Requiem aeternam* texts are paired as introit and gradual. The offertory *Domine Jesu Christe* dominates the sources from Andenne and Liège, but is the third option in the two Stavelot manuscripts. Bru 19389 concords with the overall scheme of the second formulary except for its preference for *De profundis* where the others tend towards *Sicut cervus*. This formulary also tends towards *Lux aeterna*, though Lon 18032 offers *Tuam Deus deposcimus* as the second option. On the whole, they can be reduced to the two formulaic traditions:

Table 45. Two main formularies for later Belgian Masses for the Dead.

In	Si enim credimus	Requiem aeternam
Gr	Si ambulem	Requiem aeternam
Tr	De profundis	Sicut cervus (De profundis)
Of	Domine Jesu Christe?	Domine Jesu Christe
Co	Absolve Domine	Lux aeterna?

The question marks indicate a degree of variance within the formulary. For example, the two Stavelot manuscripts have two other options each for the offertory. However, the Andenne sources offer no options; *Domine Jesu Christe* is the only offertory.

On the whole, Belgium offers a pair of fairly stable traditions. The texts listed above account for 49 of 61 (80.3%) of the propers used within this region. The eastern perimeter of western Europe follow suit, with both German and Austrian sources showing similar converging tendencies.

6.1.4 Germany, twelfth through fourteenth centuries

Nineteen formularies appear in the eleven manuscripts from the later German sources, and follow the same overall scheme as the Belgian sources, with two predominant Masses for the Dead.

Table 46. 12th-, 13th- and 14th-c. manuscripts of German provenance.

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Formularies
Bam 22	Bamberg	12th, early	2
Lon 11669	Augsburg	12th	1
Mun 3914	Augsburg	12th	2
Vie SN2837	Freising	12th	1
Got 58	South Germany	13th, 1st half	2
Mun 7919	Kaisheim	13th	2
Mun 10075	Gäsdonker or Ratingen	12th-13th	2
Wir	Koblenz. St. Florin	13th, c. 1234	1
Mun 15730	Seeon?	14th	2
Mun U2-156	Moosburg. St. Castulus	14th, 1355-1360	2
Tri B450	Cologne or Trier	14th, end	2

The sources derive from central and southern Germany, concentrated in two basic locations, as the following map indicates:
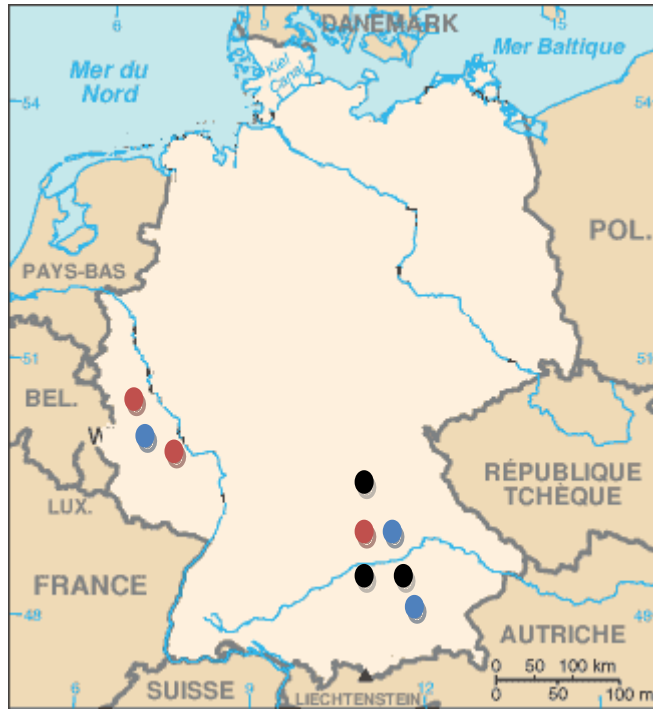
Figure 41. *Distribution of the later German manuscripts with Masses for the Dead.* [468]

Their contents can be summarized in the following table:

Table 47. 12th-c. German manuscripts, a summary of propers.

	Bam 22	**Lon 11669**	**Mun 3914**	**Vie SN2837**
Requiem aeternam	In^1	In	In^1	In
Si enim credimus	In^2		In^2	
Requiem aeternam	Gr^2	Gr	Gr^1	Gr
Si ambulem	Gr^1		Gr^2	
De profundis	Tr^{1A}	Tr	Tr^1	Tr
Commovisti	Tr^{1B}			
Sicut cervus	Tr^{1C}		Tr^2	
Domine Jesu Christe	Of^{1A}, Of^2	Of	Of^1, Of^2	Of
Erue Domine	Of^{1B}			
Absolve Domine	Co^1		Co^1	Co
Tuam Deus deposcimus		Co^A	Co^{2C}	
Dona eis Domine	Co^{2469}	Co^B		
Pro quorum memoria		Co^C	Co^{2A}	
Animas de corpore			Co^{2B}	

[468] http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Carte_Allemagne_vierge.png. As this work is of the United States Federal Government, it is in the public domain and does not require permission. Black is for twelfth-century sources, red is for the thirteenth-century ones, blue for those from the fourteenth century.
[469] Uses *Pro quorum memoria* as its verses.

Although individual traditions are not quite clear in these four manuscripts, the same few texts represent the majority of the propers, with the conspicuous absence of the communion *Lux aeterna.* Like the Belgian sources, the introit and gradual are exclusively represented by two texts, and one text dominates for the tract and offertory. This pattern continues into the next century.

Table 48. 13th-c. German manuscripts, a summary of propers.

	Got 58	**Mun 7919**	**Mun 10075**	**Wir**
Requiem aeternam	In^1	In^1	In^1	In
Si enim credimus	In^2	In^2	In^2	
Requiem aeternam	Gr^1	Gr^1	Gr^1	
Si ambulem	Gr^2	Gr^2	Gr^2	Gr
De profundis	Tr^1	Tr^1	Tr^2	Tr
Sicut cervus	Tr^2	Tr^2	Tr^1	
Domine Jesu Christe	Of^1, Of^2	Of^1, Of^2	Of^1	Of
O pie Deus			Of^{2A}	
Erue Domine			Of^{2B}	
Tuam Deus deposciumus	Co^1			
Lux aeterna		Co^{1A}	Co^2	
Absolve Domine		Co^{1B}	Co^1	Co
Animas de corpore	Co^2			
Pro quorum		Co^2		

Again, comprising seven formularies, this table shows exclusivity in two introits, graduals and tracts, and domination by one offertory. *Absolve Domine* is the most frequently used communion text, appearing in three manuscripts, as above.

Table 49. 14th-c. German manuscripts, a summary of propers.

	Mun 15730	**Mun U2-156**	**Tri 450**
Requiem aeternam	In[1]	In[2]	In[2]
Si enim credimus	In[2]	In[1]	In[1]
Requiem aeternam	Gr[1]	Gr[2]	Gr[1]
Si ambulem	Gr[2]	Gr[1]	Gr[2]
De profundis	Tr[1]	Tr[2]	Tr[2]
Sicut cervus	Tr[2]		Tr[1]
Commovisti		Tr[1]	
Domine Jesu Christe	Of[1], Of[2]	Of[1], Of[2]	Of[1], Of[2]
Lux aeterna			Co[1]
Absolve Domine	Co[1]	Co[1A], Co[2]	Co[2]
Animas de corpore		Co[1B]	
Tuam Deus deposcimus		Co[1C]	
Pro quorum memoria	Co[2]		

An examination of these nineteen formularies demonstrates convergence of propers in every liturgical function except the communion. A summary of these propers illustrates this clearly.

Table 50. Summary of 12th- through 14th-c. German propers.

In	*Requiem aeternam*	11 of 19 (57.9%) of introits	100% of introits
In	*Si enim credimus*	8 of 19 (42.1%) of introits	
Gr	*Requiem aeternam*	10 of 19 (52.6%) of graduals	100% of graduals
Gr	*Si ambulem*	9 of 19 (47.4%) of graduals	
Tr	*De profundis*	11 of 20 (55%) of tracts	90% of tracts
Tr	*Sicut cervus*	7 of 20 (35%) of tracts	
Of	*Domine Jesu Christe*	18 of 21 (85.7%) of offertories	
Co	*Absolve Domine*	10 of 26 (38.5%) of communions	
	Total	**84 of 105 (80%) of all propers**	

When compared with the wide variety of eleventh-century manuscripts, the narrowing of the repertory is vividly striking. Excluding the communion, the convergence of propers increases to 93.7%. A *prima facie* glance at these data might suggest a certain formulaic consistency; the introits, graduals and tracts all show similar percentages. However, it appears that the German scribes were only selecting from a corpus of propers, not from specific formularies. The following table illustrates the formulaic consistency within German manuscripts. The columns

that follow indicate how many match exactly (0Δ, meaning zero deviations) and how many deviate by a single proper (1Δ).

Table 51. Degree of deviation within the two common formularies in German manuscripts.

Formulary	12th c.		13th c.		14th c	
	0Δ	1Δ	0Δ	1Δ	0Δ	1Δ
Requiem-Requiem-De profundis-Domine Jesu Christe	3/4	1/4	2/4	2/4	2/3	1/3
Si enim-Si ambulem-Sicut cervus-Domine Jesu Christe	1/3		2/3		1/3	2/3

The introit and gradual beginning with *Requiem aeternam* tend to be found with *De profundis* and *Domine Jesu Christe* in seven of eleven manuscripts, or 63.6% of the time. Similarly, *Si enim credimus* and *Si ambulem* are only found together with the *Sicut cervus* and *Domine Jesu Christe*, or half of the time that *Si enim credimus* appears at all. This suggests that the convergence of formularies was the result of the establishment of a body of propers from which Masses for the Dead were assembled. The process of formulaic correlation takes greater form in the Austrian manuscripts.

6.1.5 Austria, twelfth through fourteenth centuries

All twenty-three Austrian manuscripts surveyed in this dissertation are dated no earlier than the twelfth century. Of the later sources reviewed, the Austrian formularies are the most consistent. Though the Germanic sources show the greatest convergence of propers, the scribes who compiled them still viewed the propers as independent from their formularies. This is not the case with the Austrian manuscripts which, over time, show greater formulaic stability.

Table 52. 12th-, 13th- and 14th-c. manuscripts of Austrian provenance.

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Formularies
Gra 479	Seckau	12th, after 1173	2
Gra 769	Seckau	12th	2
Kre 28	Kremsmünster. St. Agapiti	12th	2
Lin 125	Garsten	12th	2
Sal aIX11	Salzburg. St. Erentrude	12th, 1146-1164	1
Vie 1821	Sankt Polten	12th	2
Vor 21	Styrie	12th, 2nd half	2
Vor 303	Styrie	12th, 3rd qtr	2
Gra 761	Seckau	13th	2
Lin 128	Garsten	13th	1
Mel 709	Melk	12th-13th	1
StF 209	Sankt Florian	13th	1
Vie 13682	Vienna or Sankt Pölten	13th-14th	1
Vor 332	Vorau	13th, c. 1270	2
Gra 703	Murau. St. Lambrecht	13th-14th	2
Gra 767	Seckau	14th	1
Mel 109	Melk. Benedictine Monastery	14th	1
Sal aIV14	Salzburg	14th-15th	2
Sal aVII20	Salzburg	13th-14th	1
StF 204	Sankt Florian	14th	2
StF 393	Sankt Florian	14th	2
StF 397	Sankt Florian	14th	2
Vie 12785	Rupertsberg (nr Salzburg)	14th	1

The Austrian sources draw from the same body of propers as the German manuscripts do with the exception of the occasional use of *De profundis* as an offertory. The winnowing of propers progresses in a similar fashion as well.

Table 53. 12th-c. Austrian manuscripts, a summary of propers.

	Gra 479	Gra 769	Kre 28	Lin 125	Sal aIX11	Vie 1821	Vor 21	Vor 303
Requiem aeternam	In^2	In^2	In^1	In^2	In^A	In^1	In^1	In
Si enim credimus	In^1	In^1	In^2	In^1	In^B	In^2	In^2	
Requiem aeternam	Gr^2	Gr^2	Gr^1	Gr^2	Gr^A	Gr^2	Gr^2	Gr
Si ambulem	Gr^1	Gr^1	Gr^2	Gr^1	Gr^B	Gr^1	Gr^1	
Commovisti	Tr^{1A}	Tr^{1A}		Tr^{2B}	Tr^C		Tr^{2B}	
Sicut cervus	Tr^{1B}		Tr^2	Tr^{2A}	Tr^B	Tr^1	Tr^{1B}	
De profundis	Tr^2	Tr^{1B}, Tr^2	Tr^1	Tr^1	Tr^A		Tr^{1A}, Tr^{2A}	Tr
Domine Jesu Christe	Of^{1A}, Of^2	Of^{1B}, Of^2	Of^1	Of^1	Of^A	Of^2	Of^1, Of^2	Of
De profundis	Of^{1B}			Of^2		Of^1		
O pie Deus	Of^{1C}	Of^{1A}	Of^2		Of^B			
Tuam Deus	Co^{1A}	Co^{1A}		Co^{1B}	Co^B	Co^{2B}	Co^{1B}	Co^A
Animas de corpore	Co^{1B}	Co^{1B}	Co^2				Co^2	
Pro quorum memoria	Co^{1C}	Co^{1C}		Co^{1A}	Co^A	Co^{2A}	Co^{1C}	Co^B
Absolve Domine	Co^2	Co^2	Co^1	Co^2	Co^C	Co^1	Co^{1A}	Co^C

Like the German manuscripts above, only two texts each for introit and gradual can be found amongst these sources, and *Domine Jesu Christe* dominates the offertories. Along with the nearly ubiquitous *De profundis*, the tracts *Sicut cervus* and *Commovisti* have prominence, though the latter would not continue to find much usage in Austria. The use of *De profundis* as an offertory is a peculiarity in this region, only found in the tenth-century manuscript Bal 6^2 (see Section 4.1, *supra*). Among the fourteen formularies are twenty-six communions; the diversity of communions amongst these sources is fairly evenly distributed amongst four texts.

Table 54. 13th-c. Austrian manuscripts, a summary of propers.

	Gra 761	Lin 128	Mel 709	StF 209	Vie 13682	Vor 332
Requiem aeternam	In^1	In	In	In	In	In^2
Si enim credimus	In^2					In^1
Requiem aeternam	Gr^1	Gr^B	Gr	Gr	Gr	Gr^2
Si ambulem	Gr^2	Gr^A				Gr^1
De profundis	Tr^1	Tr^B	Tr	Tr	Tr	Tr^2
Commovisti	Tr^2	Tr^A				
Sicut cervus		Tr^C				Tr^1
Domine Jesu Christe	Of^1	Of	Of	Of	Of	Of^2
De profundis	Of^2					Of^1
Absolve Domine	Co^{1A}	Co^A	Co	Co	Co^A	Co^{2A}
Tuam Deus deposcimus	Co^{1B}	Co^B				Co^{2B}
Pro quorum memoria	Co^{1C}	Co^C				
Animas de corpore	Co^2	Co^D			Co^B	Co^1

When compared with the previous century, the thirteenth century shows a narrowing of the repertory. The offertory *De profundis* is less prominent and *O pie Deus* disappears. The communion options, while still more varied than any other proper, are more limited, as is the presence of the tract *Commovisti*. Also, unlike in Germany, the formularies are now considered as complete units; the introit *Si enim credimus* is found with the gradual *Si ambulem*, and the introit and gradual bearing the text *Requiem aeternam*, and with them the tract *De profundis*, offertory *Domine Jesu Christe*, and most often with the communion *Absolve Domine*. Linz 128 alone deviates from this pattern because the list-style manuscript lacks a second introit choice. This consistency persists almost without exception in the fourteenth century.

Table 55. 14th-c. Austrian manuscripts from Salzburg, a summary of propers.

	Sal aIV14	Sal aVII20	Vie 12785
Requiem aeternam	In^1	In	In
Si enim credimus	In^2		
Requiem aeternam	Gr^1	Gr	Gr
Si ambulem	Gr^2		
De profundis	Tr^1	Tr	Tr
Sicut cervus	Tr^2		
Domine Jesu Christe	Of^1, Of^2	Of	Of
Absolve Domine	Co^1		Co
Animas de corpora	Co^{2A}		
Pro quorum memoria	Co^{2B}		
Lux aeterna		Co	

These three late Salzburg sources are in complete harmony with each other except for the communion. The pairing of four of five propers in each formulary shows the degree of *formulaic* convergence, rather than simply the coalescing of propers found in other regions.

Table 56. 14th-c. Austrian manuscripts from Sankt Florian, a summary of propers.

	StF 204	StF 393	StF 397
Requiem aeternam	In^1	In^1	In^1
Si enim credimus	In^2	In^2	In^2
Requiem aeternam	Gr^1	Gr^1	Gr^1
Si ambulem	Gr^2	Gr^2	Gr^2
De profundis	Tr^1	Tr^1	Tr^1
Sicut cervus	Tr^2	Tr^2	Tr^2
Domine Jesu Christe	Of^1, Of^2	Of^1, Of^2	Of^1, Of^2
Absolve Domine	Co^1	Co^1	Co^1
Lux aeterna		Co^2	Co^2
Tuam Deus	Co^2		

Again, the six formularies in these manuscripts from Sankt Florian concord completely apart from the communions, as well as with the four propers amongst the four formularies of Salzburg above.

Table 57. 14th-c. Austrian manuscripts from Murau, Seckau, and Melk, a summary of propers.

	Gra 703	Gra 767	Mel 109
Si enim credimus	In^1		
Requiem aeternam	In^2	In	In
Si ambulem	Gr^1		
Requiem aeternam	Gr^2	Gr	Gr
Sicut cervus	Tr^{1A}		
Commovisti	Tr^{1B}		
De profundis	Tr^{1C}, Tr^2	Tr	Tr
Erue Domine	Of^1		
Domine Jesu Christe	Of^2	Of	Of
Animas de corpora	Co^1		
Absolve Domine	Co^{2A}	Co	
Tuam Deus deposcimus	Co^{2B}		Co^{470}
Pro quorum memoria	Co^{2C}		
Lux aeterna	Co^{2D}		

Finally, there is only one variant in the non-communion propers of these four formularies; Gra 703 uses offertory *Erue Domine* within the Mass beginning with *Si enim credimus*. The remaining three formularies match the other Austrian Masses from this century that start with the

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[470] Uses *Pro quorum memoria* as its verses.

introit *Requiem aeternam*. Amongst these fourteen formularies in the fourteenth century, all but one have four-point concordances. The multiple options for the communion amongst these manuscripts indicate, however, ambivalence towards a complete formulary.

These Austrian sources draw from a limited number of propers. Thus, their convergence is unsurprisingly high.

Table 58. Summary of 12th- through 14th-c. Austrian propers.

		12th c.		13th		14th c.	
In	Requiem aeternam	8 of 15 (53.3%)	100%	6 of 8 (75%)	100%	9 of 14 (64.3%)	100%
In	Si enim credimus	7 of 15 (46.7%)		2 of 8 (25%)		5 of 14 (35.7%)	
Gr	Requiem aeternam	8 of 15 (53.3%)	100%	6 of 9 (66.7%)	100%	9 of 14 (64.3%)	100%
Gr	Si ambulem	7 of 15 (46.7%)		3 of 9 (33.3%)		5 of 14 (35.7%)	
Tr	De profundis	9 of 20 (45%)	75%	6 of 10 (60%)	80%	10 of 16 (62.5%)	93.8%
Tr	Sicut cervus	6 of 20 (30%)		2 of 10 (20%)		5 of 16 (31.3%)	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe	11 of 18 (61.1%)		6 of 8 (75%)		13 of 14 (92.9%)	
Co	Absolve Domine	8 of 26 (30.8%)		6 of 15 (40%)		7 of 17 (41.8%)	
Total		**64 of 94 (68.1%)**		**37 of 50 (74%)**		**63 of 75 (84%)**	

The progression of convergence is especially clear in Austria, with manuscripts from each successive century showing higher levels of concordance. The overall convergence is slightly lower than that of Germany (74.9% versus 80%); even without communions, the same eight texts represent 88.8% of the propers used (compared with 93.7% in Germany).

However, Austrian sources show stronger formulaic convergence than those from Germany. Two basic formularies exist: the first has the texts *Requiem aeternam*, *Requiem aeternam*, *De profundis clamavi*, and *Domine Jesu Christe* for the introit, gradual, tract and offertory respectively; the second with texts *Si enim credimus*, *Si ambulem*, *Sicut cervus* and *Domine Jesu Christe* in the same liturgical function. The table below indicates the number of Austrian manuscripts from each century containing each formulary:[471]

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[471] The list-style manuscripts Sal aIX11 and Lin 128 cannot be effectively considered because it imposes the supposition that the first introit in the source is *necessarily* paired with the first gradual and so forth. While the high

Table 59. Degree of deviation within the two common formularies in Austrian manuscripts.

Formulary	12th c.		13th c.		14th c	
	0Δ	1Δ	0Δ	1Δ	0Δ	1Δ
Requiem-Requiem-De profundis-Domine Jesu Christe	5/8		5/6		9/9	
Si enim-Si ambulem-Sicut cervus-Domine Jesu Christe		3/7		1/2	4/5	1/5

The formulary beginning with *Requiem aeternam* already shows high consistency in the twelfth century and is perfectly correlated in the fourteenth with an 82.6% correlation across the three centuries. *Si enim credimus* shows a little less consistency overall, though correlation is strong by the fourteenth century. However, when compared to the lack of formulaic concordance in other locales, even in Germany, this consistency is striking.

Without examining early Austrian manuscripts, it is unclear how this strong correlation came to be. A strong Carthusian or Cistercian presence, with their internally established traditions, may have directly influenced the creation of nearly-complete formularies in non-monastic circles, although the absence of the communion *Ego sum resurrectio*, the offertory *Domine convertere*, and introit *Respice Domine* seems to argue against this. Additionally, the communions in both Germany and Austria continue to draw from a fairly diverse set of texts distinct from either monastic tradition. More likely, the basic concept of stable formularies, rather than the actual contents of the formularies themselves, was the impetus for such dramatic convergence in Germany and especially Austria.

6.1.6 Central and Southern France, twelfth through fourteenth centuries

Five sources from central and southern France, each containing one formulary for the Mass for the Dead.

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level of concordance found in the formulary-driven sources certainly suggests this, the equivocation of proper selection in previous centuries makes this too risky an assumption to make.

Table 60. Later manuscripts of central- and southern-French provenance.

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Formularies
Lem 437	Le Mans	13th, 1st half	1
Lim 2	Anjou. Fontevraud	14th	1
Lon 23935	Valence?	13th, 1255-63	1
Par BN17312	Auxerre	13th, 1st third	1
Rom BBarb559	Lyons. St. Michel	12th-13th, 1173-1223	1[472]

Though small, this sample of manuscripts recalls the diversity of propers found in the eleventh-century sources from the same region (see Table 19, *supra*).

Table 61. Later manuscripts of central- or southern-French provenance, a summary of propers.

	Lem 437	Lim 2	Lon 23935	Par BN17312	Rom BBarb559
Requiem aeternam	In	In	In	In	
Si enim credimus					In
Requiem aeternam	Gr	Gr^A	Gr^A		
Si ambulem			Gr^B	Gr^A	Gr
Convertere anima				Gr^B	
Animae eorum		Gr^B			
De profundis		Tr^A		Tr^A	Tr
Sicut cervus			Tr^B	Tr^B	
Dixit Dominus		Tr^B			
Domine Jesu Christe	Of	Of^A	Of	Of	Of
O pie Deus		Of^B			
Lux aeterna	Co	Co^A	Co	Co	
Absolve Domine		Co^B			
Videns Dominus					Co

Though the variety has decreased, a great deal of creative freedom remains in formulary construction. Clearly, *Requiem aeternam* and *Lux aeterna* are the preferred introit and communion respectively. *Domine Jesu Christe* is the only text found in all five sources, attesting to the strength of its tradition. But no particular text dominates either the gradual or tract; *Requiem aeternam* and *Si ambulem* have fair but not overwhelming representation for the gradual, as does *De profundis* for the tract. Lim 2 demonstrates the greatest diversity, offering the rare tract *Dixit Dominus* (see Section 6.1.1, *supra*), an alternative offertory and the only

[472] In addition to the Mass *in agenda mortuorum*, there follow at least four formularies to be celebrated on successive days. Though they utilize some similar texts, they are not strictly Masses for the Dead and, consequently, not considered for this dissertation. Their formularies are included under Rom BBarb559's entry in 0 for consideration.

known example of *Animae eorum in bonis* as gradual text (which isn found almost exclusively as a verse to several gradual texts).

Rom BBarb559 contains the communion *Videns Dominus flentes sorores* as an incipit. Its use as a communion for the Mass for the Dead is only documented in one other manuscript[473] despite its didactic suitability, as the complete text indicates:

> The Lord, seeing the crying sisters of Lazarus by the tomb, wept in the presence of the Jews and cried out,
>
> "Lazarus, come forth," he, who had been dead four days, came forth, hands and feet bound.[474]

This text does not refer to the hypothetical Lazarus found in the parable in St. Luke's Gospel, but instead a real person whom Jesus knew as reported in the Gospel of St. John. The miracle of Lazarus's raising from the dead is the final, and greatest, of the seven miracles recorded in that Gospel. The use of this image of Lazarus can be found infrequently as a gradual for the Mass for the Dead (with the text *Qui Lazarum* either as a verse to *Requiem aeternam* or, slightly less frequently, as its own gradual with *Requiem aeternam* as its verse) or very infrequently as a communion or tract.

On the whole, while in Germany and Austria the pool of propers was getting shallower, these fourteenth-century French manuscripts demonstrate that some traditions remain subject to a degree of creative interpretation.

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[473] It is found in this manuscript in the daily celebrations that follow the Mass for the Dead and in the twelfth-century manuscript Madrid, Palacio Nacional, 429, according to Gay, "Formulaires Anciens pour la Messe des Défunts," p. 107.

[474] *Videns Dominus flentes sorores Lazari ad monumentum, lacrimatus est coram Judaeis et clamabat: Lazare, veni foras: et prodiit ligatis manibus et pedibus qui fuerat quatriduanus mortuus.*

6.1.7 Sources from the British Isles, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Spain

Though the shortage of sources from the British Isles makes specific conclusions specious, the narrowing of propers seen in the eastern part of Europe is apparant in these sources as well.

Table 62. Later manuscripts of British Isle provenance.

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Formularies
Cam KK26	England. Worcester. Hanley Castle	13th-14th	1
Man 24	England. Exeter	12th, 2nd quarter	1
Oxf R892	Ireland. Downpatrick?	12th. 2nd half	1
Oxf Rd3	England. Salisbury	13th-14th	1
Par Ar135	England. London or Canturbury	13th, 2nd half	1

Despite a fairly wide distribution across the modern-day United Kingdom, the five formularies, comprising thirty-seven propers, show fairly tight convergence, with a single text dominating each proper function.

Table 63. Later manuscripts of British Isle provenance, a summary of propers.

	Cam KK26	Man 24	Oxf R892	Oxf Rd3	Par Ar135
Requiem aeternam	In	In	In	In	In
Requiem aeternam	Gr	Gr^A	Gr	Gr	Gr^A
Si ambulem		Gr^B			Gr^B
Commovisti Domine		Tr^A			
De profundis clamavi	Tr	Tr^B	Tr	Tr^A	Tr^A
Sicut cervus		Tr^C		Tr^B	Tr^B
Domine Jesu Christe	Of	Of	Of	Of^A	Of^A
O pie Deus				Of^B	Of^B
Lux aeterna luceat eis	Co	Co^A	Co^A	Co^A	Co^A
Pro quorum memoria		Co^B	Co^B	Co^B	Co^B

The texts in bold are found in each of the five manuscripts; they represent over two thirds of the propers, signifying substantial convergence. Apart from the usage of the communion *Pro quorum*, and to a lesser degree, the tract *Sicut cervus*, the remaining propers represent a small portion of these formularies. Additionally, with the exception of the tract *Commovisti*, found in the earliest manuscript, all of the lesser-used propers are well-represented alternatives used on the mainland, especially in Germany and Austria. *Lux aeterna* is the only proper not utilized in the Austrian/German traditions, being largely a French communion. In fact, the five propers

found in these manuscripts concord identically with those in the "Cluniac" tradition used by the Carthusians (see Table 24, *supra*), which again raises the question of how influential monastic formularies may have been outside their scriptoria.

Seven sources comprising seven formularies remain, from the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Spain.

Table 64. Later manuscripts of varying provenance.

Manuscript	Provenance	Date	Formularies
Bon 384	Netherlands. Limburg	13th, c. 1299	1
Con 1b	Netherlands. Limburg	13th, c. 1299	1
CaT G7a27	Switzerland?	13th	1
Oxf d5	Switzerland. Hauterive	14th, c. 1300	1
Mad 1361	Spain. Toledo	14th	1
Tol 35-10	Spain. (Monastic?)	13th	1
Mad 21-8	Unknown	14th	1

Despite a broad distribution, these seven late manuscripts have much in common. Apart from the tract, four texts dominate these sources like those from the British Isles.

Table 65. Later manuscripts of miscellaneous provenance, a summary of propers.

	Bon 384	Con 1b	Cat G7a27	Oxf d5	Mad 1361	Tol 35-10	Mad 21-8
Requiem aeternam	In	In	In	In	In	In	In
Si ambulem			GrA	GrB			
Requiem aeternam	Gr	Gr	GrB	GrA	Gr	Gr	Gr
Sicut cervus			TrA				
De profundis			TrB			Tr	
Absolve Domine	Tr	Tr		Tr			Tr
Domine Jesu Christe	Of	Of	Of	Of	Of	Of	Of
Lux aeterna luceat	Co	Co	Co	Co	Co	Co	Co

In the thirty-seven propers in seven formularies, twenty-eight, or more than three quarters, use only four texts. The tract *Absolve Domine*, used four times, is the most prevalent. With this tract, the convergence of these propers exactly matches what would become the authoritative Roman Missal of 1570.

The handful of manuscripts from these regions does not reveal individual trajectories, but the summary of their propers illustrates clearly a global narrowing of chants that the Mass for the Dead underwent, despite vast geographical distance. This convergence demonstrates the overall western trend of moving towards a small number of propers, or, in several cases, individual formularies, for use in the Mass for the Dead. The consistency of proper selection in fourteenth-century manuscripts contrasts starkly with the diverse repertory of the eleventh century, demonstrating the unconscious process of coming to consensus amongst the scriptoria of western Europe.

6.2   SUMMARY OF OBSERVATIONS

The following four sets of figures will illustrate the convergence of propers occuring between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. In all charts, the red shading indicates the dominant proper, blue is used for the second most prevalent, orange (when necessary) for the tertiary proper, and green to indicate the miscellaneous ones.
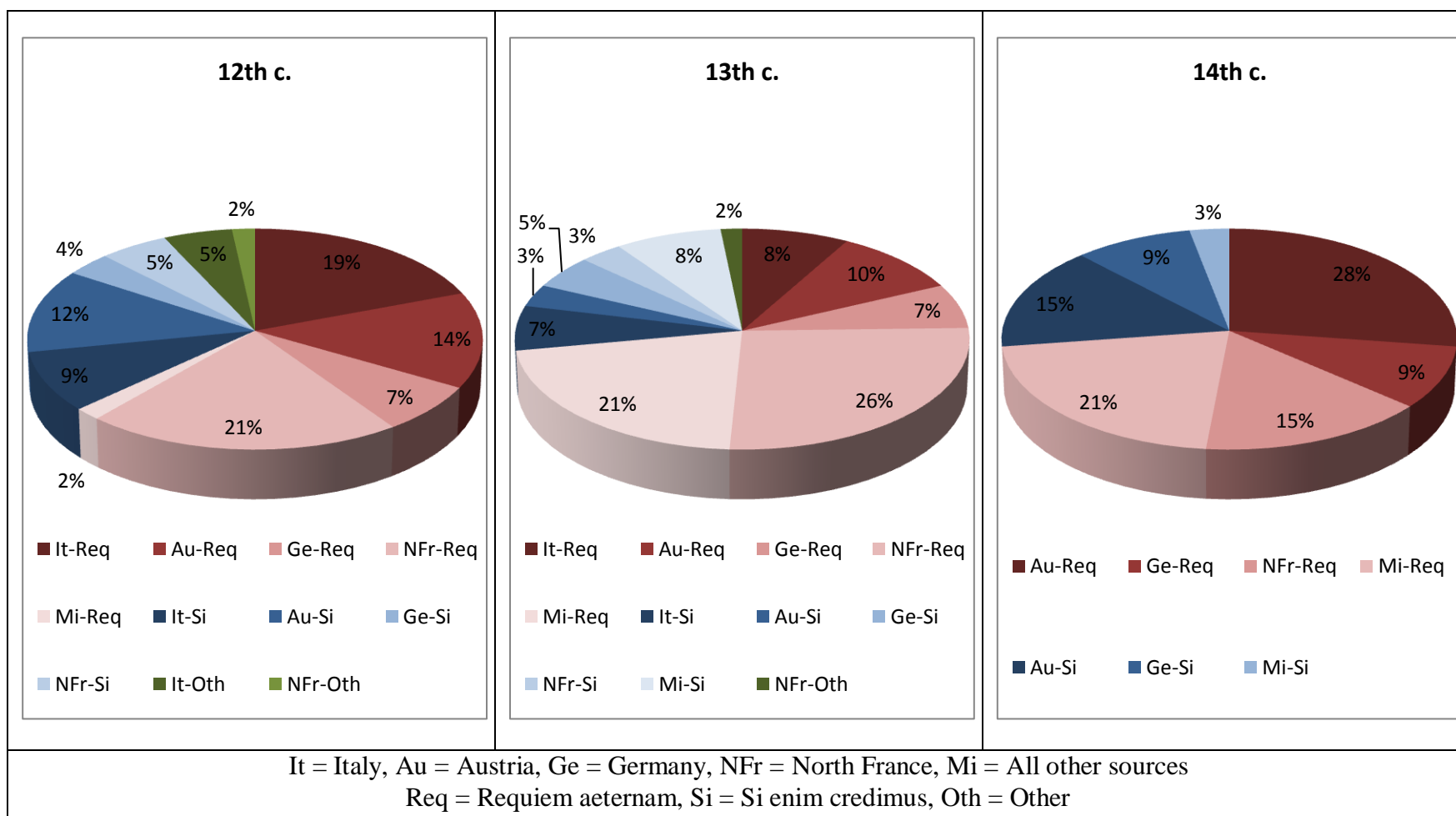
Figure 42. *Percent distribution of later introits.*

Both the *Requiem aeternam* and *Si enim credimus* texts dominate until, amongst the thirty-three introits of the fourteenth century, no other options are utilized.

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12th c.

2%
2%
14%
13%
2%
11%
3%
2%
1%
19%
13%
6%
14%

It-Req ■ Au-Req ■ Ge-Req ■ NFr-Req
Mi-Req ■ It-Si ■ Au-Si ■ Ge-Si
NFr-Si ■ Mi-Si ■ It-Oth ■ NFr-Oth

13th c.

4%
1%
10%
12%
11%
6%
4%
1%
7%
8%
4%
16%
16%

It-Req ■ Au-Req ■ Ge-Req ■ NFr-Req
Mi-Req ■ It-Si ■ Au-Si ■ Ge-Si
NFr-Si ■ Mi-Si ■ It-Oth ■ NFr-Oth
Mi-Oth

14th c.

3%
5%
13%
8%
13%
24%
8%
8%
18%

Au-Req ■ Ge-Req ■ NFr-Req
Mi-Req ■ Au-Si ■ Ge-Si
NFr-Si ■ Mi-Si ■ Mi-Oth

It = Italy, Au = Austria, Ge = Germany, NFr = North France, Mi = All other sources
Req = Requiem aeternam, Si = Si ambulem; Oth = Other

Figure 43. *Percent distribution of later graduals.*

The "other" propers go from 16% to only 3%. In slight contrast with the introits, the secondary gradual, *Si ambulem* is fairly well represented, used nearly 40% of the time amongst the 38 graduals in the fourteenth century.
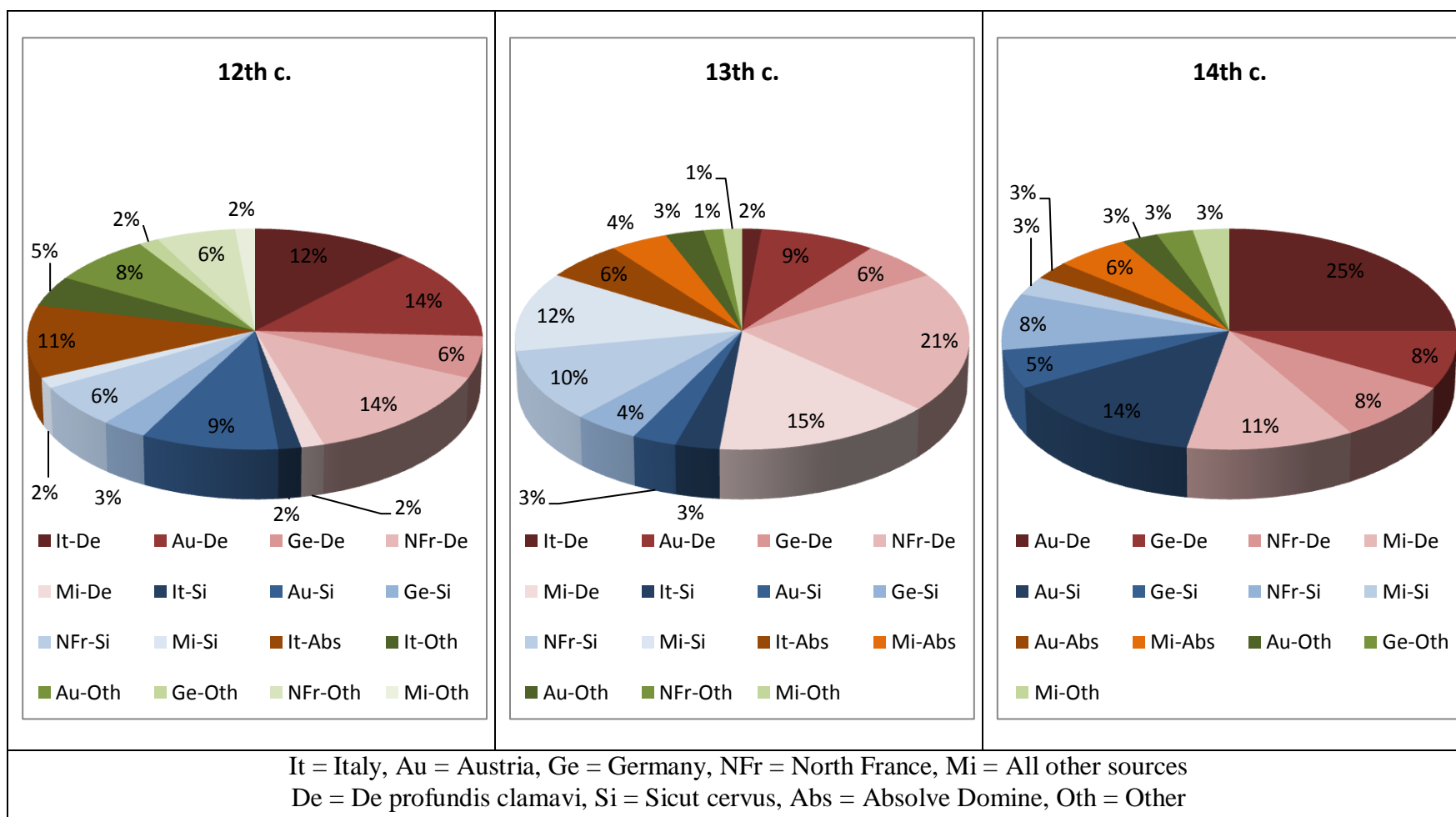
Figure 44. *Percent distribution of later tracts.*

The tract shows the least convergence amongst the first four propers. *De profundis* is used 48% of the time in twelfth-century sources, but only increases to 52% by the fourteenth century. *Sicut cervus*, however, remains a distant second throughout.
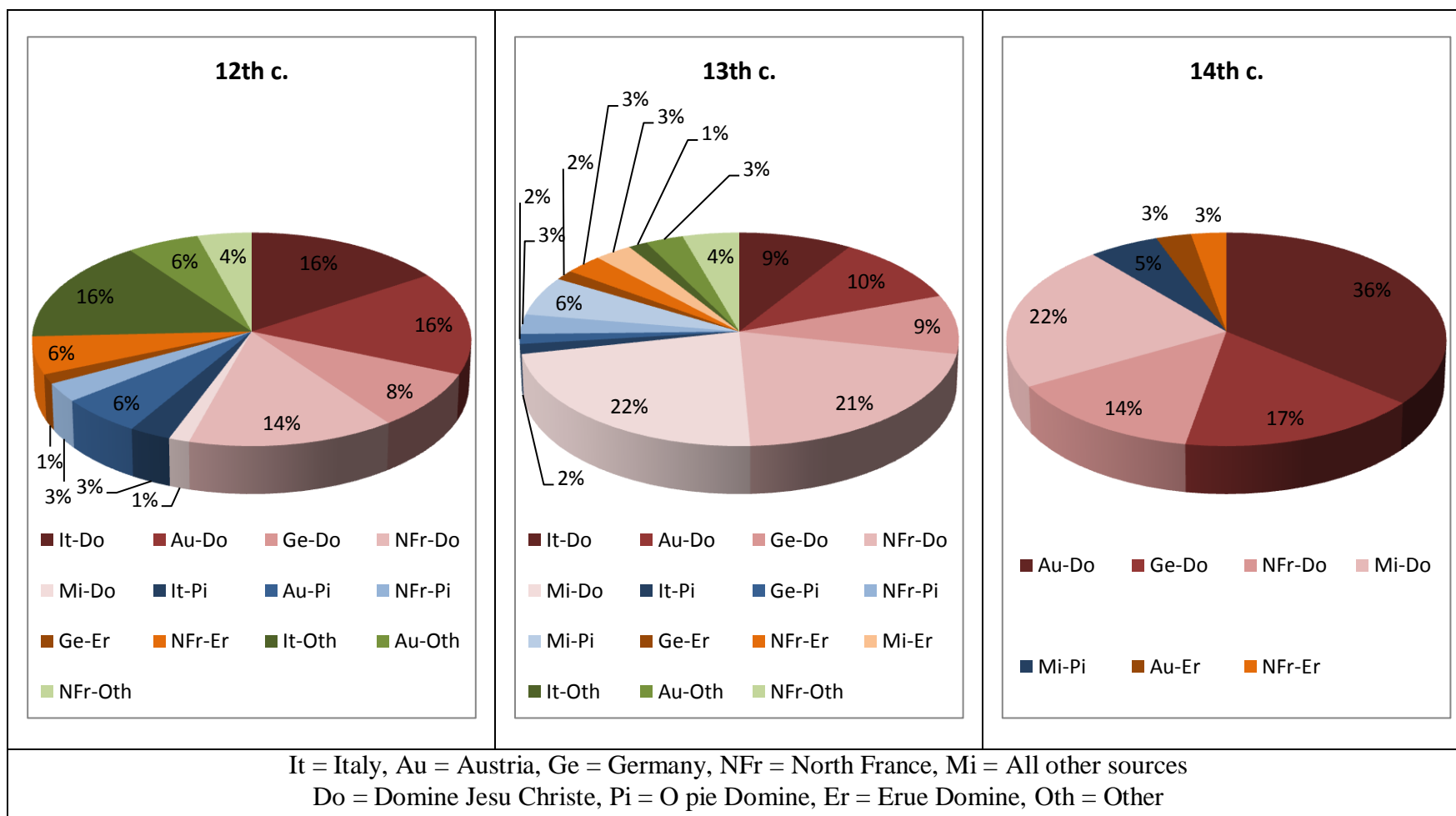
Figure 45. *Percent distribution of later offertories.*

Of all the propers, the offertory shows the most overwhelming convergence; *Domine Jesu Christe*, utilized only a single time in the

tenth century, is used in 89% of the thirty-six fourteenth-century offertories.

In summary, the wide diversity of the tenth and eleventh centuries has disappeared by the fourteenth century; the pool of propers from which scribes drew has become shallow, converging to roughly seven texts for the introit, gradual, tract and offertory.

Table 66. Summary of convergence in later manuscripts.

Text	12th c.	13th c.	14th c.
Requiem aeternam	63% of introits	72% of introits	73% of introits
Si enim credimus	30% of introits	26% of introits	27% of introits
Requiem aeternam	53% of graduals	51% of graduals	58% of graduals
Si ambulem	31% of graduals	44% of graduals	39% of graduals
De profundis	48% of tracts	53% of tracts	52% of tracts
Sicut cervus	22% of tracts	32% of tracts	30% of tracts
Domine Jesu Christe	55% of offertories	71% of offertories	89% of offertories

The reason for the convergence in the offertory seems intuitive; of these seven propers, *Domine Jesu Christe* represents the late medieval purgatorial mindset in the most acute manner. However, while both Psalm 129, *De profundis clamavi*, and the passage from Psalm 22, *Si ambulem in medio*, make use of similar imagery, they were not chosen. There are three potential explanations. First, for the Mass for the Dead to have social appeal, either as an individual burial Mass or as a commemoration for all the souls in Purgatory, the pronounced punitive nature of the offertory had to be counterbalanced with the more ancient hopeful theology. Second, both *Si ambulem* and *De profundis* derive from other celebrations and perhaps a shared usage did not resonate well theologically. Third, and as a practical matter, both of these texts, being found elsewhere within the *graduale*, are often listed as incipits requiring extra time to find it in the book.

These explanations do not explicate why *Si enim credimus* did not engender much favor. It is a positive text (focusing on how the sacrifice obliterates Original Sin and thereby gives humankind access to Heaven) which is peculiar to the Mass for the Dead. Perhaps its ultimate

disappearance was due to its overly didactic quality. All texts that were ultimately selected for the 1570 Roman Missal are phrased as petitions—they ask God to grant rest or freedom, to shine light or break bonds. *Si enim credimus,* like the other secondary texts and even *De profundis,* are narrative in nature. They do not so much ask God for help as tell a Scriptural story in the first person. Given the increased focus on supplicatory entreaty, the instructive—almost creedal—quality of *Si enim credimus* does not accord with the theological goals of the time. While *Si enim credimus* comes off as almost prosaic, the *Requiem aeternam* speaks of a distinct future of rest, light and peace.

None of this, however, addresses the issue of the non-convergence of the communion proper. Throughout the centuries, while the corpus of propers dwindled for the introit, gradual, tract and especially offertory, local communion traditions continued to vary fairly widely. Its diversity can be illustrated in the following table:
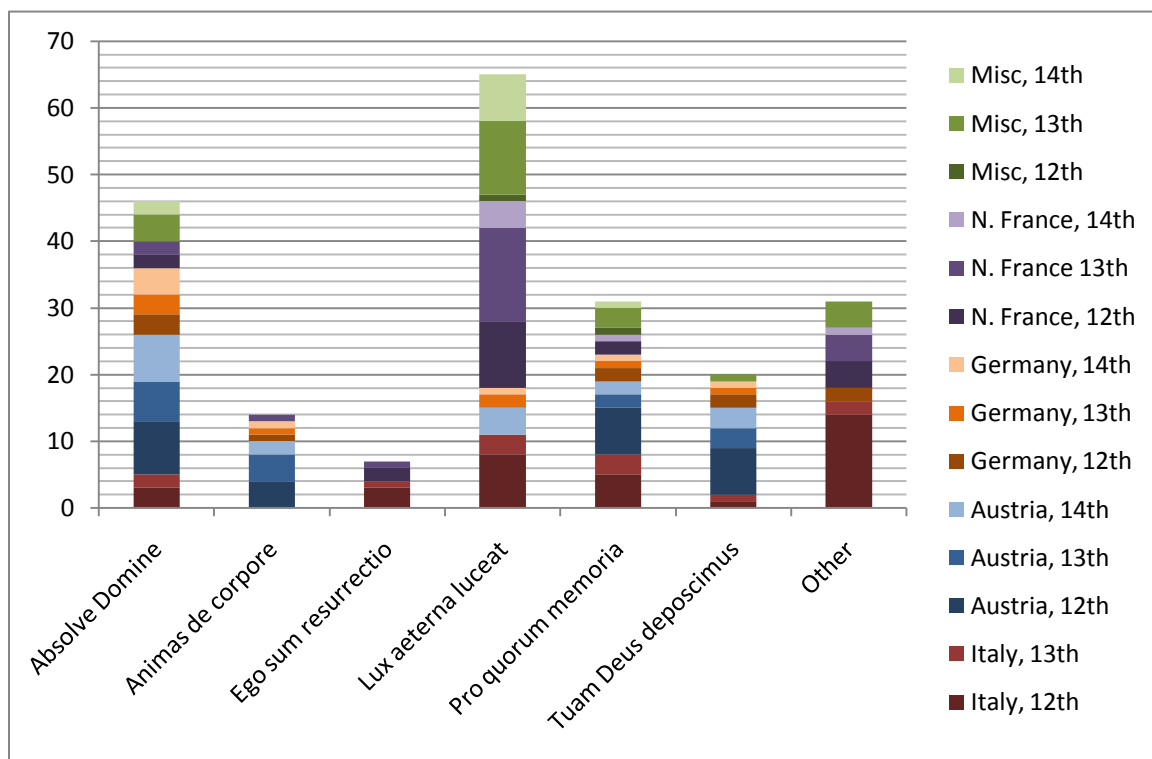
Figure 46. *Geographic distribution of later communion propers.*[475]

This chart illustrates the lack of convergence of the communion proper compared with other propers. It also illuminates the regional preferences. Austria favored *Absolve Domine*, *Pro quorum memoria*, and *Tuam Deus*, while northern France and the miscellaneous manuscripts inclined heavily towards *Lux aeterna*, and Italy seemed ti oreferthe most peculiar ones (n.b., no fourteenth-century Italian manuscripts were surveyed that could indicate whether Italy persisted in its diversity of communions or began to narrow its focus). The following three charts indicate the temporal division of the communions:

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[475] The vertical axis indicates the total number of communion propers.

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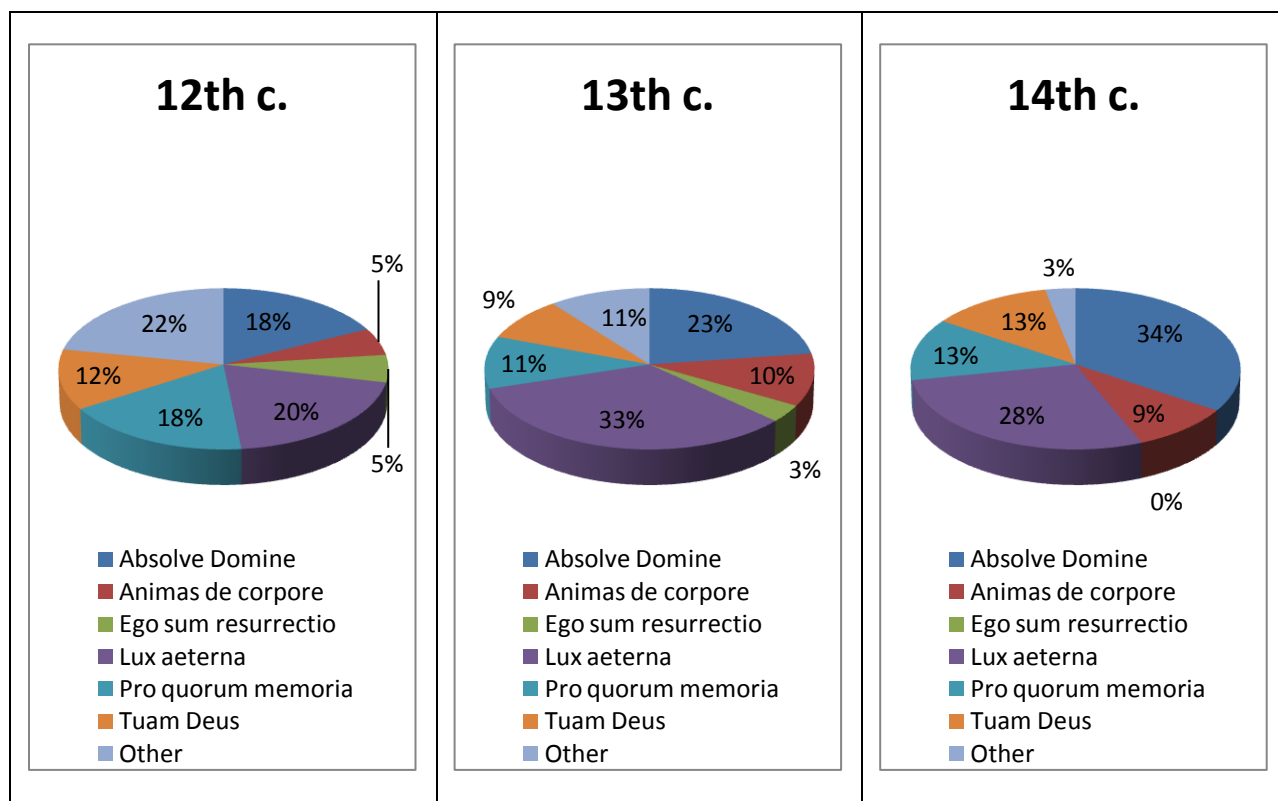
Figure 47. *Temporal distribution of later communion propers.*

With the exception the phasing out of *Ego sum resurrectio,* which was fairly popular in the eleventh century, no single or even two communion chants dominate the Mass for the Dead across Europe. The best explanation is that, at communion time, the liturgical focus shifts from the soul to the sacrifice being offered. The celebration of the Eucharist is the highest form of worship in Catholic theology (and, although there were disagreements within the Church, at this point, no reformation had taken place). Consequently, there was less of a reason to converge on a particular text since the center of attention was now diverted from the present state of the deceased to the future promise intrinsic in the Eucharist.

In conclusion, the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries saw, on the whole, a coalescence of consensus on what propers ought to constitute the Mass for the Dead. Although a few sources reveal the occasional departure, the body of propers from which the compilers of

these masses drew narrowed sharply compared with the eleventh century. This consensus developed under the influence of theological developments and the models afforded by the monastic orders. Scribes were now constrained to just a few choices for every proper but the communion—and even there, by the fourteenth century only five appeared with any reasonable frequency. By the time the Roman Church finally exercised its authority and appointed the propers for the Mass for the Dead, social forces had already limited the reasonable choices, something which may have seemed impossible in the tenth century.

7.0   CONCLUSION

The results of this dissertation are not the products of the scientific method. Science begins with a hypothesis, examines evidence, and *deduces* causes and effects. The humanities, by contrast, are largely *abductive* disciplines. Results are discovered (often only partially) and through intuitive guesswork, scholars seek to establish likely predicate causes. This dissertation is no exception. Only the overwhelming concordance of data allows the charts to convey meaning and reveal trends.

The Latin Mass, as was observed, seemed to appear out of nowhere in 700 C.E. (see Section 4.0, *supra*). Yet, there can be no doubt that there were western progenitors (and competitors) to this Pontifical Mass; they just simply did not survive the ravages of time. Similarly, McKinnon's conclusions regarding the propers for the Mass—the apparently universal and rapid adoption of formularies across western Christendom for the *temporale* and what existed of the *sanctorale* at that time—begs of a predicate. But the names of the assemblers of these liturgies, much less their reasons for doing so, are lost, and so the holes must be filled as parsimoniously as possible.

The topic of this dissertation was serendipitously fortunate, however, for a few reasons. The source record is far more favorable than what those seeking the origin of the Ordinary of the Mass, or McKinnon's search for the early proper formularies. Sicard's and Paxton's studies of death ritual both terminate with Carolingian reform, and both conclude that, for the bulk of the early Middle Ages, the Mass celebrated at the death of an individual was not a Mass for the Dead with an independent formulary, but a regular Mass that was supplemented by prayers and blessings for the dead. McKinnon's proposed Advent Project contains no proper formulary for a

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Mass for the Dead. This supports the argument that the Mass for the Dead was added after the beginning of the eighth century.[476] That is, the emergence of the concept of an independent Mass for the Dead appears to have arisen just after the Advent Project was completed. Given that a proper formulary now had a clear definition—that it shall comprise an introit, gradual, alleluia or tract, offertory and communion—the establishment of a Mass for the Dead necessitated assigning or composing texts and chants to these liturgical functions. This process began sporadically around the point when the fruits of the the Advent Project, the *antiphonaria*—that is, the books containing the formularies which would be used at all celebrations of Mass—started to appear in the source history. Mon 1/101, with its mid-ninth-century date, represents the earliest surviving formulary, somewhat more than a hundred years after the Advent project, and only three generations after the beginning of acceptance of a Mass for the Dead. Thus, while it might appear that the Mass for the Dead was conceived as part of the first generation for Mass formularies, this is not the case.

These are the first and second contributions that this dissertation makes to the discipline of musicology. First, the persistent use of "Requiem Mass" to discuss pre-Tridentine Masses for the Dead within the secondary literature—this is even the subject heading the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition—indicates the tacit presumption that there was a standardized formulary for this liturgy, led by the introit *Requiem aeternam.* Even Karp's couching of the development suggests this: "The earliest sources for the chants are [Cha 47] and [Lao 239], both from the tenth century. The repertory grew rapidly from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries…"[477] Though he acknowledges that there are many chants which combine

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476 McKinnon, *The Advent Project*, 372.
477 Theodore Karp, et al. "Requiem Mass."

to form many formularies, the article misrepresents their stemmatic development. The eleventh-century sources are just as diverse as those from the ninth and tenth centuries; the Masses for the Dead in manuscripts from the earliest generation of *graduales* do not attest to a common source, as distinct from the other mass formularies contained within them.

The second contribution of this dissertation ties into the first. No common formulary existed in the ninth century because the *concept* of a Mass for the Dead itself crystallized after the Advent Project's completion. Though reported by briefly Sicard and echoed by Paxton, one fact appears to have escaped musicological scrutiny: that the Mass for the Dead developed as an independent institution after the assembly of formularies that comprises *antiphonaria* and *graduales* of the post-Carolingian liturgical books. This ties the unrecorded musical traditions of the early western liturgies for the dead with those of the earliest graduals, giving a more accurate sense of the diffusion of these early and diverse formularies.

Since liturgical norms were now starting to be transmitted by pen rather than orally, tracing the Mass for the Dead is much easier than the careful speculation about the emergence of the propers that preceded it. Death is at the center of Christian worship (and, with that, the guarantee of resurrection). The high point of the Mass is the sacrifice at the altar, commemorating Jesus's sacrifice on the cross and the attendant theological entailments. The early history of the Church endured mass murder of its constituents, and in particular its leaders. Not only did these events in the Church have to be harmonized with the promise of the Kingdom, but the emotional impact of such travesty had to be ameliorated.

The earliest theological notions of death in Christendom are uniform irrespective of the other theological details; themes of peace, rest, and light are overwhelmingly pervasive. The

fourth- and fifth-century eastern liturgies add the intercessory role of the Church the beatific images of antiquity. The early Roman *Ordo Defunctorum* continues the trend, as does the Verona Sacramentary. As the Advent Project was completed, the stage was set for the materialization of a dedicated Mass for the Dead. The only problem was, unlike the propers for the other liturgical celebrations, no central authority decided the structure of such a mass.

Naturally, the initial absence of such authority resulted in diverse selection. Some choices arose from the antiphons and psalmody of the rites that preceded it (such as *Requiem aeternam*), others borrowed from existing liturgical propers (like *De profundis*), and new texts arose, either adapted from *preces* (such as *Absolve Domine*) or seemingly original compositions (like *Domine Jesu Christe*). A casual glance at the earliest manuscript sources indicates the relative lack of consensus within the Western Church.

That the Mass for the Dead arose is not, in retrospect, unforeseeable. However, its convergence towards only a few of the many propers is genuinely surprising. This is the third major contribution of this dissertation. How, in the absence of an authoritative command from Rome (like the Roman Missal of 1570), the formularies for the Mass for the Dead coalesced to only a handful of texts and chants is somewhat mystifying. A possible explanation is three-pronged.

First, the monastic reform of the twelfth century provided authoritative exemplar formularies. Like the Advent Project, they represented a unified, conscious effort to establish a definitive formulary to serve their respective monastic traditions. Given monasteries' role in cultivating the theological framework for late medieval attitudes towards death—in particular, the establishment of All Souls' Day as a day of commemoration for all the dead—it is probable

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that their choices, which in significant part accord with the convergence, influenced the secular scriptoria and churches.

Second, theological changes in attitudes towards Purgatory and Hell brought the salvific role of the Church into the forefront with greater emphasis. This theological focus heightened the awareness of and attention to the afterlife. The tympana, church sculpture, and manuscript art all testify to this. It is probable, then, that these changes had a similar narrowing effect on the text selection. The nearly universal adoption of *Domine Jesu Christe*, with its descriptive depiction of a hellish afterlife from which the prayer petitions deliverance, seems to be a byproduct of this, as well as the prevalence of *De profundis*.

The third impetus towards convergence is the social response to the theological changes. As the Church stressed the punitive character of the afterlife, there had to be a balance. The Church in antiquity took the aspects of death—from Jesus's crucifixion to the murder of martyrs—and replaced them with promises of hope. Light, peace and rest were the hallmarks of early Roman sentiments. As the early Church once emphasized these in response to the external stresses that assaulted them, the late medieval Church would, too, once again turn to these themes because of the internal stresses effected by the new theological focus. Thus, *Requiem aeternam* was the introit of choice, the same text with *Si ambulem* dominated the graduals, and *Lux aeterna* was the most represented of the communions in some areas, competing with the more punitive *Absolve Domine* in other areas, the text of which would ultimately be used as the tract in the 1570 Roman Missal.

There is still much work to be done on this topic. Specifically, because of the variety within the formularies of the Mass for the Dead, a more systematic survey of the melodic content

of the chants from source to source needs to be done. As the Mass for the Dead did not arise from the work product of a single authority (like, say, the formularies of the Advent Project), an analytical study of the chants may reveal new things about the issue of transmission and compositional process. The number of different chants represented (and the number of exemplars for each chant) makes this a daunting task, but has potential to enrich the field of Medieval musicology. I believe this dissertation succeeds in demonstrating the complex and rich history of the origin of the Mass for the Dead, in tracing its liturgical antecedents and tracking its development, and, most significantly, providing a comprehensive resource for those interested in the previously-forgotten chants which were used at the commemoration of the faithful departed.

APPENDIX A

THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

The first section of this appendix gives the sigla used in this dissertation and the corresponding bibliographic information for the manuscripts used. The second section details their essential bibliographic data. The final column in that section indicates the source for the data (NG = New Grove "Sources" article,[478] GR = *Le Graduel Romain*,[479] Cath = Ruth Steiner's bibliographic entry for the sources, St. Gall = Saint Gall Stiftsbibliothek bibliographic entry,[480] HMML = Hill Museum and Manuscript Library bibliographic entry).[481]

A.1   SIGLA USED FOR MANUSCRIPTS

Ami 159   Amienes. Bibliothèque Nationale. 159. ff. 324-325^v

Arr 437   Arras. Bibliothèque Municipale. 437 (1011). ff. 58-59

Bal 6   Baltimore. Walters Art Gallery. Ms 6. ff. 34^v-49

Bam 22   Bamberg. Staatsbibliothek. Liturg. 22 (Ed. III. 2). ff. 59-59^v

Ben 34   Benevento. Biblioteca Capitolare. VI-34. ff. 265^v-266^v

Ben 35   Benevento. Biblioteca Capitolare. VI-35. ff. 168^v-170^v

Ben 39   Benevento. Biblioteca Capitolare. VI-39. ff. 193-195

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[478] Boorman, "Sources."
[479] *Le Graduel Romain*.
[480] http://www.cesg.unifr.ch/en/index.htm
[481] http://www.hmml.org/

Ber 15	Berlin. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussicher Kulturbesitz 15 (Rose 693). ff. 191^{v}-192
Bon 384	Bonn. Universitätsbibliothek. Hs 384. p. 190-196
Bru 2031-2	Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale Albert ler. 2031-2 (Cat. 450)
Bru 19389	Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale Albert ler. 19389 (Cat. 429). ff. 174^{v}-175
Bru II3823	Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale Albert ler. II 3823. ff. 131-132
Cab B61	Cambrai. Bibliothèque Municipale. B61 (62). ff. 137-139
Cam KK26	Cambridge. University Library. KK 26. ff. 242^{v}-243
CaT G7a27	Cape Town. South African Library. Grey Collection Ms G.7.a.27
Cha 47	Chartres. Bibliothèque Municipale. 47. 47^{v}-48
Cht 45	Chaumont. Bibliothèque Municipale. 45. ff. 64^{v}-66^{v}
Col 443	Colmar. Bibliothèque Municipale. 443. ff. 259-263
Col 444	Colmar. Bibliothèque Municipale. 444. ff. 254-259^{v}
Col 445	Colmar. Bibliothèque Municipale. 445. ff. 124-125
Con 1b	Cologne. Diözensanbibliothek. Hs 1b. ff. 95-98
Dou 114	Douai. Bibliothèque Muncipale. 114. ff. 155-158
Ein 113	Einsiedeln. Benedikttinerkloster. Musikbibliothek 113 (523). p. 196-198
Ein 114	Einsiedelm. Stiftsbibliothek. Codex 114 (Msc. 523). ff. 133^{v}-135
Fre 95	Freiburg im Breisgau. Universitätsbibliothek. 95. ff. 114-115^{v}
Got 58	Göttweig. Stiftsbibliothek. 58 (67). 178^{v}-180
Gra 9	Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 9 (37/8). ff. 146^{v}-148
Gra 10	Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 10 (37/10). ff. 155-156^{v}
Gra 376	Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 376 (37/26). ff. 220-221^{v}
Gra 479	Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 479 (37/29). ff. 93-94^{v}
Gra 703	Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 703 (38/36). ff. 61-62
Gra 761	Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 761 (40/66). ff. 31-31^{v}

Gra 767   Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 767 (41/13). ff. 86^v-87

Gra 769   Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 769 (40/70). ff. 234^v-235^v

Gre 84   Grenoble. Bibliothèque Municipale. 84 (395). ff. 149-149^v

Kas 15   Kassel. Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek. 4° Hs. Theol. 15. ff. 140^v-141

Kre 28   Kremsmünster. Stiftsbibliothek. 28. ff. 56^v-57

Lao 226   Laon. Bibliothèque Municipale. 226bis.

Lao 239   Laon. Bibliothèque Municipale. 239. f. 148

Lem 437   Le Mans. Bibliothèque Municipale. 437. ff. 225-225^v

Lim 2   Limoges. Bibliothèque Municipale. 2 (17). ff. 202-205^v

Lin 125   Linz. Bundessataatliche Sudienbibliothek. 125 (466). ff. 47-47^v

Lin 128   Linz. Bundessataatliche Sudienbibliothek. 128 (286). ff. 42-42^v

Lis 249   Lisbon. Biblioteca Nacional. CLV/249. ff. 252

Lis 252   Lisbon. Biblioteca Nacional. CLIX/252. ff. 5-5^v

Lis 253   Lisbon. Biblioteca Nacional. CLX/253. ff. 282-282^v

Lon 11669   London. British Library. Add. 11669. ff. 43^v-44

Lon 17303   London. British Library. Add. 17303. ff. 115-117

Lon 18031   London. British Library. Add. 18031. ff. 247-249^v

Lon 18032   London. British Library. Add. 18032. ff. 220-222^v

Lon 23935   London. British Library. Add 23935. f. 476

Mad 18   Madrid. Archivo Histórico Nacional. Aemil. 18 (F. 185). ff. 342-348

Mad 20-4   Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional. Vitrina 20, 4 (anc. C. 132). ff. 210^v -212^v, 220

Mad 21-8   Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional. Vitriana 21, 8. ff. 253^v-255

Mad 1361   Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional. 1361. ff. 134-135

Mai 435   Mainz. Stadtbibliothek. Hs I 435. ff. 162-164

Man 24   Manchester. John Rylands Library. 24. ff. 224^v-226^v

Mel 109	Melk. Stiftsbibliothek. 109 (1056). ff. 161^v-162^v
Mel 709	Melk. Stiftsbibliothek. 709 (570. K42). f. 62^v
Mil 74	Milan. Biblioteca Ambrosiana. S. 74. Sup. 114-115^v
Mon 1/101	Monza. Biblioteca Capitolate. 1/101. f. 10^v
Mon 12/75	Monza. Biblioteca Capitolare. 12/75. f. 78
Mon 13/76	Monza. Biblioteca Capitolare. 13/76
Mon 14/77	Monza. Biblioteca Capitolare. 14/77. ff. 130-132
Mon K11	Monza. Biblioteca Capitolare. K 11.
Mun U2-156	Munich. Universitätsbibliothek. 2° 156. ff. 121-123
Mun 2542	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 2542. ff. 97^v-99^v
Mun 3914	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 3914. ff. 114^v-116
Mun 7905	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 7905. ff. 164-165^v
Mun 7919	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 7919. ff. 120-121^v
Mun 10075	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 10075. ff. 225-226
Mun 15730	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 15730. f. 80^v
Nam 1	Namur. Musée Diocesain. 1 (Inv. #515). f. 183^v-186, 215-216^v
Nam 2	Namur. Musée Diocesain. 2 (Inv. #516). ff.319^v-323
Nam 3	Namur. Musée Diocesain. 3 (Inv. #517). ff. 287-289^v, 291
Nap VIE11	Naples. Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuela. VI-E-11. ff. 131^v-134
Nap VIG11	Naples. Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuela. VI-G-11. ff. 233^v-234
Nap VIG38	Naples. Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuela. VI-G-38. ff. 286^v-288
Oxf 321	Oxford. Bodleian Library. Canonici Liturgi. 321 (19410). ff. 27^v-32
Oxf 350	Oxford. Bodleian Library. Canonici Liturgi. 350 (19436). ff. 232^v-233^v
Oxf d5	Oxford. Bodleian Library. Lat. lit. d 5 (32556). ff. 82-84
Oxf R892	Oxford. Bodleian Library. Rawl C. 892. ff. 147^v-149

Oxf Rd3	Oxford. Bodleian Library. Rawl lit. d. 3
Pad A47	Padua. Duomo, Biblioteca Capitolare. A47. ff. 224^v-228
Pad S697	Padua. Seminario vescovile. 697. ff. 116-116^v
Par Ar135	Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. 135. ff. 216-218
Par Ar197	Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. 197. ff. 160^v-161^v
Par Ar595	Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. 595. ff. 438^v-439
Par Ar608	Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. 608. p. 336-339
Par Ar610	Paris. Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal. 610. ff. 56-61
Par BM384	Paris. Bibliothèque Mazarine. 384 (748). ff. 155-158^v
Par BN776	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 776. ff. 156-158
Par BN780	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 780. ff. 119^v-120
Par BN903	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 903. ff. 118-119
Par BN904	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 904. f. 263^v
Par BN1087	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 1087. ff. 96-97^v
Par BN1105	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 1105. ff. 217-219
Par BN1107	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 1107. ff. 329-330^v
Par BN1112	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 1112. ff. 237-238
Par BN1132	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 1132. ff. 106^v-107^v
Par BN9436	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 9436. f. 160
Par BN9441	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 9441. ff. 215^v-216
Par BN10511	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 10511. ff. 227-231
Par BN11522	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 11522. ff. 209-209^v
Par BN13253	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 13253. ff. 152^v-156^v
Par BN13254	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 13254. ff. 119^v-121
Par BN15615	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 15615. ff. 341^v-342^v

Par BN17307	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 17307. ff. 265^v -267
Par BN17312	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 17312. ff. 186-187
Par BN17328	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 17328. ff. 158^v-160
Par BNNA541	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. n.a. 541. ff. 170-170^v
Par BNNA1235	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. n.a. 1235. ff. 120^v-121^v
Par BNNA1413	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. n.a. 1413. ff. 99-100
Par BNNA1773	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. n.a. 1773. ff. 277-278^v
Par BNNA1890	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. n.a. 1890. ff.171-174
Par G99	Paris. Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève. 99 (BB. 1. fol. 10). ff. 219-219^v
PGr DD10	Partridge Green (Sussex). Parkminster. St. Hugh's Charterhouse. Ms. dd.10 (A.33). ff. 14-14 ^{v}, 184^v-185^v
PGr DD23	Partridge Green (Sussex). Parkminster. St. Hugh's Charterhouse. Ms. dd.23 (A.52). ff. 162-163^v
Pia 65	Piacenza. Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare. 65. ff. 434^v-435
Pob 11	Poblet. Monasterio de Santa Maria. Codex 11. ff. 127^v-128^v
Pri Col	Private Collection. ('MS du Mont-Renaud'). ff 36^v-37
Pro 12	Provins. Bibliothèque Nationale. 12 (24). ff. unnumbered (c. 77-79?)
Reg XX	Regensburg. Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek. XX. 127^v-130, 180-181^v
Rhe 221	Rheims. Bibliothèque Nationale. 221 (C 201). ff. 145^v-147
Rhe 264	Rheims. Bibliothèque Nationale. 264 (C 169/183). ff. 67^v-69
Rom BAng123	Rome. Biblioteca Angelica. 123 (B.3.18). ff. 149^v-151^v
Rom BBarb559	Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Barb. lat. 559 (XII.2). ff. 259-260^v
Rom BBorg359	Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Borg. lat. 359 (M.VI.27). ff. 224^v-225^v
Rom BLat5319	Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. vat. lat. 5319. ff. 139^v-140^v
Rom BLat6082	Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica. Vat. lat. 6082. ff. 284-286^v
Rom BRos76	Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica vaticana. Rossiani 76. ff. 144^v-147

Rom Cas1574   Rome. Biblioteca Casanatense. 1574. ff. 57^v-58

Rom Cas1695   Rome. Biblioteca Casanatense. 1695 (C.V. 2). ff. 272-272^v

Rom Cas1907   Rome. Biblioteca Casanatense. 1907 (B.II.1)

Rou A166   Rouen. Bibliothèque Municipale. A 166 (305). ff. 257-257^v

Rou A280   Rouen. Bibliothèque Municipale. A 280 (249). 157-158^v

Rou A401   Rouen. Bibliothèque Municipale. A 401 (267). ff. 121-121^v

Rou Y50   Rouen. Bibliothèque Municipale. Y 50 (olim 277). ff. 358-359

Sal aIV14   Salzburg. Sankt Peter Stiftsbibliothek. a.IV.14. 347^v-351

Sal aVII20   Salzburg. Sankt Peter Stiftsbibliothek. a.VII.20. 259-261

Sal aIX11   Salzburg. Sankt Peter Stiftsbibliothek. a.IX.11. 176-177

StF 204   Sankt Florian. Stiftsbibliothek. III, 204. ff. 284-285^v

StF 209   Sankt Florian. Stiftsbibliothek. III, 209. f. 209^v

StF 393   Sankt Florian. Stiftsbibliothek. XI, 393. ff.72-73, 224-225

StF 397   Sankt Florian. Stiftsbibliothek. XI, 397. ff. 53-53^v

StG 339   Sankt Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek. 339. p. 113-114

StG 340   Sankt Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek. 339. p. 171-172, 1

StG 374   Sankt Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek. 374. ff. 96^v-97 (???)

StG 376   Sankt Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek. 376. ff. 268^v-269

Sto 139   Stockholm. Kungliga Biblioteket. A 139 (Q˚ 16). ff. 36^v-38

Tol 35-10   Toledo. Biblioteca del Cabildo. 35-10. 115-115^v

Tri B450   Trier. Bistumsarchiv. Hs 450. ff.169^v-171

Tur FIV18   Turin. Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. F.IV.18. ff. 159^v-160^v

Tur GV20   Turin. Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. G.V.20. ff. 164-165

Val 19   Vallbona de las Monjas. Monasterio Cisterciense de Santa Maria. Codex 19. ff. 184^v-186^v

Siglum		
Val 20	Vallbona de las Monjas. Monasterio Cisterciense de Santa Maria. Codex 20. p. 298-313	
Vec 161	Vercelli. Biblioteca Capitolare. 161. ff. 95-96	
Vec 162	Vercelli. Biblioteca Capitolare. 162. ff. 168^v-169	
Ver CV	Verona. Biblioteca Capitolare. CV (olim 98).	
Vie 1821	Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. 1821. ff. 106-107	
Vie 1845	Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. 1845. ff. 38-38^v	
Vie 12785	Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. 12785. ff. 79^v-80^v	
Vie 13682	Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. 13682. ff. 170^v-175	
Vie SN2837	Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Series Nova 2837 (Suppl. Mus. 15488). ff. 87^v	
Vor 21	Vorau. Stiftsbibliothek. 21 (CCXXXVII). ff. 172-172^v	
Vor 303	Vorau. Stiftsbibliothek. 303 (XXXVII). ff. 70, 72	
Vor 332	Vorau. Stiftsbibliothek. 332 (C). ff. 213-213^v	
Wir	Wirzenborn. Kirchenarchiv. ff. 305-306	
Zwe 196	Zwettl. Stiftsbibliothek. 196. ff. 144^v-146	
Zwe 199	Zwettl. Stiftsbibliothek. 199. ff. 144-145^v	
Zwe 245	Zwettl. Stiftsbibliothek. 245. ff. 153^v-155^v	

A.2   BIBLIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FOR THE MANUSCRIPTS

The two following tables organize the bibliographical information first by sigla, then by provenance.

Siglum	Type of Ms.	Provenance	Date	Bib.
Ami 159	M	France. Amiens. Saint Austreberta	13th-14th	GR
Arr 437	G	France. Arras. Saint-Vaast	13th	GR

Bal 6	M	Italy. Bari for use at Canosa.	10th-11th	GR
Bam 22	G	Germany. Bamberg	12th, early	NG
Ben 34	G	Italy. Benevento. San Sophia	12th	NG
Ben 35	G	Italy. Benevento	12th, early	NG
Ben 39	G	Italy. Benevento	11th, end	NG
Ber 15	G	Switzerland. St. Gall (For use at Germany. Minden. Minden Cathedral)	11th, c. 1030	NG
Bon 384	G	Netherlands. Limburg	13th, c. 1299	HMML
Bru 2031-2	G	Belgium. Stavelot	11th, end	NG
Bru 19389	M	Belgium. Quesnast. St. Martin	13th	NG
Bru II3823	G (Cluniac)	France. Auvergne	12th, early	NG
Cab B61	G	France. Lille. Saint-Pierre?	12th, beginning	GR
Cam KK26	M	England. Worcester. Hanley Castle	13th-14th	GR
CaT G7a27	G	Switzerland?	13th	HMML
Cha 47	G	France. Brittany	9th-10th	NG
Cht 45	G	France. Montier-en-Der	12th	Cath
Col 443	M	France. Mürbach	11th	GR
Col 444	M	France. Mürbach	11th	GR
Col 445	G (Cistercian)	France. Pairis (Alsace)	12th, c. 1175	NG
Con 1b	G	Netherlands. Limburg	13th, c. 1299	HMML
Dou 114	G	France. Marchiennes	14th, beginning	GR
Ein 113	G	Switzerland. Einsiedeln	12th, beginning	GR
Ein 114	M	Switzerland. Einsiedeln	11th-12th	GR
Fre 95	G (Carthusian)	Not specified.	1405-17	HMML
Got 58	M (Benedictine)	Germany. South	13th, 1st half	GR
Gra 9	G (Cistercian)	Not specified.	15th	HMML
Gra 10	G (Cistercian)	Not specified.	15th	HMML
Gra 376	G (Carthusian)	Not specified.	15th	HMML
Gra 479	G	Austria. Seckau	12th, after 1173	GR
Gra 703	G (Benedictine)	Austria. Murau. St. Lambrecht	13th-14th	GR
Gra 761	G (Benedictine)	Austria. Seckau	13th	GR
Gra 767	G	Austria. Seckau	14th	GR
Gra 769	M	Austria. Seckau	12th	GR
Gre 84	G (Carthusian)	France. nr Grenoble. La Grande Chartreuse	12th, end	NG
Kas 15	G	Germany. Regensburg. Mittelmünster	11th, c. 1020	GR
Kre 28	M	Austria. Kremsmünster. St. Agapiti	12th	GR
Lao 226	M	France. Verdun. St. Paul	12th, 1st half	NG
Lao 239	G	France. Laon	10th, early	NG
Lem 437	M	France. Le Mans	13th, 1st half	GR
Lim 2	G	France. Anjou. Fontevraud	14th	GR
Lin 125	M	Austria. Garsten	12th	GR
Lin 128	M	Austria. Garsten	13th	GR
Lis 249	M (Cistercian)	Not specified.	13th	HMML
Lis 252	M (Cistercian)	Not specified.	13th	HMML
Lis 253	M (Cistercian)	Not specified.	13th	HMML
Lon 11669	G	Germany. Augsburg	12th	NG
Lon 17303	G (Carthusian)	France. Chartreuse du Reposoir or Durbon	13th, 1222-59	NG
Lon 18031	M	Belgium. Stavelot	13th, beginning	GR
Lon 18032	M	Belgium. Stavelot	13th, beginning	GR
Lon 23935	G (Dominican)	France. Valence?	13th, 1255-63	NG
Mad 18	M	Spain. nr. Nájera. S. Millán de la Cogolla	11th-12th, 1090-1137	NG
Mad 20-4	G	Italy. Palermo (Sicily)	12th, 1130-38	NG

Mad 21-8	G	Unknown	14th	RISM BIV[2]
Mad 1361	G	Spain. Toledo	14th	NG
Mai 435	G (Carthusian)	Not specified.	14th-15th	HMML
Man 24	M	England. Exeter	12th, 2nd quarter	Cath
Mel 109	G (Benedictine)	Austria. Melk. Benedictine Monastary	14th	GR
Mel 709	M	Austria. Melk	12th-13th	GR
Mil 74	G	Uncertain (North Italy?)	13th	Cath
Mon 1/101	G	Italy. Bergamo	9th, mid	DiCenso[482]
Mon 12/75	G	Italy. Monza	11th, beginning	GR
Mon 13/76	G	Italy. Monza	11th	GR
Mon 14/77	G	Italy. Monza	13th	GR
Mon K11	G	Italy. Monza	13th	GR
Mun 2542	G (Cistercian)	Germany. Aldersbach	12th, before 1192	GR
Mun 3914	G	Germany. Augsburg	12th	GR
Mun 7905	G (Cistercian)	Germany. Kaisheim	12th, before 1185	NG
Mun 7919	G	Germany. Kaisheim	13th	GR
Mun 10075	M	Germany. Gäsdonker or Ratingen	12th-13th	GR
Mun 15730	G	Germany. Seeon?	14th	GR
Mun U2-156	G	Germany. Moosburg. St. Castulus	14th, 1355-1360	NG
Nam 1	G	Belgium. Andenne	12th-13th	GR
Nam 2	M	Belgium. Liege	13th	GR
Nam 3	M	Belgium. Andenne	14th	GR
Nap VIE11	G (Carthusian)	Italy. Padula. San Lorenza	13th	NG
Nap VIG11	M	France. Rouen (NG: Israel. Akko?)	12th-13th (or before 1173)	NG
Nap VIG38	M (Franciscan)	Italy. Naples. San Giovanni a Carbonara	13th, 1230-50	NG
Oxf 321	M	Italy. Ravenna	12th	NG
Oxf 350	M	Italy. Probably Beligna. San Martino	12th	Cath
Oxf d5	G (Cistercian)	Switzerland. Hauterive	14th, c. 1300	NG
Oxf R892	G (Benedictine?)	Ireland. Downpatrick?	12th. 2nd half	NG
Oxf Rd3	G	England. Salisbury	13th-14th	GR
Pad A47	G	Italy. Ravenna	12th, early	NG
Pad S697	G	Italy. Padua	12th, beginning	GR
Par Ar135	M	England. London or Canturbury	13th, 2nd half	NG
Par Ar197	G	France. Paris. St. Victor	13th, 1270-1297	NG
Par Ar595	M	France. Châlons-en-Champagne (olim Châlons-en-Marne). Saint Etienne	13th-14th	GR
Par Ar608	M	France. Paris. Ste. Chapelle	14th	GR
Par Ar610	G	Germany. Reichenau for use at Worms	10th	GR
Par BM384	G	France. Paris. St. Denis	11th	NG
Par BN776	G	France. Gaillac. Probably St. Michel	11th	GR
Par BN780	G	France. Narbonne. Cathedral SS Just et Pastor	11th, shortly after 1081	NG
Par BN903	G	France. Limoges. St. Yrieix	11th, 2nd half	NG
Par BN904	G	France. Rouen. Rouen Cathedral	13th	NG
Par BN1087	G (Cluniac)	France. Cluny	11th	NG
Par BN1105	M	France. Le Bec Hellouin. Bec Abbey	13th, 1265-1272	NG
Par BN1107	M	France. Paris. St. Denis	13th, 2nd half	GR

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[482] Information kindly provided by Daniel DiCenso.

Par BN1112	M	France. Paris	13th, early	NG
Par BN1132	G (Cluniac)	France. Limoges. St. Martial	11th, after 1063	NG
Par BN9436	M	France. Paris. St. Denis	11th, middle	NG
Par BN9441	G	France. Paris. Notre Dame Cathedral	13th, middle	GR
Par BN10511	G	France. Auxerre	12th, end	GR
Par BN11522	M	France. Corbie	11th-12th	GR
Par BN13253	G	France. Paris. Saint-Maur-des-Fossés	13th	GR
Par BN13254	M	France. Paris. Saint-Maur-des-Fossés	12th	GR
Par BN15615	M	France. Paris	13th	GR
Par BN17307	M	France. Compiegne. St. Corneille	12th, end	GR
Par BN17312	M	France. Auxerre	13th, 1st third	GR
Par BN17328	G (Cistercian)	France. North	12th, after 1174	GR
Par BNNA541	M	France. Rouen	13th, 1st half	GR
Par BNNA1235	G	France. Nevers	12th	NG
Par BNNA1413	G (Cistercian)	Italy. Milan. Chiaravalle Abbey	13th, 1244	GR
Par BNNA1773	M	France. Evreux	13th	GR
Par BNNA1890	M	France. Barbechat	12th, 4th qtr	GR
Par G99	M	France. Senlis	13th-14th	NG
PGr DD10	G (Carthusian)	England. Parkminster. St. Hugh's Charterhouse	12th, 1st half	GR
PGr DD23	G (Carthusian)	France	14th	HMML
Pia 65	G	Italy. Piacenza. Piacenza Cathedral	12th, 2nd qtr	NG
Pob 11	G (Cistercian)	Not specified.	13th	HMML
Pri Col	G	France. Noyon. St. Eloi	10th-11th	NG
Pro 12	G	France. Chartres	13th, 1205-1218	GR
Reg XX	G (Cistercian)	Not specified.	15th	HMML
Rhe 221	M	France. Rheims	12th	GR
Rhe 264	G	France. Rhiems. St. Thierry	13th	GR
Rom BAng123	G	Italy. Bologna	11th, 1st half	NG
Rom BBarb559	M	France. Lyons. St. Michel	12th-13th, 1173-1223	NG
Rom BBorg359	G	France. Besançon. St. Etienne	11th, middle	NG
Rom BLat5319	G	Italy. Rome. St. Peter's Basilica	11th-12th	NG
Rom BLat6082	M	Italy. Monte Cassino	12th, 1st half	NG
Rom BRos76	G	Italy. L'Aquila	13th	NG
Rom Cas1574	M	Italy. Gaeta	12th	GR
Rom Cas1695	M	France. Paris	13th, early	NG
Rom Cas1907	M	Italy. Monte Amiata. Abbey of San Salvatore	11th-12th	NG
Rou A166	M	France. Montaure	13th, 1st half	GR
Rou A280	G	France. Rouen. St. Ouen	12th	GR
Rou A401	M	France. Jumieges	12th	GR
Rou Y50	M	France. Rouen	13th, 1231-1245	GR
Sal aIV14	G	Austria. Salzburg	14th-15th	GR
Sal aVII20	G	Austria. Salzburg	13th-14th	GR
Sal aIX11	G	Austria. Salzburg. St. Erentrude	12th, 1146-1164	GR
StF 204	M	Austria. Sankt Florian	14th	GR
StF 209	M	Austria. Sankt Florian	13th	GR
StF 393	M	Austria. Sankt Florian	14th	GR
StF 397	M	Austria. Sankt Florian	14th	GR
StG 339	G	Switzerland. Sankt Gallen	10th, late	St. Gall
StG 340	G	Switzerland. Sankt Gallen	11th, 1035-1042	St. Gall
StG 374	G	Switzerland. Sankt Gallen	11th	GR
StG 376	G	Switzerland. Sankt Gallen	11th, 1070	NG

Sto A139	M	Germany. Freising?	11th	GR
Tol 35-10	G	Spain. (Monastic?)	13th	GR
Tri B450	G	Germany. Cologne or Trier	14th, end	HMML
Tur FIV18	G	Italy. Bobbio	12th	NG
Tur GV20	G	Italy. Bobbio	11th	NG
Val 19	G (Cistercian)	Not specified.	13th-14th	HMML
Val 20	G (Cistercian)	Not specified.	15th	HMML
Vec 161	G	Italy. Vercelli	11th, end	NG
Vec 162	G	Italy. Vercelli	12th, early	NG
Ver CV	M	Italy. Verona	11th-12th	NG
Vie 1821	G	Austria. Sankt Polten	12th	GR
Vie 1845	G	Germany. Seeon	11th, 1014-24	NG
Vie 12785	M	Austria. Rupertsberg (nr Salzburg)	14th	GR
Vie 13682	M	Austria. Vienna or Sankt Pölten	13th-14th	NG
Vie SN2837	G	Germany. Freising	12th	NG
Vor 21	M	Austria. Styrie	12th, 2nd half	GR
Vor 303	M	Austria. Styrie	12th, 3rd qtr	GR
Vor 332	M	Austria. Vorau	13th, c. 1270	GR
Wir	M	Germany. Koblenz. St. Florin	13th, c. 1234	GR
Zwe 196	G (Cistercian)	Not specified.	13th	HMML
Zwe 199	G (Cistercian)	Not specified.	13th	HMML
Zwe 245	G (Cistercian)	Not specified.	13th	HMML

Provenance	Date	Siglum
Austria. Garsten	12th	Lin 125
Austria. Garsten	13th	Lin 128
Austria. Kremsmünster. St. Agapiti	12th	Kre 28
Austria. Melk	12th-13th	Mel 709
Austria. Melk. Benedictine Monastary	14th	Mel 109
Austria. Murau. St. Lambrecht	13th-14th	Gra 703
Austria. Rupertsberg (nr Salzburg)	14th	Vie 12785
Austria. Salzburg	14th-15th	Sal aIV14
Austria. Salzburg	13th-14th	Sal aVII20
Austria. Salzburg. St. Erentrude	12th, 1146-1164	Sal aIX11
Austria. Sankt Florian	14th	StF 204
Austria. Sankt Florian	13th	StF 209
Austria. Sankt Florian	14th	StF 393
Austria. Sankt Florian	14th	StF 397
Austria. Sankt Polten	12th	Vie 1821
Austria. Seckau	12th, after 1173	Gra 479
Austria. Seckau	13th	Gra 761
Austria. Seckau	14th	Gra 767
Austria. Seckau	12th	Gra 769
Austria. Styrie	12th, 2nd half	Vor 21
Austria. Styrie	12th, 3rd qtr	Vor 303
Austria. Vienna or Sankt Pölten	13th-14th	Vie 13682
Austria. Vorau	13th, c. 1270	Vor 332
Belgium. Andenne	12th-13th	Nam 1
Belgium. Andenne	14th	Nam 3
Belgium. Liege	13th	Nam 2
Belgium. Quesnast. St. Martin	13th	Bru 19389
Belgium. Stavelot	11th, end	Bru 2031-2

Belgium. Stavelot	13th, beginning	Lon 18031
Belgium. Stavelot	13th, beginning	Lon 18032
England. Exeter	12th, 2nd quarter	Man 24
England. London or Canturbury	13th, 2nd half	Par Ar135
England. Parkminster. St. Hugh's Charterhouse	12th, 1st half	PGr DD10
England. Salisbury	13th-14th	Oxf Rd3
England. Worcester. Hanley Castle	13th-14th	Cam KK26
France	14th	PGr DD23
France. Amiens. Saint Austreberta	13th-14th	Ami 159
France. Anjou. Fontevraud	14th	Lim 2
France. Arras. Saint-Vaast	13th	Arr 437
France. Auvergne	12th, early	Bru II3823
France. Auxerre	12th, end	Par BN10511
France. Auxerre	13th, 1st third	Par BN17312
France. Barbechat	12th, 4th qtr	Par BNNA1890
France. Besançon. St. Etienne	11th, middle	Rom BBorg359
France. Brittany	9th-10th	Cha 47
France. Châlons-en-Champagne (olim Châlons-en-Marne). Saint Etienne	13th-14th	Par Ar595
France. Chartres	13th, 1205-1218	Pro 12
France. Chartreuse du Reposoir or Durbon	13th, 1222-59	Lon 17303
France. Cluny	11th	Par BN1087
France. Compiegne. St. Corneille	12th, end	Par BN17307
France. Corbie	11th-12th	Par BN11522
France. Evreux	13th	Par BNNA1773
France. Gaillac. Probably St. Michel	11th	Par BN776
France. Jumieges	12th	Rou A401
France. Laon	10th, early	Lao 239
France. Le Bec Hellouin. Bec Abbey	13th, 1265-1272	Par BN1105
France. Le Mans	13th, 1st half	Lem 437
France. Lille. Saint-Pierre?	12th, beginning	Cab B61
France. Limoges. St. Martial	11th, after 1063	Par BN1132
France. Limoges. St. Yrieix	11th, 2nd half	Par BN903
France. Lyons. St. Michel	12th-13th, 1173-1223	Rom BBarb559
France. Marchiennes	14th, beginning	Dou 114
France. Montaure	13th, 1st half	Rou A166
France. Montier-en-Der	12th	Cht 45
France. Mürbach	11th	Col 443
France. Mürbach	11th	Col 444
France. Narbonne. Cathedral SS Just et Pastor	11th, shortly after 1081	Par BN780
France. Nevers	12th	Par BNNA1235
France. North	12th, after 1174	Par BN17328
France. Noyon. St. Eloi	10th-11th	Pri Col
France. nr Grenoble. La Grande Chartreuse	12th, end	Gre 84
France. Pairis (Alsace)	12th, c. 1175	Col 445
France. Paris	13th, early	Par BN1112
France. Paris	13th	Par BN15615
France. Paris	13th, early	Rom Cas1695
France. Paris. Notre Dame Cathedral	13th, middle	Par BN9441
France. Paris. Saint-Maur-des-Fossés	13th	Par BN13253
France. Paris. Saint-Maur-des-Fossés	12th	Par BN13254
France. Paris. St. Chapelle	14th	Par Ar608
France. Paris. St. Denis	11th	Par BM384
France. Paris. St. Denis	13th, 2nd half	Par BN1107

France. Paris. St. Denis	11th, middle	Par BN9436
France. Paris. St. Victor	13th, 1270-1297	Par Ar197
France. Rheims	12th	Rhe 221
France. Rhiems. St. Thierry	13th	Rhe 264
France. Rouen	13th, 1st half	Par BNNA541
France. Rouen	13th, 1231-1245	Rou Y50
France. Rouen (NG: Israel. Akko?)	12th-13th (or before 1173)	Nap VIG11
France. Rouen. Rouen Cathedral	13th	Par BN904
France. Rouen. St. Ouen	12th	Rou A280
France. Senlis	13th-14th	Par G99
France. Valence?	13th, 1255-63	Lon 23935
France. Verdun. St. Paul	12th, 1st half	Lao 226
Germany. Aldersbach	12th, before 1192	Mun 2542
Germany. Augsburg	12th	Lon 11669
Germany. Augsburg	12th	Mun 3914
Germany. Bamberg	12th, early	Bam 22
Germany. Cologne or Trier	14th, end	Tri B450
Germany. Freising	12th	Vie SN2837
Germany. Freising?	11th	Sto A139
Germany. Gäsdonker or Ratingen	12th-13th	Mun 10075
Germany. Kaisheim	12th, before 1185	Mun 7905
Germany. Kaisheim	13th	Mun 7919
Germany. Koblenz. St. Florin	13th, c. 1234	Wir
Germany. Moosburg. St. Castulus	14th, 1355-1360	Mun U2-156
Germany. Regensburg. Mittelmünster	11th, c. 1020	Kas 15
Germany. Reichenau for use at Worms	10th	Par Ar610
Germany. Seeon	11th, 1014-24	Vie 1845
Germany. Seeon?	14th	Mun 15730
Germany. South	13th, 1st half	Got 58
Ireland. Downpatrick?	12th. 2nd half	Oxf R892
Italy. Bari for use at Canosa.	10th-11th	Bal 6
Italy. Benevento	12th, early	Ben 35
Italy. Benevento	11th, end	Ben 39
Italy. Benevento. San Sophia	12th	Ben 34
Italy. Bergamo	9th, mid	Mon 1/101
Italy. Bobbio	12th	Tur FIV18
Italy. Bobbio	11th	Tur GV20
Italy. Bologna	11th, 1st half	Rom BAng123
Italy. Gaeta	12th	Rom Cas1574
Italy. L'Aquila	13th	Rom BRos76
Italy. Milan. Chiaravalle Abbey	13th, 1244	Par BNNA1413
Italy. Monte Amiata. Abbey of San Salvatore	11th-12th	Rom Cas1907
Italy. Monte Cassino	12th, 1st half	Rom BLat6082
Italy. Monza	11th, beginning	Mon 12/75
Italy. Monza	11th	Mon 13/76
Italy. Monza	13th	Mon 14/77
Italy. Monza	13th	Mon K11
Italy. Naples. San Giovanni a Carbonara	13th, 1230-50	Nap VIG38
Italy. Padua	12th, beginning	Pad S697
Italy. Padula. San Lorenza	13th	Nap VIE11
Italy. Palermo (Sicily)	12th, 1130-38	Mad 20-4
Italy. Piacenza. Piacenza Cathedral	12th, 2nd qtr	Pia 65
Italy. Probably Beligna. San Martino	12th	Oxf 350

Italy. Ravenna	12th	Oxf 321
Italy. Ravenna	12th, early	Pad A47
Italy. Rome. St. Peter's Basilica	11th-12th	Rom BLat5319
Italy. Vercelli	11th, end	Vec 161
Italy. Vercelli	12th, early	Vec 162
Italy. Verona	11th-12th	Ver CV
Netherlands. Limburg	13th, c. 1299	Bon 384
Netherlands. Limburg	13th, c. 1299	Con 1b
Not specified.	1405-17	Fre 95
Not specified.	15th	Gra 9
Not specified.	15th	Gra 10
Not specified.	15th	Gra 376
Not specified.	13th	Lis 249
Not specified.	13th	Lis 252
Not specified.	13th	Lis 253
Not specified.	14th-15th	Mai 435
Not specified.	13th	Pob 11
Not specified.	15th	Reg XX
Not specified.	13th-14th	Val 19
Not specified.	15th	Val 20
Not specified.	13th	Zwe 196
Not specified.	13th	Zwe 199
Not specified.	13th	Zwe 245
Spain. (Monastic?)	13th	Tol 35-10
Spain. nr. Nájera. S. Millán de la Cogolla	11th-12th, 1090-1137	Mad 18
Spain. Toledo	14th	Mad 1361
Switzerland. Einsiedeln	12th, beginning	Ein 113
Switzerland. Einsiedeln	11th-12th	Ein 114
Switzerland. Hauterive	14th, c. 1300	Oxf d5
Switzerland. Sankt Gallen	10th, late	StG 339
Switzerland. Sankt Gallen	11th, 1035-1042	StG 340
Switzerland. Sankt Gallen	11th	StG 374
Switzerland. Sankt Gallen	11th, 1070	StG 376
Switzerland. St. Gall (For use at Germany. Minden. Minden Cathedral)	11th, c. 1030	Ber 15
Switzerland?	13th	CaT G7a27
Uncertain (North Italy?)	13th	Mil 74
Unknown	14th	Mad 21-8

APPENDIX B

INVENTORY OF MASSES FOR THE DEAD

The following appendix contains an inventory of the parts of each manuscript that contain masses for the dead, organized alphabetically by the city in which the manuscript is housed. Provenance, dating, paleographic and bibliographic information can be found in Appendix A.2. The use of brackets either indicates an editorial remark or an editorial inference. Abbreviations for proper movements are as follows: In – Introit, Gr – Gradual, Tr – Tract, Of – Offertory, Co – Communion.

Amiens. Bibliothèque Nationale. 159. ff. 324-325^v
	Rubric:	[Folio 324 damaged]	
[Unnotated]	[In]	Requiem aeternam…?	
[Unnotated]		[Ps]	In memoria aeterna…?
	[Gr]	Si ambulem in medio…	
		[v]	Virga tua et baculus…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…	
		v	Hostias et preces… Quam olim.
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
		[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Arras. Bibliothèque Municipale. 437 (1011). ff. 58-59
	Rubric:	[None]	
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
		Ps	Te decet hymnus.
		v	Exaudi Deus orationem.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
		v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…	
		v	Hostias et preces… Quam olim.
		v	Redemptor animarum omnium… Quam olim.
		v	Hanc lucem redde…
		v	Venturus in mundum… Quam olim.
	Co	Animam de corpore…	
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
		[v]	Requiem aeternam…
	Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	

Baltimore. Walters Art Gallery. Ms 6. ff. 34^v-49
      Rubric: In ipsa die defucnti missa

[Unnotated]	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
[Unnotated]	Ps	Te decet.
[Unnotated]	Gr	Convertere anima
[Unnotated]	v	Quia eripuit…
[Unnotated]	Of	Domine convertere…
[Unnotated]	Co	Ego sum resurrectio…

Rubric: Missa in depositione, III, VII, XXX

	[In]	Exsurge quare obdormis…
	Ps	Deus auribus nostris audivimus…
[Unnotated]	Gr	Si ambulem…
[Unnotated]	v	Virga tua et baculus…
[Unnotated]	Of	De profundis…
[Unnotated]	Co	Domine memorabor…

Rubric: Missa pro anniversario

[Unnotated]	[In]	Ego autem…
[Unnotated]	Ps	Exaudi.
[Unnotated]	Gr	Dirigatur oratio…
[Unnotated]	v	Elevatio manuum…
[Unnotated]	Of	Ad te Domine…
[Unnotated]	Co	Ego sum resurrectio…

Rubric: Missa pro pluribus defunctis

[Unnotated]	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
[Unnotated]	Ps	Te decet hymnus Deus.
[Unnotated]	Gr	Convertere anima mea…
	V	Quia eripuit…
[Unnotated]	Of	Domine convertere…
[Unnotated]	Co	Omne quod dat…

Bamberg. Staatsbibliothek. Liturg. 22 (Ed. III. 2). ff. 59-59ᵛ

Rubric: Pro fidelibus Defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…
Ps	Te decet hymnus…
[v]	Exaudi orationem meam…
Gr	Si ambulem.
Tr	De profundis.
Tr	Commovisti.
Tr	Sicut cervus.
Of	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…
v	Hostias et preces…
v	Requiem aeternam…
v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Of	Erue Domine animas…
v	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
v	Requiem aeternam…

Rubric   Item pro defunctis

[In]	Si enim credimus…
Ps	Sicut in Adam…
[v]	Requiem aeternam…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…
v	In memoria aeterna…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe.
Co	Dona eis Domine requiem…
v	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
v	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

Benevento. Biblioteca Capitolare. VI-34. ff. 265^v-266^v

    Rubric: [None]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	De profundis clamavi…
Gr	Convertere animarum meam…	
	v	Quia eripuit animarum…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr	De profundis.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…	
	v	Hostias et preces… Quam olim.
Of	Domine convertere.	
Co	Dona eis Dominus…	
Co	Omne quod dat michi…	
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Benevento. Biblioteca Capitolare. VI-35. ff. 168^v-170^v

    Rubric: Missa pro defunctis

[In]	Rogamus te Domine…	
	Ps	De profundis clamavi.
Gr	Qui Lazarum resusciatas…	
	v	Requiem aeternam…
Of	Subvenite sancti Dei…	
	[v]	Suscipiat te Christus…
Co	Dona eis Domine…	

    Rubric: Missa pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	De profundis cla[mavi].
[Gr]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[v]	In memoria aeterna…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	
Co	Omne quod dat michi…	

    Rubric: [Illegible]

[In]	Si enim credimus…	
	[v]	Et sicut in Adam…
Gr	Convertere animam meam…	
	v	Quia eripuit animam…
Of	Domine convertere.	
Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…	

Benevento. Biblioteca Capitolare. VI-39. ff. 193-195

    Rubric: Missa pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	De profundis clamavi...
Gr	Convertere animam meam…	
	v	Quia eripuit animam…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
Of	Domine convertere.	
Co	Omne quod dat michi…	
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	

    Rubric: Alia item

[In]	Rogamus te Domine…

	Ps	De profundis clamavi…
Gr		Qui Lazarum resusciasti…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
Tr		De profundis.
Of		Domine convertere.
Of		Subvenite sancti Dei…
Co		Chorus angelorum…

Rubric: Alia item

[In]		Si enim credimus…
	Ps	De profundis.
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Of		Domine fac mecum.
Of		Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…
	v	Hostias et preces… Quam olim.
Co		Donet eis Domine…
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…
Tr		De profundis.
Of		Domine memorabor.
Co		Ego sum resurrectio.
[In]		Ego autem cum justitia.
Gr		Dirigatur.
Of		Ad te Domine.

Berlin. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussicher Kulturbesitz 15 (Rose 693). ff. 191ᵛ-192

Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctus

In		Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Miserere mei Deus…
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	Convertere anima mea…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…
	v	Hostias et preces… Quam olim.
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co		Dona eis Domine…

Bonn. Universitätsbibliothek. Hs 384. p. 190-196

Rubric: In agenda defunctorum

In		Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Kyrie		
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr		Absolve Domine animas omnium…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeterne…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…
	v	Hostias et preces… Quam olim.
Sanctus		
Agnus Dei		
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	v	Requiem aeternam…

Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale Albert ler. 2031-2 (Cat. 450)

Rubric: [None]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[v]	Anime eorum in bonis…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
	[v]	Virga tua et baculus…
[Tr]	Sicut cervus desiderat…	
	[v]	Sitivit anima mea…
	[v]	Fuerunt michi lacrime…
[Of]	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…	
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
	[v]	Ut mereantur ultra…
[Co]	Tuam Deus deposcimus…	
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale Albert ler. 19389 (Cat. 429). ff. 174ᵛ-175

Rubric: Missa pro fidelibus

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[Ps]	Te decet.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr	De profundis.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Ut mereantur ultra…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam.
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
	v	Re[quiem?].

Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale Albert ler. II 3823. ff. 131-132

Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[Ps]	Te decet hymnus.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium… Quam olim.
Co	Lux aeternam luceat eis…	

Cambrai. Bibliothèque Municipale. B61 (62). ff. 137-139

Rubric: De mortuis

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
		Ps	Te decet.
		[v]	Exaudi.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
		v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi.	
	Of	Erue Domine animas eorum…	
		v	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
[Unnotated]	Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	

Rubric: Item de mortuis

	[In]	Si enim credimus…	
		Ps	Et sicut in Adam.
		[v]	Requiem.
	Gr	Si ambulem.	
[Unnotated]	Gr	Convertere anima mea…	

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[Unnotated]		v Quia eripuit animam meam…
[Unnotated]	Tr	Domine Jesu Christe Rex saeculorum…
[Unnotated]		v Miserere Deus miserationum…
[Unnotated]		v Libera eas de ore leonis…
[Unnotated]		v Et pro quibus…
	Tr	De necessitatibus meis.
	Tr	Sicut cervus.
	Tr	Commovisti Domine.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe rex gloriae… Quam olim abrahae…
		v Hostias et preces… Quam olim.
	Of	Domine convertere.
	Of	Domine in auxilium.
	Of	Miserere michi Domine.
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
		v Requiem aeternam.
	Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
		v Requiem.

Cambridge. University Library. KK 26. ff. 242ᵛ-243
       Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctis

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
		v Anime eorum in bonis…
[unnotated]	Tr	De profundis clamavi…
	[v]	Fiant aures tuae…
	[v]	Si iniquitates observa…
	[v]	Quia apud te…
	[Of]	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…
		v Hostias et preces… Quam olim abrahe.
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Cape Town. South African Library. Grey Collection Ms G.7.a.27.
       Rubric: Pro defunctis
[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus.
	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
		v Virga tua et baculus…
	Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
		v Anime eorum in bonis…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi…
	[v]	Fiant aures tuae…
	[v]	Si iniquitates observa.
	[v]	Quia apud te…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Chartres. Bibliothèque Municipale. 47. 47ᵛ-48
       Rubric: [None]

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	[Ps]	Convertere.

[Gr]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[v]	Anima eorum in bonis…
[Gr]	Miserere…	
[Of]	Domine convertere.	
Co	Ego sum resurrectionis…	

Rubric: [None]

[Preces] Qui cognoscis omnia…
    Ps   Domine exaudi.
    Domine exaudi.
    v   Exaudi orationem.
    Tu solus cognoscis…
    Dum clamarem.
    Propiciesto.
    Populum humiles.
    Tu Domine cervat nos.

Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

[In]	Rogamus te Domine…	
	[v]	Requiem.
[Gr]	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…	
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…
[Of]	Subvenite sancti Dei…	
	[v]	Suscipiant...
[Co]	Chorus angelorum…	

Chaumont. Bibliothèque Municipale. 45. ff. 64ᵛ-66ᵛ

Rubric: [None]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[Ps]	Te decet hymnus…
	[v]	Exaudi orationem meam…
[Gr]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[v]	Tuam Deus pussime Pater deposcimus…
[Gr]	Si ambulem in medio…	
	[v]	Virga tua et baculus…
[Of]	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…	
	[v]	Hostias et preces… Quam olim.
	[v]	Erue Domine animas eorum…
	[v]	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
	[v]	Redemptor animarum omnium… Quam olim…
[Co]	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
	[v]	Omne quod dat michi…

Colmar. Bibliothèque Municipale. 443. ff. 259-263

Rubric: Missa in depositione

[In]	Requiem aeternam.	
	Ps	Dilexi quo.
[Gr]	Requiem aeter[nam].	
	[v]	Convertere animam meam.
Tr	De profundis.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…animas omnium.	
Co	Tuam Deus de[poscimus].	

Rubric: In anniversario

[In]	Si enim credimus…	
	Ps	Sicut in Adam omnes.
[Gr]	Si ambulem.	
	v	Virga [tua].
Tr	Sicut cervus.	

	Of	Domine convertere.
	Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…sumitur.
Rubric: Item pro episcopo vel sacerdote		
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	In memoria aeterna…
Rubric: Pro famulo defuncto		
	[In]	Sicut credimus quod…mortuus.
	Ps	Sicut in Adam omnes.
	Gr	Convertere animam meam…
	v	Quia eripuit animam…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi ad te.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium… Quam olim.
	Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
	[v]	Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
	[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…
	Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…

Colmar. Bibliothèque Municipale. 444. ff. 254-259[v]

	Rubric:	[None]	
[Unnotated]	[In]		Requiem aeternam.
[Unnotated]		Ps	Dilexi quoniam.
	Gr		Requiem aeternam dona eis.
		v	Convertere animam meam.
	Tr		De profundis clamavi.
	[Of]		Domine Jesu Christe Rex gloriae libera animas.
	Co		Tuam Deus deposcimus.
	Rubric:	Missa in anniversario	
	[In]		Sicut [sic] credimus…
		Ps	Sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur.
	Gr		Si ambulem in medio.
		v	Virga tua.
	Tr		Sicut cervus.
	Of		Domine convertere.
[Unnotated]	Co		Pro quorum corpus.
	Rubric:	[None]	
	[In]		Requiem aeternam…
		[Ps]	Dilexi quoniam exaudi.
[Unnotated]	[In]		Sicut [sic] credimus quod Jesus.
[Unnotated]		v	Sicut in Adam.
	[Gr]		Convertere animam meam…
		v	Quia eripuit animam meam…
	Tr		De profundis clamavi ad te Domine.
	[Of]		Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim abrahe…
		v	Hostias et preces…
		v	Redemport animarum omnium… Quam olim.
	Co		Pro quorum memoria corpus…
		[v]	Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
		[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…
	Co		Tuam Deus deposcimus…
	Co		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
		[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Colmar. Bibliothèque Municipale. 445. ff. 124-125
    Rubric: Missa pro defunctis

```
[In]      Requiem aeternam…
          Ps      Te decet hymnus…
          [v]     Exaudi orationem meam…
Gr        Requiem aeternam…
          v       Anime eorum in bonis…
Gr        Si ambulem in medio…
          v       Virga tua et baculus…
Tr        Absolve Domine animas omnium…
          v       Et gratia tua…
          [v]     Et lucis aeterne…
Of        Domine Jesu Christe…  Quam olim abrahe…
          v       Hostias et preces…  Quam olim.
Co        Lux aeterna luceat eis…
```

Cologne. Diözensanbibliothek. Hs 1b. ff. 95-98
      Rubric: In agenda defunctorum

```
In        Requiem aeternam…
          Ps      Te decet hymnus…
Kyrie
Gr        Requiem aeternam…
          v       In memoria aeterna…
Tr        Absolve Domine animas omnium…
          v       Et gratia tua…
          v       Et lucis aeterne…
Of        Domine Jesu Christe…
          v       Hostias et preces…
Sanctus
Agnus Dei
Co        Lux aeterna luceat eis…
          v       Requiem aeterna…
```

Douai. Bibliothèque Muncipale. 114. ff. 155-158.
      Rubric: Officium pro defunctis

```
[In]      Requiem aeternam…
          Ps      Te decet hymnus.
          [v]     Exaudi orationem meam.
Gr        Requiem aeternam…
          v       Anime eorum in bonis…
Gr        Si ambulem in medio…
          v       Virga tua et baculus…
Tr        De profundis clamavi…
          v       Fiant aures tuae…
          v       Si iniquitates observa…
          v       Quia apud te…
Tr        Sicut cervus desiderat…
          v       Sitivit anima mea…
          v       Fuerunt mihi lacrime…
Of        Domine Jesu Christe…
          v       Hostias et preces…
          v       Hanc lucem redde…
          v       Redemptor animarum omnium…
Of        Erue Domine animas…
          v       Tuam Deus deposcimus
          v       In spiritu humilitatis…
Co        Lux aeterna luceat eis…
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Co   Semel iuravi in sancto meo…

Einsiedeln. Benediktinerkloster. Musikbibliothek 113 (523). p. 196-198
      Rubric: In memoria defunctorum
                  [In]   Requiem aeternam…
                        v   In memoria aeterna…
                  Gr   Requiem aeternam…
                        v   In memoria aeterna…
                  Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
                        v   Hostias et preces…
                        v   Redemptor animarum omnium…
                  Of   Domine convertere.
                  Of   Miserere mihi D[omine].
                  Of   Illumina o[culos].
                  Co   Tuam Deus dep[oscimus].
                  Co   Absolve Domine.
                  Co   Pro quorum me[um].
                  Co   Dona eis Domine…

Einsiedelm. Stiftsbibliothek. Codex 114 (Msc. 523). ff. 133ᵛ-135
      Rubric: In agenda mortuorum
                  [In]   Requiem aeternam…
                        Ps   Te decet.
                  Gr   Requiem aeternam…
                        v   In memoria aeterna…
                  Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
                        v   Quam olim abrahe…
                        v   Hostias et preces…
                  Co   Tuam Deus deposcimus…
                        v   Pro quorum memoria corpus…

Freiburg im Breisgau. Universitätsbibliothek. 95. ff. 114-115ᵛ
      Rubric: Pro defunctis
                  [In]   Respice Domine…
                        Ps   Ut quid Deus…
                  Gr   Si ambulem in medio…
                        v   Virga tua et baculus…
                  Of   Domine convertere…
                  Co   Ego sum resurrectio…
      Rubric: Item pro defunctis
                  [In]   Requiem aeternam…
                        Ps   Te decet hymnus…
                  Gr   Requiem aeternam…
                        v   Anime eorum in bonus…
[in margin]   Tr   De profundis.
                  Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
                  Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Göttweig. Stiftsbibliothek. 58 (67). 178ᵛ-180
      Rubric: In deposcitione defunctorum
                  [In]   Requiem aeternam…
                        v   Te decet hymnus.
                        v   Exaudi orationem meam ad te o[rationem].
                  Gr   Requiem aeternam…
                        v   In memoria aeterna…

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Tr	De profundis clamavi…	
	v	Fiant aures tuae…
	v	Si iniquitates observa…
	v	Quia apud te…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…	
	[v]	Requiem aeternam.
Rubric:	Item in deposcitione defunctorum	
[In]	Si enim credimus…	
	v	Et sicut in Adam…
	v	Requiem ae[ternam].
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat…	
	v	Sitivit anima mea…
	v	Fuerunt michi lacrime…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe.	
Co	Animas de corpore…	
	v	Requiem aeternam dona eis.

Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 9 (37/8). ff. 146ᵛ-148

Rubric:	Missa pro defunctis	
[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeterna…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 10 (37/10). ff. 155-156ᵛ

Rubric:	Missa pro defunctis	
[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Gr	Si ambulem.	
Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeternea…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 376 (37/26). ff. 220-221ᵛ

Rubric:	Pro defunctis	
[In]	Respice Domine.	
Gr	Si ambulem.	

	Of	Domine convertere.
	Co	Ego sum resurrectio…
Rubric:		Pro defunctis
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
[completed in a later hand]		
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
[Later hand]	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
[Later hand]	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 479 (37/29). ff. 93-94[v]

Rubric:		Pro fidelibus defunctis
	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	v	Sicut in Adam…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
	Gr	Si ambulem in medio.
	Tr	Commovisti Domine.
	Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe.
	Of	De profundis clamavi.
	Of	Domine convertere.
	Of	O pie Deus…
	v	Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
	Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
	Co	Animas de corpore…
	Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
	[v]	Et lux perpetua…
	[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…
Rubric:		Pro fidelibus defunctis
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Requiem aeternam…

Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 703 (38/36). ff. 61-62

Rubric:		Pro fidelibus defunctis officium
	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	v	Sicut in Adam…
	Gr	Si ambulem.
	Tr	Sicut cervus.
	Tr	Commovisti.
	Tr	De profundis.
	Of	Erue Domine animas eorum…
	Co	Animas de corpore…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…
Rubric:		Aliud
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	In memoria aeterna…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…

	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr		De profundis.
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
Co		Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Co		Pro quorum memoria corpus…
	[v]	Et lux perpetua eis…
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 761 (40/66). ff. 31-31ᵛ
Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]		Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr		De profundis clamavi.
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
Co		Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Co		Pro quorum memoria corpus…

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]		Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur.
Gr		Si ambulem.
Tr		Commovisti Domine.
Of		De profundis.
Of		Domine Jesu Christe.
Co		Animas de corpore…

Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 767 (41/13). ff. 86ᵛ-87
Rubric: [None]
[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]

[In]		Requiem aeternam…
	[Ps]	Te decet hymnus…
[Gr]		Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr		De profundis clamavi…
	[v]	Fiant aures tuae…
	[v]	Si iniquitates observa…
	[v]	Quia apud te…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
	[v]	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co		Absolve Domine animas eorum…

Graz. Universitätsbibliothek. 769 (40/70). ff. 234ᵛ-235ᵛ
Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

[In]		Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Sicut in Adam…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Gr	Si ambulem.	
v		Virga [tua].
Tr	Commovisti.	
Tr	De profundis clamavi.	
Of	O pie Deus…	
v		Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe.	
Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…	
Co	Animas de corpore…	
v		Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…	
[v]		Et lux perpetua eis.
[v]		Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

Rubric: [Illegible] agenda pro defunctis (???)

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
Ps		Te decet hymnus…
v		Exaudi orationem meam…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
v		In memoria aeterna…
Tr	De profundis clamavi…	
v		Fiant aures tuae…
v		Si iniquitates observa…
v		Quia apud te propitiatio…
[Of]	Domine Jesu Christe…	
v		Hostias et preces…
v		Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
[v]		Requiem aeternam…

Grenoble. Bibliothèque Municipale. 84 (395). ff. 149-149ᵛ

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Respice Domine…	
Ps		Ut quid deus.
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
v		Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	De profundis clamavi.	
Of	Domine convertere…	
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	

Kassel. Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek. 4° Hs. Theol. 15. ff. 140ᵛ-141

Rubric: [None]

[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
v		In memoria aeterna…
[Gr]	Requiem aeternam…	
v		In memoria aeterna…
[Of]	Domine Jesu Christe...Hostias et preces…	
[v]		Requiem aeternam…
[v]		Redemptor animarum omnium…
[v]		Quam [olim abrahe].
[Co]	Dona eis Domine…	
[Co]	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	

Kremsmünster. Stiftsbibliothek. 28. ff. 56ᵛ-57

Rubric: Pro defunctis

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	[v]	In memoria aeterna…
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr		De profundis.
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
	[v]	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…

[Unnotated]
>   Rubric: [None]

	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
Gr		Si ambulem.
Tr		Sicut cervus.
Of		O pie Deus…
	v	Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
Co		Animas de corpore…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Laon. Bibliothèque Municipale. 226bis.
>   Rubric: [None]

[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Miserere michi.
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Anima eius in bonis…
Gr		Si ambulem in medio…
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr		De profundis clamavi…
	v	Fiant aures tuae…
	v	Si iniquitates observa…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…

Laon. Bibliothèque Municipale. 239. f. 148
>   Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

	In	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Anima eius.
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anima eius in bonis…
Co		Ego sum resurrectio…

Le Mans. Bibliothèque Municipale. 437. ff. 225-225[v]
>   Rubric: Missa in die depositionis defunct

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet.
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Limoges. Bibliothèque Municipale. 2 (17). ff. 202-205[v]

Rubric: Missa pro fidelibus defunctis
[In] Requiem aeternam…
    Ps   Te decet.
Gr   Requiem aeternam…
    v   In memoria aeterna…
Gr   Anima eorum in bonis…
    v   Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Tr   De profundis.
Tr   Dixit Dominus ego sum resurrectio…
    v   Et omnis qui vivit et credit…
Sequentia pro fidelibus defunctis
[Seq]   De profundis exclamantes…
    [v]   Fiant ergo intendentes…
    [v]   Et haec orat…
    [v]   Peccatores quamvis simus…
    [v]   Fiat tamen salutaris…
    [v]   Per quam Patri…
    [v]   Propitius esto eis…
    [v]   Propter legem quam…
    [v]   Te sustinent eruantur…
    [v]   In te credunt…
    [v]   In te die…
    [v]   Sit apud te…
    [v]   Ut redimas eos…
    [v]   Reginarum imperatrix tua…
    [v]   Bone Jesu rex gloriae…
    [v]   Qui per crucem…
    [v]   Per te vincla…
Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
    v   Hostias et preces…
    [v]   Requiem aeternam…
    [v]   Ut mereantur…
    [v]   Quam olim.
    [v]   Et misericordiam tuam…
    [v]   Quam olim.
Of   O pie Deus…
    v   Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
    v   Ne tradas.
Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…
    v   Requiem aeter[nam].
    [v]   Cum.
Co   Absolve Domine animas eorum…
    [v]   Pro quorum memoria corpus…
    [v]   Et lux perpetua…
    [v]   Pro quorum bibitur.

Linz. Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek. 125 (466). ff. 47-47ᵛ
Rubric: [Illegible]
[In] Requiem aeternam…
    Ps   In memoria aeterna…
Gr   Requiem aeternam…
    v   In memoria aeterna…
Tr   De profundis clamavi.
Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
    v   Hostias et preces…
    v   Redemptor animarum omnium…

	Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
	[v]	Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
	[v]	Pro quorum [memoria sanguis].
	Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
	v	Requiem aeternam…

Rubric: Alia

	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Sicut in Adam…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
	Gr	Si ambulem.
	v	Virga [tua].
	Tr	Sicut cervus.
	Tr	Commovisti Domine.
	Of	De profundis clamavi.
	Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Requiem aeternam…

Linz. Bundesstaatliche Sudienbibliothek. 128 (286). ff. 42-42ᵛ

Rubric: Pro defunctis

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	In memoria aeterna…
	Gr	Si ambulem.
	Tr	Commovisti.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
	Tr	De profundis.
	Tr	Sicut cervus.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Requiem.
	Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
	Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
	[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…
	Co	Animas de corpore…
	v	Requiem aeternam…

Lisbon. Biblioteca Nacional. CLV/249. ff. 252

[Added in a later hand]

Rubric: Missam defunctorum

[Unnotated]	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
[Unnotated]	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
[Unnotated]	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
[Unnotated]	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
[Unnotated]	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
[Unnotated]	v	Virga tua et baculus…
[Unnotated]	Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
[Unnotated]	v	Et gratia tua…
[Unnotated]	v	Et lucis aeternae…
[Unnotated]	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
[Unnotated]	v	Hostias et preces…
[Unnotated]	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Lisbon. Biblioteca Nacional. CLIX/252. ff. 5-5ᵛ

Rubric: Missa [illegible]

[Unnotated]	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
[Unnotated]	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
[Unnotated]	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
[Unnotated]	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
[Unnotated]	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
[Unnotated]	v	Hostias et preces…
[Unnotated]	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
[Added later in another hand]		
[Unnotated]	Tr	De profundis…
[Unnotated]	[v]	Fiant aures tuae…
[Unnotated]	[v]	Si iniquitates…
[Unnotated]	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
[Unnotated]	[v]	Virga tua et baculus…
[Unnotated]	Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
[Unnotated]	[v]	Et gratia tua…
[Unnotated]	[v]	Et lucis aeternae…

Lisbon. Biblioteca Nacional. CLX/253. ff. 282-282ᵛ

Rubric: Missa pro defunctis

[Unnotated]	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
[Unnotated]	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
[Unnotated]	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
[Unnotated]	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
[Unnotated]	Tr	De profundis…
[Unnotated]	v	Fiant aures tuae…
[Unnotated]	v	Si iniquitates…
[Unnotated]	v	Quia apud te…
[Unnotated]	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
[Unnotated]	v	Virga tua et baculus…
[Unnotated]	Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
[Unnotated]	v	Et gratia tua…
[Unnotated]	v	Et lucis aeternae…
[Unnotated]	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
[Unnotated]	v	Hostias et preces…
[Unnotated]	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

London. British Library. Add. 11669. ff. 43ᵛ-44

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…
Ps	Te decet ymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…
v	Convertere anima mea…
Tr	De profundis.
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
v	Hostias et preces…
v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Co	Dona eis Domine…
[Co]	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
[v]	Et lux perpetua luceat eis…
[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

London. British Library. Add. 17303. ff. 115-117

Rubric: Pro defunctis.

	[In]	Respice Domine…
	Ps	Ut quid Deus repulisti.
	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi…
	v	Si iniquitates observa…
	v	Quia apud te…
	Of	Domine convertere et eripe…
	Co	Ego sum resurrectio et vita…
Rubric:	[None]	
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	[v]	Exaudi orationem meam…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis...
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

London. British Library. Add. 18031. ff. 247-249^v

Rubric:	[???]	
	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
	In	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi…
	v	Fiant aures tue…
	v	Si iniquitates observa…
	v	Quia apud te…
	Tr	Sicut cervus…
	v	Sitivit anima mea…
	v	Fuerunt michi lacrime…
	Of	Erue Domine animas eorum…
	v	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
	Of	O pie Deus…
	v	Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…

London. British Library. Add. 18032. ff. 220-222^v

Rubric:	Missa pro defunctis	
	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	v	Et sicut in Adam…
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi…
	v	Fiant aures tue…

v	Si iniquitates observa…
v	Quia apud te…
Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat…
v	Sitivit anima mea…
v	Fuerunt michi lacrime…
Of	Erue Domine animas eorum…
v	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Of	O pie Deus…
v	Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
v	Hostias et preces…
v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
[v]	Requiem aeternam…
Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
[v]	Requiem aeternam.

London. British Library. Add 23935. f. 476

Rubric: In commemoratione omnium defunctorum

[In]	Requiem.
Ps	Te decet.
Gr	Requiem.
v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
v	Et gratia tua…
Gr	Si ambulem.
v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat…
v	Sitivit anima mea…
v	Fuerunt michi lacrime…
Of	Domine.
v	Hostias et preces.
Co	Lux aeterna.

Madrid. Archivo Histórico Nacional. Aemil. 18 (F. 185). ff. 342-348

Rubric: Missa die primo obitus defuncti

[In]	Dona eis Domine…
v	Requiem aeternam.
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
[v]	[Virga tua] et baculus…
Tr	De profundis cla[mavi].
[Of]	[Ego sum resurrectio et vita qui] credit in me…
Co	Subvenite sancti Dei…

Rubric: Missa in anniversario defuncti

[In]	Requiem aeternam…
v	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Convertere animarum meam…
v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr	De profundis.
Of	Erue Domine…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Rubric: Missa pro fidelibus defunctis

[In]	Sicut portavimus imaginem…
v	Et sicut in Adam…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…
v	In memoria aeterna…

	Tr	De profundis.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	Co	Sancta et salubris est…
Rubric:	Missa pro fidelibus defunctis	
[Unnotated]	[In]	Si enim credimus…
[Unnotated]	v	Et sicut in Adam omnes.
	v	Requiem aeternam.
	Gr	Si enim credimus…
	v	Sicut portavimus imaginem…
	Of	O pie Deus qui primum hom[inem].

Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional. Vitrina 20, 4 (anc. C. 132). ff. 210ᵛ-212ᵛ, 220

Rubric:	Offic[ium] Pro Defunctis	
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	P	Te decet hymnus in syon.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
	Gr	Si enim credimus…
	v	Et sicut in Adam…
	Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeterne…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	v	Hanc lucem redde illis…
	v	Venturus in mundum…
	Of	O pie Deus…
	v	Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
	Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
	[v]	Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
	[v]	Pro quorum me[moria sanguis].

Rubric:	In die depositionis	
	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in adam…
	Gr	Si ambulem.
	v	Virga tua.
	Gr	Convertere anima mea…
	v	Quia eripuit anima mea…
	Tr	Sicut cervus.
	Tr	Absolve Domine animas omnium.
	Of	O pie Deus.
	Co	Pro quorum memoria.

Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional. Vitriana 21, 8. ff. 253ᵛ-255

Rubric:	In agenda defunctorum	
	In	Requiem aeternam…
	P	Te decet hymus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
	Tr	Absolve Domine animas omnium…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeterna…

Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
	v	Requiem aeternam…

Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional. 1361. ff. 134-135

Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

[In]	[R]equiem aeternam…	
	v	Te decet.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Mainz. Stadtbibliothek. Hs I 435. ff. 162-164

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Respice Domine…	
	Ps	Ut quid Deus…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Of	Domine convertere…	
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
[In margin] Tr	De profundis.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Manchester. John Rylands Library. 24. ff. 224ᵛ-226ᵛ

Rubric: Officium

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	Commovisti Domine terram…	
	v	Sana contritiones eius…
	v	Ut fugiant…
[Tr]	De profundis clamavi…	
	v	Fiant aures tue…
	[v]	Si iniquitates observa…
	[v]	Quia apud te…
[Tr]	Sicut cervus desiderat…	
	v	Sitivit anima mea…
	v	Fuerunt michi lacrime…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

	[v]	Requiem aeternam…
Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
	[v]	Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
	[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

Melk. Stiftsbibliothek. 109 (1056). ff. 161ᵛ-162ᵛ
Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctis
[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr	De profundis clamavi…
	v	Fiant aures tuae…
	v	Si iniquitates observa…
	v	Quia apud te…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…

[Partially unnotated onward]
	[v]	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
	[v]	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
	[v]	Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
	[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

Melk. Stiftsbibliothek. 709 (570. K42). f. 62ᵛ
Rubric: Pro defunctis
[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr	De profundis clamavi ad te.
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	v	Requiem.
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Requiem aeternam…

Milan. Biblioteca Ambrosiana. S. 74. Sup. 114-115ᵛ
Rubric: In agenda mortuorum
[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
[Tr]	Absolve Domine animarum eorum…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Ac lucis eterne…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces
Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
Co	Lux aeterna lucea eis…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine.
Rubric: [None]
[In]	Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…

	Gr	Convertere animam meam…
	v	Placebo Domino…
	Of	Domine convertere et eripe…
	Co	Amen dico vobis…

Monza. Biblioteca Capitolare. 1/101. f. 10ᵛ
      Rubric: Pro defunctis
[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]

	In	Subvenite sancti Dei…
	Ps	Dilexi quoniam exaudiet.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
	Of	Domine convertere…
	v	Domine ne in ira…
	Co	Ego sum resurrectio…

Monza. Biblioteca Capitolare. 12/75. f. 78
      Rubric: In agenda mor[tuorum]

	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
	In	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet.
	Gr	Convertere animam meam…
	v	Quia eripuit animam meam…
	Tr	De profundis.
	Of	Domine convertere.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
[Unnotated]	v	Hostias et preces…
[Unnotated]	Co	Ego sum resurrectio.

Monza. Biblioteca Capitolare. 13/76
      Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

[Unnotated]	In	Si enim credimus…
[Unnotated]	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
	In	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus.
[Unnotated]	In	Flecte pias aures…
	Gr	Convertere animam meam…
	v	Quia eripuit…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
	Tr	De profundis.
	Of	Domine convertere.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Ego sum resurrectio…
	Co	Audivi vocem de caelo…

Monza. Biblioteca Capitolare. 14/77. ff. 130-132
      Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam.
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus Dominus.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…

	v	In memoria aeterna…
Gr	Convertere anima mea…	
	v	Quia eripuit…
Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum...	
	v	Et gratia tua…
	[v]	Et lucis aeterne…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Archangele Christi…	
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	

Monza. Biblioteca Capitolare. K 11.

Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr	Absolve Domine animas omnium…	
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Ac lucis aeterne…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	v	In spiritu humilitatis…
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
	[v]	Inter sanctos tuos resuscitati respirent.
	[v]	Requiem aeternam.
	[v]	Inter sanctos.
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
	[v]	Cum sanctis…
	[v]	Requiem.
	[v]	Cum Sanctis.

Rubric: At

[In]	Si enim credimus…	
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam.
Gr	Convertere animarum meam…	
	v	Quia eripuit animarum meam…
Tr	De profundis clamavi…	
	v	Fiant aures tuae…
	v	Si iniquitetem obseva…
	v	Quia apud te…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe.	
Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…	
	[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 2542. ff. 97ᵛ-99ᵛ

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
[illegible]		
[Gr]	Si ambulem in medio…	
	v	Virga tua et baculus…

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Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
	v	Et gratia tua…
[illegible]		
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 3914. ff. 114^v-116

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr	De profundis clamavi…	
	v	Si iniquitates observa…
	v	Quia apud te…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Quam olim Abrahe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	

Rubric: P[ro] d[efunctis] P. R. usque ad Pent. [?]

[In]	Si enim credimus…	
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat…	
	v	Sitivit anima mea…
	v	Fuerunt michi lacrime….
Of	Domine Jesu.	
Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…	
	v	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…
Co	Animas de corpore…	
	v	Requiem aeternam…
Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…	

Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 7905. ff. 164-165^v

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	[v]	Requiem.
[Gr]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[v]	Anime eorum in bonis…
[Gr]	Si ambulem.	
[Tr]	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
	[v]	Et gratia tua…
	[v]	Et lucis aeterne…
[Of]	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	[v]	Quam olim Abrahe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
[Co]	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 7919. ff. 120-121^v

Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctis

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	[Ps]	Te decet hymnus…
	[Gr]	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr		De profundis clamavi…
	v	Fiant aures tuae…
	v	Si iniquitates observa…
	v	Quia apud te…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
Co		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Requiem aeternam…

Rubric: [None]

	In	Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
Gr		Si ambulem.
Tr		Sicut cervus.
Of		Domine Jesu.
Co		Pro quorum memoria corpus…
	v	Et lux perpetua luceat eis
	[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis.

Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 10075. ff. 225-226
Rubric: [None]

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	[Ps]	Miserere mei Deus…
	[Gr]	Requiem aeternam…
	[v]	Anime eorum in bonis…
[Tr]		Sicut cervus.
[Of]		Domine Jesu Christe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
	[v]	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	[v]	In spiritu humilitatus…
[Co]		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Rubric: [None]

	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	[v]	Et sicut in Adam…
[Gr]		Si ambulem.
[Tr]		De profundis clamavi.
[Of]		O pie Deus…
	[v]	Ne tradas bestiis…
	[v]	Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
[Of]		Erue Domine animas…
	[v]	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
[Co]		Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Clm 15730. f. 80ᵛ
Rubric: [None]
[Masses for the Dead, unnotated]

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	[Ps]	Te decet hymnus…

Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
v		In memoria aeterna…
Tr	De profundis clamavi…	
[v]		Fiant aures tuae…
[v]		Si iniquitates observa…
v		Quid apud te…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
v		Hostias et preces…
v		Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
[v]		Ut resurrectionis gloria…
[v]		Requiem aeternam…
[v]		Ut resurrectionis gloria.

Rubric: [None]

[In]	Si enim credimus…	
Ps		Et sicut in Adam…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
[v]		Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat…	
[v]		Sitivit anima mea…
[v]		Fuerunt michi lacrimae…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe.	
Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…	
[v]		Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

Munich. Universitätsbibliothek. 2˚ 156. ff. 121-123

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Si enim credimus…	
Ps		Et sicut in Adam…
[v]		Requiem aeternam…
Gr	Si ambulem.	
Tr	Commovisti.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe	
[v]		Hostias et preces…
[v]		Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
v		Requiem aeternam…
Co	Animas de corpore…	
v		Requiem areternam…
Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…	
[v]		Pro quorum memoria corpus…
[v]		Et lux perpetua luceat eis…
[v]		Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
[Ps]		Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
[v]		Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
Tr	De profundis clamavi…	
v		Fiant aures tuae…
v		Si iniquitates observa…
v		Quia apud te…
[v]		De profundis clamavi…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe rex gloriae.	
Co	Absolve Domine animae eorum.	

Namur. Musée Diocesain. 1 (Inv. #515). f. 183ᵛ-186, 215-216ᵛ

Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctorum

[In]   Si enim credimus…
       [Ps]   Et sicut in Adam…
([In]   Requiem aeternam.) [Reference to later Mass]
Gr   Si ambulem.
       v   Virga tua.
[Tr]   De profundis clamavi.
Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
       v   Hostias et preces
       v   In spiritu humilitatis…
       v   Hanc lucem redde illis…
       v   Venturus in mundi…
       v   Redemptor animarum omnium…
[Of]   Domine convert[ere].
[Of]   Sicut in hol[ocausto].
[Of]   Domine in aux[ilium].
Co   Absolve Domine animas eorum…
       [v]   Requiem.

Rubric: Alia missa

[In]   Requiem aeternam…
       Ps   Te decet hymnus…
Gr   Requiem aeternam…
       v   Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr   Sicut cervus.
Tr   Commovisti.
Of   O pie Deus…
       v   Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
       [v]   Ne tradas.
[v sic]   [Co]   Pro quorum memoria corpus…
       [v]   Et lux perpetua luceat eis
       [v]   Pro quorum [memoria sanguis].
Co   Lux aeterna lucebit…

…

Rubric: Prosa pro fidelibus defunctis

[Seq]   Dies irae dies illa…
       [v]   Quantus tremor est…
       [v]   Tuba mirum spargit…
       [v]   Mors stupebit et natura…
       [v]   Liber scriptus proferetur…
       [v]   Iudex ergo cum sedebit…
       [v]   Quid sum miser…
       [v]   Rex tremende maiestatis…
       [v]   Recordare Jesu pie…
       [v]   Quaerens me sedisti…
       [v]   Iuste iudex ultionis…
       [v]   Ingemisco, tamquam reus…
       [v]   Qui Mariam absolvisti…
       [v]   Preces meae non sant…
       [v]   Inter oves locum…
       [v]   Confutatis maledictis…
       [v]   Oro supplex et acclinis…
       [v]   Lacrimosa dies illa…
       [v]   Iudicandus homo reus…
       [v]   Pie Jesu Domine…

Namur. Musée Diocesain. 2 (Inv #516). ff.319ᵛ-323
- Rubric: Missa in die depositionis
  - [In]   Si enim credimus…
    - Ps   Et sicut in Adam…
  - Gr   Si ambulem.
  - Tr   De profundis.
  - Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
  - Co   Absolve Domine animas eorum…
- Rubric: Missa pro epis[copo]
  - [In]   Requiem aeternam…
    - Ps   Te decet hymnus…
  - Gr   Requiem aeternam…
    - v   Anime eorum in bonis…
  - Tr   Sicut cervus.
  - Of   Domine Jesu Christe.
    - v   Hostias et preces…
    - v   Requiem aeternam…
    - v   Quam olim abrahe…
    - v   In spiritu humilitatis…
  - [Co]   Pro quorum memoria corpus…
    - [v]   Et lux perpetua…
    - [v]   Pro quorum [memoria sanguis]
  - Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Namur. Musee Diocesain. 3 (Inv #517). ff. 287-289ᵛ, 291
- Rubric: In die depositionis ad missam
  - [In]   Si enim credimus…
    - [Ps]   Et sicut in Adam…
  - Gr   Si ambulem.
  - Tr   De profundis.
  - Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
    - v   Hostias et preces…
    - [v]   Requiem aeternam…
  - Co   Absolve Domine animas eorum…
    - [v]   Requiem aeternam…
- Rubric: Pro episcopo
  - [In]   Requiem aeternam…
    - Ps   Te decet hymnus…
  - Gr   Requiem aeternam…
    - v   Anime eorum…
  - Of   Domine Jesu Christe.
  - Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…
    - [v]   Requiem aeternam…

Naples. Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorno Emanuele III. VI-E-11. ff. 131ᵛ-134
- Rubric: [Illegible] pro defunctis
  - [In]   Requiem aeternam…
    - Ps   Te decet hymnus…
  - Gr   Requiem aeternam…
    - v   Anime eorum in bonis…
  - Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
  - Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…
- Rubric: Alia pro defunctis
  - [In]   Respice Domine…
  - Gr   Si ambulem in medio…
    - v   Virga tua et baculus…

	Tr	De profundis clamavi…
	v	Fiant aures tuae…
	v	Si iniquitates observa…
	v	Quia apud te…
	Of	Domine convertere…
	Co	Ego sum resurrectio…

Naples. Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuela. VI-G-11. ff. 233ᵛ-234
[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]
Rubric: Officium mortuorum

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
		Ps. Te decet hymnus.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
	[v]	Et gratia tua…
	[v]	Et lucis aeterne…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
[In margin]	v	Requiem aeternam…

Naples. Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuela. VI-G-38. ff. 286ᵛ-288
Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	v	Exaudi orationem meam…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
	[Tr]	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeterna…
	[Of]	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Oxford. Bodleian Library. Canonici Liturgi. 321 (19410). ff. 27ᵛ-32
Rubric: Missa in die depostionis

	[In]	Rogamus te Domine…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…
	Gr	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi…
	v	Fiant aures tuae…
	v	Si iniquitates observa…
	v	Quia apud te…
	Of	Subvenite sancti Dei…
	Co	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…

Rubric: Missa in die depositionis

	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Credo quod redemptor…

Rubric: Missa in anniversarium

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus.
	Gr	Convertere animam meam…
	v	Quia eripuit anima mea…
	[Tr]	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	Of	Domine convertere…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	[v]	Requiem.

Oxford. Bodleian Library. Canon. liturg. 350 (19436). ff. 232ᵛ-233ᵛ

Rubric: [None]

	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	v	Et sicut in Adam…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
	Tr	De profundis.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
	[v]	Tuam Deus deposcimus…

Oxford. Bodleian Library. Lat. lit. d 5 (32556). ff. 82-84

Rubric: Pro defunctis

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	[Gr]	Si ambulem in medio…
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
	[Tr]	Absolve Domine animas omnium…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Oxford. Bodleian Library. Rawl C. 892. ff. 147ᵛ-149

Rubric: Missa pro fidelibus defunctorum

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
	v	Hanc lucm redee illis…
	[v]	Venturus in mundum…
	v	Redemptor animarum Christe…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
	[v]	Et lux perpetua luceat eis...
	[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis.

Oxford. Bodleian Library. Rawl lit. d. 3

Rubric: [Illegible]
    [In]   Requiem aeternam…
            [Ps]   Te decet hymnus…
    [Gr]   Requiem aeternam…
            [v]   Anime eorum in bonis…
            [v]   Si ambulem in medio…
            [v]   Virga tua et baculus…
    [Tr]   De profundis clamavi…
            [v]   Fiant aures tue…
            [v]   Si iniquitates observa…
            [v]   Quia apud te…
    [Tr]   Sicut cervus desiderat…
            [v]   Sitivit anima mea…
            [v]   Fuerunt michi lacrime…
    Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
    [Of]   O pie Deus…
            [v]   Hostias et preces…
            [v]   Suscipe pro animabus…
            [v]   Requiem aeternam…
    [Co]   Lux aeterna luceat eis…
            [v]   Requiem aeternam…
    [Co]   Pro quorum memoria corpus…
            [v]   Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
            [v]   Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

Padua. Duomo, Biblioteca Capitolare. A47. ff. 224ᵛ-228
Rubric: Die depositionis
    [In]   Requiem aeternam…
            Ps   Te decet.
    Gr   Requiem aeternam…
            v   In memoria aeterna…
    Tr   Convertere anima eius…
            v   Quia eripuit animam…
            v   Placebo Domino in regione…
    [Of]   Domine convertere.
    Co   Credo quod redemptor meus…
Rubric: In die depositionis
    [In]   Rogamus te Domine…
            Ps   Et sicut in Adam.
            [v]   Requiem aeternam.
    Gr   Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
            v   Requiem aeternam…
    Of   Subvenite sancti Dei…
            v   Suscipiat te Christus…
            v   Pro cuius memoria…
    Co   Pro quorum memoria corpus…
            [v]   Et lux perpetua.
    Co   Absolve Domine.
            [v]   Chorus angelorum…
    Co   Chorus angelorum…
Rubric: In anniversario
    [In]   Si enim credimus…
            [Ps]   Et sicut in Adam…
            [v]   Requiem [aeternam].
    Gr   Requiem [aeternam].
    Tr   Absolve Domine animas eorum…

v	Et gratia tua…	
v	Et lucis aeterne…	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
[v]	Hostias et preces…	
v	Redemptor animarum omnium…	
Co	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…	
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
Co	Absolve Domine animas…	

Padua. Seminario vescovile. 697. ff. 116-116ᵛ

Rubric: [None]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	De profundis.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Educe eos Domine…
Tr	De profundis.	
Of	Domine convertere.	
Co	Sicut pater suscitat…	

Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. 135. ff. 216-218

Rubric: Ad missam pro fidelibus defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[v]	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	v	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	De profundis clamavi…	
	v	Fiant aures tuae…
	v	Si iniquitates observa…
	v	Quia apud te…
Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat…	
	v	Sitivit anima mea…
	v	Fuerunt michi lacrime…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
Of	O pie Deus…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…
Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…	
	[v]	Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
	[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. 197. ff. 160ᵛ-161ᵛ

Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr	De profundis.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. 595. ff. 438[v]-439
    Rubric: Pro Defunctis Missa
        [In]   Requiem aeternam…
              Ps   Te decet hymnus…
        Gr   Requiem aeternam…
              v   Ne tradas Domine…
        Gr   Si ambulem.
        Tr   De profundis.
        Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
              v   Hostias et preces…
              v   Requiem aeternam…
        [Co]   Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi…
              [v]   Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
              [v]   Pro quorum memoria sanguis Christi…
        Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…
              [v]   Requiem aeternam…

Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. 608. p. 336-339
[Top of page]   Pro defunctis introitus
    Rubric: Pro fidelibus
        In   Requiem aeternam…
              Ps   Te decet hymnus…
        Gr   Si ambulem.
              v   Virga tua.
        Tr   Sicut cervus.
        Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
              v   Hostias et preces…
        Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Paris. Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal. 610. ff. 56-61
    Rubric: Incipiunt misse pro defunctis
        [In]   Requiem aeternam…
              Ps   Miserere mei Deus…
        Gr   Requiem aeternam.
        Of   Domine convertere…
              v   Domine ne in ira.
        Co   Audivi vocem de caelo…

Paris. Bibliothèque Mazarine. 384 (748). ff. 155-158[v]
    Rubric: In agenda moruorum
        [In]   Requiem aeternam…
              Ps   Te decet hymnus.
        Gr   Requiem aeternam…
              v   Qui Lazurum resuscitas…
        Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
              v   Hostias et preces…
        Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…
    Rubric: Aliud
        [In]   Si enim credimus…
              Ps   Sicut enim in Adam.
        Gr   Convertere animam meam…
              v   Quia eripuit animam meam…
        Of   Erue Domine animas eorum…
              v   Tuam Deus deposcimus…
        Co   Ego sum resurrectio…

Rubric: Aliud
    [In]   Ne tradas Domine bestiis…
        Ps   Memor esto congregationis…
    Gr   Si enim credimus…
        v   Sicut enim in Adam…
    Of   O pie Deus…
        v   Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
    Co   Audivi vocem de caelo…
Rubric: Responsorium in agenda mortuorum
    R   Libera me Domine…
        v   Tremens factus sum ego…
        v   Vix iustus salvabitur…
        v   Dies illa dies irae…
        v   Nunc Christe te poscimus…
        v   Quid ergo miserrimus…
        v   Tremebunt angeli et archangeli…
        v   Requiem aeternam…
        v   Lauda anima mea…
        v   Jesu redemptor miserere…
        v   Lux in inmarcescibilis…
        v   Christe caeli factor…
[Unnotated]   v   Bonorum retributor…
        v   Rex seculorum Christe…
        v   Cunctorum creator viventum…
        v   Bone conditor vita…
        v   Qui de morte sunt…
        v   Creator omnium rerum Deus…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 776. ff. 156-158
Rubric: In agenda mortuorum
    [In]   Flecte pias aures…
        Ps   Annue nobis Domine…
    Gr   Requiem aeternam…
        v   In memoria aeterna…
    Tr   De profundis.
    Of   Ad te Domine.
    Co   Subvenite sancti Dei…
Rubric: Item alium unde supra…
    [In]   Requiem aeternam…
        Ps   Te decet hymnus Deus.
    [Tr]   De profundis.
    Of   Miserere michi Domine.
    Co   Amen, amen dico vobis…
Rubric: Alium
    [In]   Dona eis Domine requiem…
        Ps   Te decet hymnus.
    Gr   Convertere animas eorum…
        v   Animas eorum in bonis…
    Of   Domine convertere.
    Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…
        Ps   Requiem aeternam…
        [v]   Cum sanctis.
Rubric: Rursum alium
[Incipit notated]   [In]   De limo terrae formasti…
        Ps   Te decet.
    Gr   Requiem aeternam.

Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	v	Animas fidelium quos assumpsisti…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
Co		Sancta et salubris est…

Rubric: Iterum alium

[In]		Sicut portavimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
Gr		Si enim credimus…
	v	Sicut in Adam…
Of		Ego sum resurrectio…
`	v	Et omnis qui verbum…
Co		Ego sum resurrectio…
	Ps	Dixit Jesus discipulis suis qui credit.

Rubric: Itemque alium

[Unnotated]	[In]		Si enim credimus…
[Unnotated]		Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
[Unnotated]	Gr		Si enim credimus…
[Unnotated]		v	Et sicut in Adam…
	Of		Erue Domine animas fidelium…
		v	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
	Of		O pie Deus…
[Unnotated]	Co		Ego sum resurrectio…
[Unnotated]		Ps	Et omnis qui credit.

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 780. ff. 119ᵛ-120

Rubric: Item in agenda defunctorum

[In]		Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus.
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr		De profundis.
Of		Domine convertere.
Co		Absolve Domine animas eorum…

Rubric: Aliud officium defunctorum

[In]		Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam.
Gr		Requiem aeter[nam].
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr		Domine exaudi orationem.
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Animas fidelium….
	v	Hositas et preces…
	v	Quam olim abrahe.
	v	In spiritu.
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 903. ff. 118-119

Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

[In]		Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet.
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…

v	Anime eorum in bonis…
v	Animas fidelium quas assumpsisti…
v	Requiem aeternam…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
v	Requiem aeternam…

Rubric: [At]

[In]	Si enim credimus…
Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
Gr	Si enim credimus…
v	Et sicut in Adam…
Tr	De profundis clamavi.
Tr	Sicut cervus.
Of	Erue Domine animas eorum…
v	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
Co	Ego sum resurrectio et vita…
v	Et omnis qui credit…

Rubric: It at

[In]	Sicut portavimus…
Ps	Et sicut in Adam.
Gr	Si ambulem in medio.
v	Virga tua.
Of	O pie Deus…
v	Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
Of	Domine convertere.
Co	Partem beatae resurrectionis…
v	Requiem aeternam.

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 904. f. 263ᵛ

Rubric: Pro defunctis officium

[In]	Requiem aeternam…
Ps	Te decet hymnus.
[In]	Requiem aeternam.
Ps	Exaudi orationem meam.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…
v	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	De profundis clamavi…

[Manuscript defective, continues with Kyriale]

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 1087. ff. 96-97ᵛ

Rubric: Ad missas defunctorum

[In]	Requiem aeternam…
Ps	Te decet hymnus. omnis caro veniet.
Gr	Convertere anima mea…
v	Quia eripuit animarum meam…

In anniversario

Gr	Si ambulem.
v	Virga tua et baculus.
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
v	Hostias et preces…
v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Rubric: Item ad easdem

[In]	Si enim credimus…

	Ps	Sicut in Adam.
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Of		Erue Domine animas eorum…
	v	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Co		Omne quod dicit michi…

Rubric: In agenda mortuourm

[In]		Ne tradas Domine bestiis…
	Ps	Memor esto congregationis…
Gr		Si enim credimus…
	v	Sicut in Adam…
Tr		De profundis clamavi ad te.
Of		Miserere michi Domine.
Of		Domine convertere et eripe animarum.
[Co]		Pro quorum memoria corpus…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 1105. ff. 217-219

Rubric: Pro defunctis officium

	[In]		Requiem aeternam…
		Ps	Te decet hymnus.
	Gr		Convertere anima mea…
		v	Quia eripuit anima mea…
[Unnotated]	Tr		De profundis clamavi…
[Unnotated]		v	Fiant aures tuae…
[Unnotated]		v	Si iniquitates observa…
[Unnotated]		v	Quia apud te…
	Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
		v	Hostias et preces…
	Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	Gr		Requiem aeternam…
		v	Anime eorum in bonis…
[Unnotated]	Tr		Sicut cervus desiderat…
[Unnotated]		v	Sitivit anima mea…
	Gr		Si enim credimus…
		v	Et sicut in Adam…
	Tr		Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
		v	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
		v	Miserere defunctis fidelibus…
		v	Qui venturus es…
	Of		O pie Deus…
	Co		Qui es Domine requies…
	Gr		Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
		v	Requiem aeternam…
[Unnotated]	Gr		Si ambulem in medio…
[Unnotated]		v	Virga tua et baculus…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 1107. ff. 329-330^v

Rubric: Missa pro defunctis

[In]		Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet.
	Ps	Exaudi.
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
Gr		Si ambulem.
	v	Virga tua.
Tr		De profundis.

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Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
v		Hostias et preces…
v		Anime eorum in bonis…
Of	Erue Domine animas eorum…	
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 1112. ff. 237-238
  Rubric: Missa pro fidelibus defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
Ps		Te decet hymnus…
[Gr]	Requiem aeternam…	
v		Anime eorum in bonis…
v		Qui Lazarum resuscitasti
Gr	Si ambulem.	
v		Virga tua.
Tr	De profundis.	
Tr	Sicut cervus.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
[v]		Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 1132. ff. 106ᵛ-107ᵛ, 141-141ᵛ
  Rubric: [None]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
Ps		Te decet.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
v		Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr	De profundis.	
[Tr]	Commovisti.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
[v]		Hostias et preces…
[v]		Redemptor animarum omnium…
Of	Erue Domine animas eorum…	
[v]		Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	
Co	Audivi vocem de caelo…	

  Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctis

[In]	Si enim credimus…	
Ps		Sicut in Adam…
Gr	Convertere anima mea…	
v		Quia eripuit…
Of	Domine convertere.	
Co	Ego sum resurrectio.	

  Rubric: Alia

[In]	Ne tradas Domine bestiis…	
Ps		Memor esto congregationis…
Gr	Si enim credimus…	
v		Sicut in Adam…
Of	Miserere [michi Domine].	
Co	Audivi [vocem de caelo].	

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 9436. f. 160
  Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]
[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet.
	v	Exaudi.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Qui Lazarum resusciata…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Of	Erue Domine animas eorum…	
	v	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…	
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 9441. ff. 215ᵛ-216

Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctis
[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Si ambulem.	
	v	Virga tua.
Tr	Sicut cervus.	
Tr	De profundis.	
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 10503. ff. 66-66ᵛ

Rubric: In agenda defunctorum ad missam
In	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr	Absolve Domine animas omnium	
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeterne…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 10511. ff. 227-231

Rubric: In officio mortuorum
[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr	De profundis clamavi.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Rubric: Item
[In]	Si enim credimus…	

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		Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
Gr	Si enim credimus…
	v	Et sicut in Adam…
[Gr]	Si ambulem.
[Tr]	Sicut cervus.
[Tr]	Commovisti.
[Of]	Erue Domine animas eorum…
	[v]	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
[Of]	O pie Deus…
[Of sic]	[v]	Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
Co	Ego sum resurrectio…
Co	Audivi vocem de caelo…
Co	Non mortui laudabunt…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 11522. ff. 209-209ᵛ
    Rubric: In agenda mortuourm
[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion.
Gr	Convertere animam…
	v	Quia eripuit animam…
Tr	De profundis clamavi.
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 13253. ff. 152ᵛ-156ᵛ
    Rubric: [None]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus Deus.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Gr	Convertere anima mea…
	v	Quia eripuit animam…
	v	Si enim credimus…
	v	Et sicut in Adam…
[Tr]	De profundis clamavi.
Tr	Sicut cervus.
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	[v]	Anime eorum in bonis…
Of	Erue Domine animas eorum…
	v	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Of	O pie Deus…
	v	Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
Of	Jesu bone triumphator mortis…
	v	Christe propicius iudex…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
Co	Audivi vocem de caelo…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 13254. ff. 119ᵛ-121
    Rubric: [In agenda mortuourm?]

| [In] | Requiem aeternam… |

	[Ps]	Te decet hymnus.
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	[v]	In memoria aeterna…
	v	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
[Gr]		Si ambulem.
	[v]	Virga t[ua].
[Tr]		De profundis.
[Tr]		Sicut cervus.
[Of]		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	[v]	Ut mereantur…
[Co]		Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
	[v]	Non mortui laudabit…
Co		Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co		Suscipe Domine animarum…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 15615. ff. 341ᵛ-342ᵛ

Rubric: Pro defunctis ad missa

[In]		Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus.
Gr		Si ambulem in medio…
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…

[In annivarsio iste tractus]

Tr		Sicut cervus desiderat…
	v	Sitivit anima mea…
	v	Fuerunt michi lacrime…

[Alia tractus]

Tr		De profundis clamavi ad te.
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 17307. ff. 265ᵛ -267

Rubric: [None]

[In]		Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet.
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime aeorum in bonis…
Tr		De profundis.
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 17312. ff. 186-187

Rubric: Missa pro fidelibus defunctis

[In]		Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus Deus.
Gr		Si ambulem in medio…
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Gr		Convertere anima mea…
	v	Quia eripuit animam meam…

Tr	De profundis.	
Tr	Sicut cervus.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 17328. ff. 158ᵛ-160
> Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	Absolve Domine animas omnium…	
	v	Et gratia tua…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. n.a. 541. ff. 170-170ᵛ
> Rubric: [Officium ad missam]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[Ps]	Te decet.
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr	De profundis clamavi…	
	v	Fiant aures tuae…
	v	Si iniquitates observa…
	v	Quia apud te…

[repaired page in another hand, unnotated]

Of	Domine Jesu Christe…

[original hand]

	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	
	[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. n.a. 1235. ff. 120ᵛ-121ᵛ
> Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

[In]	Dirige Domine Deus…	
	Ps	Intende.
Gr	Si ambulem.	
	v	Virga tua.
Tr	De profundis.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…	
Co	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…	

> Rubric: Item Missa

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet.
	Ps	Exaudi or[ationem].

	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	Of	O pie Deus…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. n.a. 1413. ff. 99-100
    Rubric: Missa pro defunctis

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
	Tr	Absolve Domine animas omnium…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeterne…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. n.a. 1773. ff. 277-278ᵛ
    Rubric: Missa pro defunctis

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
	Tr	Sicut cervus.
	Tr	De profundis.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	v	Requiem aetenam…

Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. n.a. 1890. ff.171-174
    Rubric: Missa mortuorum

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	[Ps]	Te decet hymnus Deus.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

    Rubric: Missa in anniversario

	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
	Gr	Si enim credimus…
	v	Et sicut in Adam…
	Of	Erue Domine animas eorum…

Paris. Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève. 99 (BB. 1. fol. 10). ff. 219-219ᵛ
    Rubric: [None]

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	[Ps]	Te decet hymnus…
	[v]	Exaudi orationem meam…
	[Gr]	Si ambulem in medio…

[v]   Virga tua et baculus…
[Gr]   Requiem aeternam…
[v]   Anime eorum in bonis…
[v]   Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
[Tr]   De profundis clamavi…
[v]   Fiant aures tuae…
[v]   Si iniquitates observa…
[v]   Quia apud te…
[Tr]   Sicut cervus desiderat…
[v]   Sitivit anima mea…
[v]   Fuerit michi lacrime…
[Of]   Domine Jesu Christe rex.
[Defective, end of manuscript]

Partridge Green (Sussex). Parkminster. St. Hugh's Charterhouse. Ms. dd.23 (A.52). ff. 162-163^v
Rubric: [None]
[In]   Respice Domine…
v   Ut quid Deus repulisti…
Gr   Si ambulem in medio…
v   Virga tua et baculus…
Of   Domine convertere…
Co   Ego sum resurrectio…
v   Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr   De profundis.
Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Piacenza. Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare. 65. ff. 434^v-435
Rubric: [None]
[In]   Requiem aeternam…
Ps   Te decet.
Gr   Requiem aeternam…
v   In memoria aeterna…
[Tr]   Absolve Domine animas eorum…
v   Et gratia tua…
v   Ac lucis aeterne…
Tr   De profundis clamavi.
Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
v   Hostias et preces…
[v]   In spiritu.
v   Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co   Absolve Domine animas eorum…
v   Requiem aeternam…
Co   Credo quod redemptor…
Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…
[v]   Requiem aeternam.
Tr   Dixit Dominus ego sum resurrectio…
v   Et omnis qui vivit…

Poblet. Monasterio de Santa Maria. Codex 11. ff. 127^v-128^v
Rubric: Pro defuncits
[In]   Requiem aeternam…
Ps   Te decet hymnus…
Gr   Requiem aeternam…
v   Anime eorum in bonis…

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Gr	Si ambulem.	
Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeternae…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Private Collection. ('MS du Mont-Renaud'). ff 36ᵛ-37
      Rubric: Pro defunctis
[Masses for the Dead, unnotated]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus.
	v	Exaudi orationem meam.
Gr	Convertere animam meam…	
	v	Quia eripuit animarum meam…
Of	Domine convertere.	
Co	Ego sum resurrectis…	

      Rubric: Item alia

[In]	[T]uam Deus deposcimus…	
	Ps	A porta inferi.
Gr	Requiem aeternam dona.	
	v	Quia eripuit animarum.
Of	Miserere michi Domine.	
Co	Omne quod dicit.	

      Rubric: Item alia

[In]	Si enim credimus…	
	Ps	Sicut enim in Adam.
Gr	Convertere.	
Of	Erue Domine animas…	
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Provins. Bibliothèque Nationale. 12 (24). ff. unnumbered (c. 77-79?)
      Rubric: [None]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[Ps]	Te decet hymnus…
[In]	Si enim credimus…	
	[Ps]	Et sicut in Adam…
[Gr]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[v]	In memoria aeterna…
[Tr]	De profundis.	
[Of]	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
	[v]	Animae eorum in bonis…
[Co]	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Regensburg. Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek. XX. 127ᵛ-130, 180-181ᵛ
      Rubric: Sequitur pro defunctis

In	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Si ambulem.	
Tr	Sicut cervus.	
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr	De profundis.	

	Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeternae…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	In spiritu humilitatis…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	Co	Animas de corpore…

[…]

Rubric: Sequi pro defunctis

[Seq]	Dies irae dies illa…
[v]	Quantus tremor est…
[v]	Tuba mirum spargit…
[v]	Mors stupebit et natura…
[v]	Liber scriptus proferetur…
[v]	Iudex ergo cum sedebit…
[v]	Quid sum miser…
[v]	Rex tremende maiestatis…
[v]	Recordare Jesu pie…
[v]	Quaerens me sedisti…
[v]	Iuste iudex ultionis…
[v]	Ingemisco, tamquam reus…
[v]	Qui Mariam absolvisti…
[v]	Preces meae non sant…
[v]	Inter oves locum…
[v]	Confutatis maledictis…
[v]	Oro supplex et acclinis…
[v]	Lacrimosa dies illa…
[v]	Iudicandus homo reus…
[v]	Pie Jesu Domine…

Rheims. Bibliothèque Nationale. 221 (C 201). ff. 145^v-147

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…
v	Surge Domine in requiem…
Gr	[Requiem aeternam… from Introit added in later hand]
[v]	Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr	De profundis clamavi…
v	Fiant aures tuae…
v	Si iniquitates observa…
v	Quia apud te…
Of	Erue Domine animam eius…
[v]	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
v	Domine Jesu Christe…
v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
[v]	Requiem aeternam…

Rheims. Bibliothèque Nationale. 264 (C 169/183). ff. 67^v-69

Rubric: Missa pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…
Ps	Te decet hymnus.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…
v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr	De profundis.
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…

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v		Hostias et preces…
v		Redemptor animarum…
v		Erue Domine animas eorum…
v		Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Rubric: Item pro defunctus

[In]		Ne tradas Domine bestiis…
Ps		Memor esto congregationis tuae.
Gr		Convertere anima mea…
v		Quia eripuit animam meam…
Of		Domine convertere.
Co		Omne quod dicit michi…

Rubric: Item pro defunctis

[In]		Si enim credimus…
Ps		Sicut in Adam.
Gr		Si enim credimus…
v		Sicut in Adam…
Of		Miserere michi Domine.
Co		Audivi vocem de caelo…

Rome. Biblioteca Angelica. 123 (B.3.18). ff. 149ᵛ-151ᵛ

Rubric: In agenda pluimorum defunctorum

In		Requiem aeternam…
Ps		Te decet hymnus…
v		Et sicut in Adam…
Gr		Convertere animam meam…
v		Quia eripuit animam meam…
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
v		In memoria aeterna

[Unnotated]	Alleluia	
[Unnotated]	v	Requiem aeternam…
Tr		De profundis.
Tr		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
v		Et gratia tua…
v		Et lucis aeterne…
Of		Domine convertere.
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
v		Hostias et preces…
v		Erue Domine animas eorum…
Co		Ego sum resurrectionis…
Ps		Te decet hymnus.
Co		Omne quod dicit michi
Co		Audivi vocem de caelo…
Co		Tuam Deus deposcimus…
Co		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
Co		Pro quorum memoria corpus…
v		Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
[v]		Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

[Unnotated]	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Rubric: In die depositionis defunctis

In		Rogamus te Domine…
v		Et sicut in Adam…
v		Requiem aeternam…
Gr		Qui Lazarum resusciatis…
v		Requiem aeternam….
Tr		Convertere anima eius…

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		v	Quia eripuit anima eius…
		v	Placebo Domino in regione…
	Of	Subvenite sancti Dei…	
		v	Suscipiat te Christus…
	Co	Credo quod redemptor meus…	
		v	Quem visurus sum.
	Co	Qui Lazarum resuscitas…	
		v	Requiem aeternam.
	Co	Tuam Deus depo[scimus].	
	Co	Sicut pater suscitat…	
	Co	Chorus angelorum…	

Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Barb. lat. 559 (XII.2). ff. 259-260ᵛ

Rubric: Feria secunda. In agenda mortuorum
- [In]   Si enim credimus quod Jesus.
  - Ps   Sicut enim in Adam omnis.
- Gr   Si ambulem in medio.
  - v   Virga tua.
- Tr   De profundis clamavi.
- Of   Domine Jesu Christe.
  - v   Hostias et preces.
- Co   Videns Dominus flentes sorores.

Rubric: Feria tertia
- [In]   Exaudi Deus orationem.
  - v   Conturbatus sum.
- Gr   Propicius esto.
  - v   Adiuva nos.
- Alleluia
  - v   Ostende nobis.
- Of   Exaudi Deus.
  - v   Conturbatus sum.
- Co   Ab occultis meis munda.

Rubric: Feria quarta
- [In]   Respice Domine in testamentum tuam.
  - Ps   Ut quid Deus.
- Gr   Respice Domine.
  - v   Exurge Domine.
- Of   De profundis clamavi.
  - v   Fiant aures.
  - v   Si iniquitates.
- Co   Qui manducat.

Rubric: Feria quinta
- [In]   Omnia que fecisti.
  - Ps   Magnus Dominus.
- Gr   Convertere Domine.
  - v   Domine refugium.
- Alleluia
  - v   Qui posuit fi[nes].
- Of   Si ambulavero.
  - v   In quacumque.
- Co   Tu mandasti.

Rubric: Feria sexta
- [In]   Si enim credimus.

Ut Supra
- Of   Domine convertere.
- Co   Videns Dominus.

Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Borg. lat. 359 (M.VI.27). ff. 224[v] -225[v]

  Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctis
     [In] Requiem aeternam…
        Ps Te decet hymnus.
     Gr Requiem aeternam…
        v Anime eorum in bonis…
     Tr Sicut cervus.
     Of Domine Jesu Christe…
        v Hostias et preces…
        v Anime eorum in bonis…
        v Requiem aeternam…
        v Redemptor animarum omnium…
     Co Pro quorum memoria corpus…
        v Et lux perpetua luceat eis.
        [v] Pro quorum [memoria sanguis].
  Rubric: Alia
     [In] Si enim credimus…
        Ps Et sicut in Adam…
     Gr Si ambulem.
        v Virga [tua].
     Tr De profundis clamavi.
     Of Erue Domine animas eorum…
        v Tuam Deus deposcimus…
     Co Tuam Deus deposcimus…

Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. vat. lat. 5319. ff. 139[v]-140[v]

  Rubric: Missa defunctorum
     [In] Rogamus te Domine…
        Ps Benedic anima.
        v Benedic animam. et.
     Gr Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…
        v Requiem aeternam…
     Tr De profundis.
     Of Domine convertere…
     Of Domine Jesu Christe…
        v Hostias et preces…
     Co Lux aeterna luceat eis…
     Co Lux aeterna luceat eis…
     Co Christus qui natus est ex maria virgine…

Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica. Vat. lat. 6082. ff. 284-286[v]

  Rubric: Pro defunctis
     [In] Requiem aeternam…
        Ps De profundis.
     [Gr] Convertere anima mea…
        v Quia eripuit…
     Gr Requiem aeternam…
        v In memoria aeterna…
        v Anime eorum in bonis…
[Unnotated] Tr De profundis clamavi…
[Unnotated]   v Fiant aures tuae…
[Unnotated]   v Si iniquitates observa…
[Unnotated]   v Quia apud te…
     Of Domine Jesu Christe…
        v Hostias et preces…

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[Unnotated]	Of	Domine convertere…
[Unnotated]	Of	Domine ne in ira tua.
[Unnotated]	Of	Miserere michi Domine…
	Co	Ego sum resurrectio…
	Co	Dona eis Dominus…
	Co	Requiem aeternam…

Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica vaticana. Rossiani 76. ff. 144ᵛ-147

Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Te decet hymnus…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio.	
Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat.	
Of	O pie Deus…	
	v	Ne tradas bestiis…
	v	Domine Jesu Christe iudex…
Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…	
Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…	

Rubric: Pro defunctis

[In]	Si enim credimus…	
	v	Et sicut in Adam…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Qui Lazarum resusciasti…
Tr	Sicut cervus deside[rat].	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co	Absolve Domine animarum…	

Rome. Biblioteca Casanatense. 1574. ff. 57ᵛ-58

Rubric: Ad missam

[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[Ps]	Te decet.
	[v]	De profundis.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr	De profundis.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Rome. Biblioteca Casanatense. 1695 (C.V. 2). ff. 272-272ᵛ

Rubric: Missa defunctis

[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	[Ps]	Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion.
	v	Anime eorum.
Gr	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti…	
	v	Requiem aeternam…
Tr	De profundis clamavi…	
	v	Fiant aures tuae…
	v	Si iniquitates observa…

	v	Quia apud te…
Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat…	
	v	Sitivit anima mea…
	v	Fuerunt michi lacrime…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis.	

Rome. Biblioteca Casanatense. 1907 (B.II.1)

    Rubric: In deposcitionis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet.
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeterna…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Rouen. Bibliothèque Municipale. A 166 (305). ff. 257-257[v]

    Rubric: Missa pro fidelbus

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
[Unnotated]	Gr	Si ambulem.
[Unnotated]	Tr	De profundis clamavi.
[Unnotated]	Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…
	v	Requiem aeternam. Cum sanctis.

Rouen. Bibliothèque Municipale. A 280 (249). 157-158[v]

    Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	[v]	Exaudi orationem meam…
Gr	Si ambulem in medio…	
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
	v	In memoria aeterne…
Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat…	
	v	Sitivit anima mea…
	v	Fuerunt michi lacrimae…
Of	Domine Jesu Christe… Quam olim…	
	Ps [sic]	Hostias et preces… Quam olim.
Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…	

Rouen. Bibliothèque Municipale. A 401 (267). ff. 121-121[v]

    Rubric: Officium pro defunctis

[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
	Ps	Te decet hymnus.

[Unnotated, different hand]
        Gr   Si ambulem in medio…
            v   Virga tua et baculus…
        [Tr]   De profundis clamavi…
            [v]   Fiant aures tuae…
            [v]   Si iniquitates observa…
            [v]   Quia apud te…

[Notated, original hand]
        Of   Domine Jesu Christe…

[Unnotated, different hand]
            v   Hostias et preces…

[Notated, original hand]
        Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Rouen. Bibliothèque Municipale. Y 50 (olim 277). ff. 358-359
    Rubric: Fidelibus defunctis
        [In]   Requiem aeternam…
            Ps   Te decet hymnus.
        Gr   Si ambulem in medio…
            v   Virga tua et baculus…
        Tr   De profundis clamavi…
            v   Fiant aures tuae…
            v   Si iniquitates…
            v   Quia apud te…
        Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
            v   Hostias et preces…
            [v]   Requiem aeternam…
        Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…
            [v]   Requiem aeternam…

Salzburg. Sankt Peter Stiftsbibliothek. a.IV.14. 347ᵛ-351
    Rubric: Missa pro fidelibus defunctis
        [In]   Requiem aeternam…
            Ps   Te decet hymnus…
        Gr   Requiem aeternam…
            v   In memoria aeterna…
        Tr   De profundis clamavi…
            v   Fiant aures tuae…
            v   Si iniquitates observa…
            v   Quia apud te…
        Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
            v   Hostias et preces…
            v   Redemptor animarum omnium…
            v   Requiem aeternam.
        Co   Absolve Domine animas eorum…
            [v]   Requiem aeternam…
    Title: Alia missa pro defunctis…
        [In]   Si enim credimus…
            Ps   Et sicut in Adam…
            v   Requiem aeternam.
        Gr   Si ambulem.
        Tr   Sicut cervus.
        Of   Domine Jesu [Christe].
        Co   Animas de corpore…
            [v]   Requiem aeternam…
        Co   Pro quorum memoria corpus…

[v]   Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

Salzburg. Sankt Peter Stiftsbibliothek. a.VII.20. 259-261
       Rubric: [None]
            [In]   Requiem aeternam…
                 Ps   Te decet hymnus…
            Gr   Requiem aeternam…
                 v   Anime eorum in bonis…
            Tr   Absolve Domine animas omnium…
                 v   Et gratia tua…
                 v   Et lucis aeternae…
            Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
[Inserted partial leaf in the midst of the offertory, in a later hand]
       Alleluia mortuorum
         Animas de corpore
                [v]   Requiem aeternam…
                [v]   Fac eas gaudet…
         Alleluia
                [v]   Omnium [illegible]
[Offertory resumes]
                 v   Hostias et preces…
            Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Salzburg. Sankt Peter Stiftsbibliothek. a.IX.11. 176-177
       Rubric: Pro defunctis
            [In]   Requiem aeternam…
                 Ps   Te decet hymnus…
                 Ps   Exaudi orationem meam…
            [In]   Si enim credimus…
                 Ps   Sicut in Adam…
                 v   Requiem aeternam…
            Gr   Requiem aeternam…
                 v   In memoria aeterna…
            Gr   Si ambulem in [medio].
            Tr   De profundis.
            Tr   Sicut cervus.
            Tr   Commovisti Domine.
            Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
                 v   Hostias et preces…
                 v   Redemptor animarum omnium…
            Of   O pie Deus…
            Co   Pro quorum memoria corpus…
                [v]   Pro quorum memoria sanguis…
            Co   Tuam Deus deposcimus…
            Co   Absolve Domine animas eorum…
                [v]   Requiem aeternam…

Sankt Florian. Stiftsbibliothek. III, 204. ff. 284-285^v
       Rubric: Incipit officium pro defunctis
[Masses for the Dead, unnotated]
            [In]   Requiem aeternam…
                 Ps   Te decet hymnus…
            Gr   Requiem aeternam…
                 v   In memoria aeterna
            Tr   De profundis clamavi…

v		Fiant aures tuae…
v		Si iniquitates observa…
v		Quia apud te…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
v		Hostias et preces…
v		Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co		Absolve Domine animarum…
[v]		Requiem aeternam.
[v]		Ut in resuscitasti.

<div align="left">

Rubric: [None]

[In] Si enim credimus…
 Ps Et sicut in Adam…
 v Requiem aeternam.
Gr Si ambulem.
 v Virga tua.
Tr Sicut cervus.
Of Domine Jesu Christe.
Co Tuam Deus deposcimus…
 v Pro quorum memoria corpus…
 [v] Et lux perpetua.
 [v] Pro quorum memoria [sanguis].

</div>

Sankt Florian. Stiftsbibliothek. III, 209. f. 209^v

Rubric: Missa pro defunctis
 [In] Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine et lux perpetua.
 Ps Te decet hymnus.
 Gr Requiem aeternam.
 v In memoria aeterna.
 Tr De profundis clamavi ad te.
 Of Domine Jesu Christe…
 [v] Hostias et preces…
 [v] Redemptor animarum omnium…
 Co Absolve Domine animas.

Sankt Florian. Stiftsbibliothek. XI, 393. ff.72-73, 224-225

Rubric: Pro defunctis
 [In] Requiem aeternam…
 Ps Te decet hymnus…
 Gr Requiem aeternam…
 v In memoria aeterna…
 Tr De profundis clamavi…
 [v] Fiant aures tuae…
 [v] Si iniquitates observa…
 [v] Quia apud te…
 Of Domine Jesu Christe…
 [v] Hostias et preces…
 [v] Redemptor animarum omnium…
 Co Absolve Domine animas…
 [v] Requiem aeternam…
Rubric: Pro defunctis
 [In] Si enim credimus…
 Ps Sicut in Adam…
 Gr Si ambulem.
 Tr Sicut cervus.
 Of Domine Jesu Christe.
 Co Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Sankt Florian. Stiftsbibliothek. XI, 397. ff. 53-53ᵛ

Rubric: Officium pro defunctis
[In]   Requiem aeternam…
        Ps   Te decet hymnus…
Gr   Requiem aeternam…
        v   In memoria aeterna…
Tr   De profundis clamavi…
        [v]   Fiant aures tuae…
        v   Si iniquitates observa…
Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
        [v]   Hostias et preces…
        [v]   Redemptor animarum omnium…
Co   Absolve Domine animas…
        [v]   Requiem aeternam…
Rubric: Officium pro defunctis
[In]   Si enim credimus…
        Ps   Sicut in Adam…
        Ps   Requiem aeternam dona eis.
Gr   Si ambulem.
Tr   Sicut cervus.
Of   Domine Jesu Christe.
Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…
        [v]   Requiem aeternam…

Sankt Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek. 339. p. 113-114

Rubric: In agenda mortuorum
In   Requiem aeternam…
        Ps   Miserere mei Domine.
Gr   Requiem aeternam…
        v   Convertere anima mea…
Of   Domine convertere.
Of   Illumina.
Of   Miserere michi animae.
Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
Co   Dona eis Domine…

Sankt Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek. 340. p. 171-172

Rubric: In agenda mortuorum
In   Requiem aeternam…
        Ps   Miserere mei Domine.
Gr   Requiem aeternam…
        v   Convertere anima mea…
Of   Domine convertere.
Of   Illumina.
Of   Miserere michi animae.
Of   Domine Jesu Christe…
Co   Dona eis Domine…

Sankt Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek. 374. ff. 96ᵛ-97

Rubric: In vigiliis defunctorum
[Unnotated]   In   Requiem aeternam…
[Unnotated]   Ps   Miserere mei Deus.
[Unnotated]   Gr   Requiem aeternam… (Animas de corpore in another hand, notated)

[Unnotated]		v	Convertere anima mea…	(Requiem aeternam in another hand, notated)
[Unnotated]	Of		Domine convertere.	
[Unnotated]	Co		Dona eis Domine…	

Sankt Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek. 376. ff. 268^v-269

Rubric: In vigiliis defunctorum

[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]

	In		Requiem aeternam…
		Ps	Miserere mei Deus.
	Gr		Requiem aeternam…
		v	Convertere anima mea…
	Of		Domine convertere.
	Of		Illumina.
	Of		Miserere michi Domine.
	Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
		v	Hostias et preces…
		v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	Co		Dona eis Domine…

Stockholm. Kungliga Biblioteket. A 139 (Q° 16). ff. 36^v-38

[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]

Rubric: [None]

	[In]		Requiem aeternam…
		v	Convertere Domine.
	[Gr]		Requiem aeternam…
		v	Convertere Domine….
	Tr		De profundis clamavi ad te.
	Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
		[v]	Hostias et preces…
		[v]	Requiem.
		[v]	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	[Co]		Absolve Domine animas eorum…

Toledo. Biblioteca del Cabildo. 35-10. 115-115^v

Rubric: Missa pro defunctis officium

	[In]		Requiem aeternam…
		Ps	Te decet hymnus.
	Gr		Requiem aeternam…
		v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Tr		De profundis.
	[Of]		Domine Jesu Christe…
		v	Hostias et preces…
		v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Trier. Bistumsarchiv. Hs 450. ff.169^v-171

Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctis

	[In]		Si enim credimus…
		Ps	Et sicut in Adam…
	[Gr]		Requiem aeternam…
		v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Tr		Sicut cervus.
	Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
		v	Hostias et preces…
	Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Rubric: [None]

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Gr		Si ambulem.
Tr		De profundis.
Of		Domine Jesu Christe.
Co		Absolve Domine animas eorum…

Turin. Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. F.IV.18. ff. 159ᵛ-160ᵛ

Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr		Absolve Domine animarum eorum…
	v	Et gratia tua…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Turin. Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. G.V.20. ff. 164-165

Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

	In	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum.
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeternae…
Tr		Absolve Domine animam eius…
	[v]	Et gratia tua…
	[v]	Et lucis aeterne…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…

Vallbona de las Monjas. Monasterio Cisterciense de Santa Maria. Codex 19. ff. 184ᵛ-186ᵛ

Rubric: [None]

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	[Gr]	Requiem aeternam…
	[v]	Anime eorum in bonis…
	[Gr]	Si ambulem in medio…
	[v]	Virga tua et baculus…
	[Tr]	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	[v]	Et gratia tua…
	[v]	Et lucis aeternae…
	[Of]	Domine Jesu Christe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Vallbona de las Monjas. Monasterio Cisterciense de Santa Maria. Codex 20. p. 298-313

Rubric: In agenda defunctorum officium

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Te decet hymnus…
	Kyrie	
	[Gr]	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeternae…
	[Gr]	Si ambulem in medio…

	v	Virga tua et baculus…
Tr		De profundis…
Tr		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeternae…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
Sanctus		
Agnus Dei		
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Vercelli. Biblioteca Capitolare. 161. ff. 95-96
Rubric: [Illegible] defunctis

[In]		Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria.
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
Tr		Absolve Domine animam eius…
	[v]	Et gratia tua…
	[v]	Et lucis aeterne…
Tr		Sicut cervus.
Tr		Qui seminant.
[Of]		Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
Co		Omne quod dicit…
	[v]	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Vercelli. Biblioteca Capitolare. 162. ff. 168^v-169
Rubric: In agenda mortuorum

[In]		Requiem aeternam…
	[v]	Anima eius in [bonis].
[Gr]		Requiem aeternam…
	[v]	Anime eorum in bonis…
	v	In memoria.
[Tr]		Qui seminant.
[Tr]		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeternae…
Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
Co		Omne quod dat michi…
Co		Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Verona. Biblioteca Capitolare. CV (olim 98).
Rubric: Missa pro defuncto
[Mass for the Dead, scarcely notated]

[In]		Requiem aeternam dona.
Gr		Requiem aeternam.
Tr		De profundis.
Of		Domine Jesu Christe rex gloriae.
Co		[illegible]

Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. 1821. ff. 106-107
Rubric: In agendis mortuorum

[In]		Requiem aeternam…

Ps	Te decet hymnus…	
Ps	Exaudi orationem meam…	
Gr	Si ambulem in medio.	
Tr	Sicut cervus.	
Of	De profundis.	
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
v	Requiem aeternam…	

Rubric: At
[In]	Si enim credimus…	
Ps	Sicut in Adam…	
v	Requiem aeternam.	
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
v	In memoria aeterna…	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
v	Hostias et preces…	
v	Requiem aeternam…	
v	Redemptor animarum omnium…	
Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…	
[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…	
Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…	

Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. 1845. ff. 38-38ᵛ

Rubric: Pro fidelibus defunctis
[In]	Si enim credimus…	
Ps	Sicut in Adam.	
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
v	Convertere anima mea…	
Tr	De profundis.	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
v	Hostias et preces…	
Co	Dona eis Domine…	

Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. 12785. ff. 79ᵛ-80ᵛ

Rubric: Pro defunctis
[In]	Requiem aeternam…	
[Ps]	Te decet hymnus…	
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
v	In memoria aeterna…	
Tr	De profundis clamavi…	
[v]	Fiant aures tuae…	
[v]	Si iniquitates observa…	
[v]	Quia apud te…	
Of	Domine Jesu Christe…	
Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…	
[v]	Requiem aeternam.	

Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. 13682. ff. 170ᵛ-175

Rubric: Pro defunctis
[In]	Requiem aeternam...	
Ps	Te decet hymnus…	
Gr	Requiem aeternam…	
v	In memoria aeterna…	
Tr	De profundis clamavi…	
v	Fiant aures tuae…	
v	Si iniquitates observa…	

		[v]	Quia apud te…
	Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
		[v]	Hostias et preces…
[Of sic]		[v]	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	Co		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
		[v]	Requiem aeternam.
	Co		Animas de corpore…
		[v]	Requiem aeternam.

Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Series Nova 2837 (Suppl. Mus. 15488). ff. 87ᵛ
[Mass for the Dead, unnotated]

	Rubric:	Officium pro defunctis
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Te decet hymnus…
	v	Exaudi Domine.
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
	Tr	De profundis.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	v	Redemptor animarum omnium…
	Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…

Vorau. Stiftsbibliothek. 21 (CCXXXVII). ff. 172-172ᵛ
Rubric: [None]
[Masses for the Dead, unnotated]

		[In]	Requiem aeternam…
		Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	Gr		Si ambulem in medio.
	Tr		De profundis clamavi.
	Tr		Sicut cervus desiderat.
	Of		Domine Jesu Christe…
		v	Hostias et preces…
		v	Redempotr animarum omnium…
	Co		Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	Co		Tuam Deus deposcimus…
	Co		Pro quorum memoria corpus…
		[v]	Pro quorum memoria sanguis…

	Rubric:	[None]
	[In]	Si enim credimus…
	v	Et sicut in Adam…
	v	Requiem aeternam…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	In memoria aeterna…
	Tr	De profundis.
	Tr	Commovisti.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe.
	Co	Animas de corpore…

Vorau. Stiftsbibliothek. 303 (XXXVII). ff. 70, 72
Rubric: [None]

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	[v]	Te decet hymnus…
Gr		Requiem aeternam…
	[v]	In memoria aeterna…

	Tr	De profundis clamavi.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
		v Hostias et preces…
[Unnotated]		v Redemptor animarum omnium…
[Unnotated]		v Requiem aeternam…
[Unnotated]	Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
[Unnotated]	Co	Pro quorum memoria corpus…
[Unnotated]		[v] Et lux perpetua luceat eis
[Co sic]		[v] Pro quorum memoria sanguis…
	Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
		[v] Requiem aeternam…

[Different hand, unnotated]
    Rubric: [None]

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
		[Ps] Te decet hymnus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
		[v] In memoria aeterna…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi…
		[v] Fiant aures tuae…
		[v] Si iniquitates observa…
		[v] Quia apud te…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
		[v] Hostias et preces…
	Co	Tuam Domine deposcimus…

Vorau. Stiftsbibliothek. 332 (C). ff. 213-213ᵛ
    Rubric: Pro defunctis
[Masses for the Dead, unnotated]

	[In]	Si enim credimus…
		v Et sicut in Adam…
		[v] Requiem aeternam…
	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
		v Virga tua et baculus…
	Tr	Sicut cervus desiderat…
		v Sitivit anima mea…
		v Fuerunt michi lacrime…
	Of	De profundis clamavi…
	Co	Animas de corpore…
		[v] Requiem aeternam…

    Rubric: Item

	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
		v Te decet hymnus…
		[v] Exaudi Deus orationem…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
		v In memoria aeterna…
	Tr	De profundis clamavi…
		v Fiant aures tuae…
		v Si iniquitates observa…
		v Quia apud te…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
		v Hostias et preces…
		v Redemptor animarum omnium…
	Co	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
		[v] Requiem aeternam…
	Co	Tuam Deus deposcimus…
		[v] Pro quorum memoria corpus…

| | [v] | Et lux perpetua luceat eis. |
| | [v] | Pro quorum memoria sanguis… |

Wirzenborn. Kirchenarchiv. ff. 305-306

	Rubric:	Missa pro defunctis
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Anime eorum in bonis…
[Unnotated]	Gr	Si ambulem.
[Unnotated]	Tr	De profundis.
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Absolve Domine anima eorum…

Zwettl. Stiftsbibliothek. 196. ff. 144ᵛ-146

	Rubric:	Pro defunctis
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
	Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	[v]	Et gratia tua…
	[v]	Et lucis aeternae…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	v	Hostias et preces…
	Co	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Zwettl. Stiftsbibliothek. 199. ff. 144-145ᵛ

	Rubric:	Pro fidelibus defunctis
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
	Tr	Absolve Domine animas eorum…
	v	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeternae…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…
	[v]	Hostias et preces…
	[Co]	Lux aeterna luceat eis…

Zwettl. Stiftsbibliothek. 245. ff. 153ᵛ-155ᵛ

	Rubric:	Pro defunctis
	[In]	Requiem aeternam…
	Ps	Te decet hymnus…
	Gr	Requiem aeternam…
	v	Anime eorum in bonis…
	Gr	Si ambulem in medio…
	v	Virga tua et baculus…
	Tr	Absolve Domine animas omnium…
	[v]	Et gratia tua…
	v	Et lucis aeternae…
	Of	Domine Jesu Christe…

[v]   Hostias et preces…
Co   Lux aeterna luceat eis…

APPENDIX C

MUSICAL TRANSCRIPTIONS

INTROITS

Text: De limo terrae formasti eum Domine, tu ipse liberare digneris de potestate tenebrarum et de periculo moris.
Translation: *From the muck of the earth you created him, Lord, you deem to free him from the force of darkness and the danger of death.*
Origin: Unknown
Sources: Par BN776[4]
Transcription: None.

Text: Dirige Domine Deus meus in conspectus tuo viam meam.
Translation: *Direct Lord, my God, my way in your sight.*
Origin: Psalm 5:9
Sources: Par BNNA1235[1]
Transcription: Par BNNA1235[1]

Di - ri - ge Do - mi - ne De - - us____ me - us
in con - spec - tu tu - o vi - am____ me - - - am.

Text: Dona eis Domine requiem sempiternam, et imple splendore animas eorum, et ossa eorum requiescant in loco sancto.
Translation: *Grant them, Lord, eternal rest, and fill their souls with brilliance, and may their bones rest in a holy place.*
Origin: Unknown
Sources: Par BN776[3]
Transcription: Par BN776[3]

Do- na e - is Do-mi - ne____ re - qui - em sem-pi - ter-nam et im-ple splen-do - re
a - ni - mas eo - - rum et os-sa____ eo-rum____ re-qui - e-scant in lo-co____ su-o.

Text: Ego autem cum justitia apparebo in conspecta tuo: satiabor dum manifestabitur gloria tua.
Translation: *I, however, will appear in your sight with justice, I will be satisfied until your glory is made known.*
Origin: Psalm 16:15
Sources: Bal 6[3], Ben 39[3B]
Transcription: None.

Text: Exsurge, quare obdormis Domine? Exsurge et ne repellas in finem: quare faciem tuam avertis, oblivisceris tribulationem nostrum? Adhaesit in terra venter noster: exsurge Domine, adjuva nos, et libera nos.

Translation: *Arise, why do you sleep Lord? Arise, and do not cast [us] off to the end. Why do you avert your face [and] forget our tribulation? Our belly cleaves to the earth; arise, Lord, help us, and free us.*

Origin: Psalm 43:23-26

Sources: Bal 6[2]

Transcription: None.

Text: Flecte pias aures, Christe, ad preces nostras et animas famulorum tuorum quas commendamus tibi ab aeterna morte defende, omnes negligentias indulge, ut introductae coram te, claram laetentur ad requiem.

Translation: *Turn your holy ears, Christ, to our prayers and the souls of your servants whom we commend to you, defend them from eternal death, be lenient to all their negligence, that in your presence, they may rejoice in gleaming rest.*

Origin: Unknown

Sources: Mon 13/76[2], Par BN776[1]

Transcription: Par BN776[1]

Text: Ne tradas, Domine, bestiis, animas confitentes tibi; animas pauperum tuorum ne obliviscaris in finem. Memor esto congregationis tuae quam possedisti ab initio.

Translation: *You neither surrender the souls confessing to you to the beasts, nor forsake them at the end. Be mindful of the congregation which you have possessed from the beginning.*

Origin: Psalm 73:19, Psalm 73:2

Sources: Par BM384[3], Par BN1087[3], Par BN1132[3], Rhe 264[2]

Transcription: Rhe 264[2]

Ne tra - das Do - mi - ne be - sti - - - - - is

an - ni - mas con - fi - ten - - tes ti - - - bi et a - ni -

mas pau - pe - rum tu - - o - - - - rum ne

ob - li - vi - sca - - - ris in - - fi - - - nem.

Text: Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis.
Translation: *Rest eternal grant to them, Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon them.*
Origin: Supplementum Anianense (Visogothic)
Sources: Many.
Transcription: Liber Usualis, Introit for *Mass on the Day of Death or on the Day of Burial*.
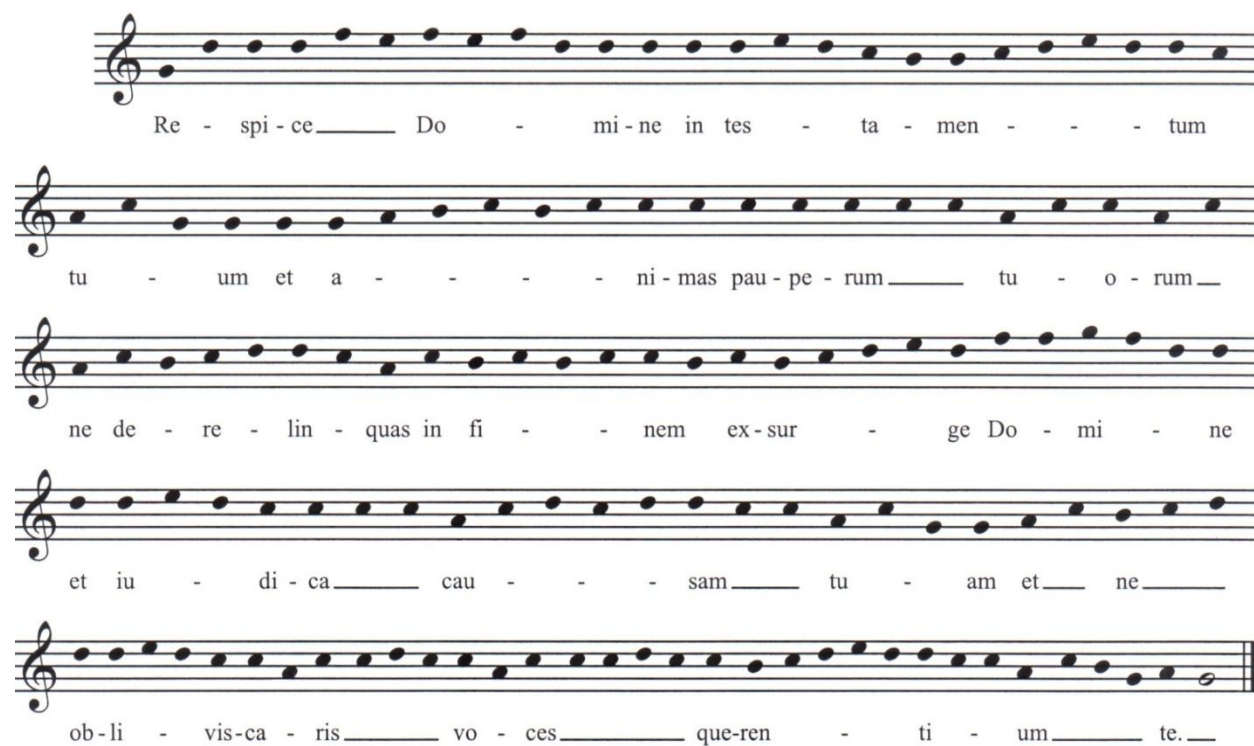
Text: Respice, Domine, in testamentum tuum, et animas pauperum tuorum ne derelinquas in finem: exsurge, Domine, et judica causam tuam: et ne obliviscaris voces quaerentium te.
Translation: *Have respect, Lord, to your covenant, and you shall not abandon the souls of your poor at the end. Rise up, Lord, and judge your cause, and you shall not forget the voices seeking you.*
Origin: Psalm 73:20-23
Sources: Fre 95[1], Gra 376[1], Gre 84, Lon 17303[1], Mai 435[1], Nap VIE11[2], PGr DD23
Transcription: Gre 84

Re - spi - ce___ Do - mi - ne in tes - ta - men - - - tum tu - um et a - - - ni - mas pau - pe - rum___ tu - o - rum ne de - re - lin - quas in fi - - nem ex - sur - ge Do - mi - ne et iu - di - ca___ cau - - - sam___ tu - am et___ ne___ ob - li - vis - ca - ris___ vo - ces___ que - ren - ti - um___ te.___
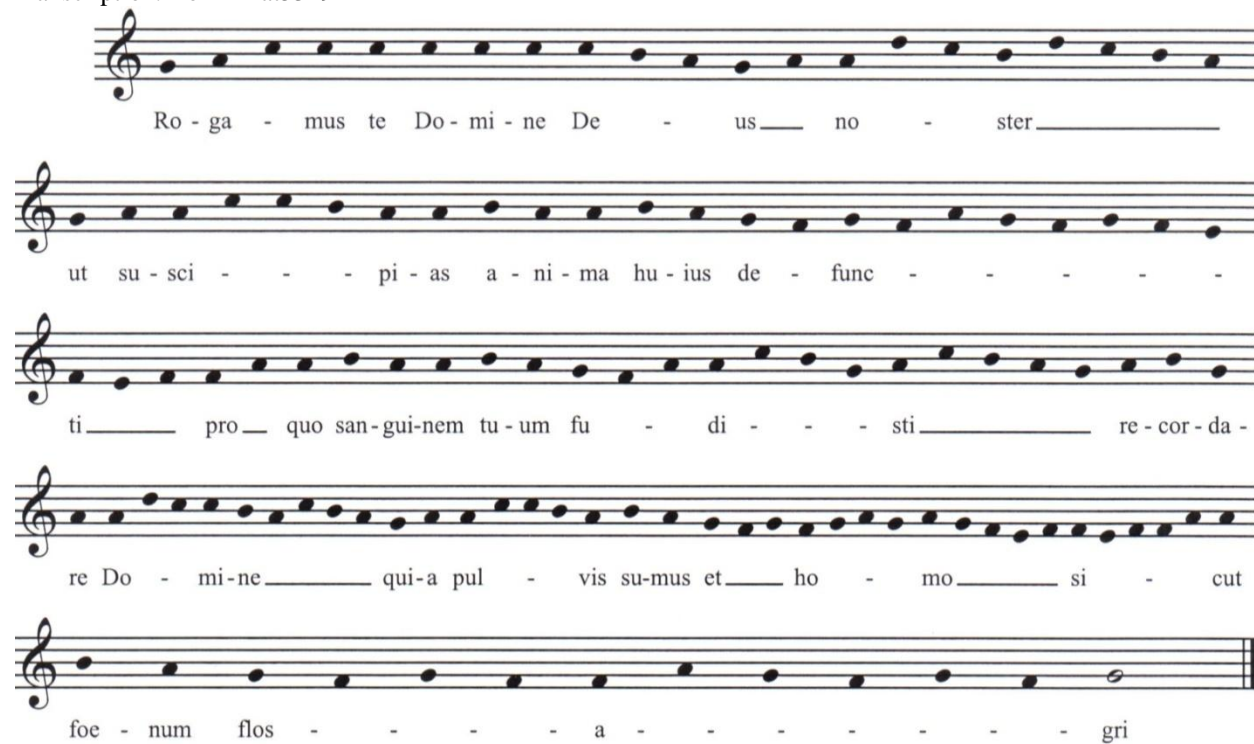
Text: Rogamus te, Domine Deus noster, ut suscipias animam hujus defuncti pro quo sanguinem tuum fudisti: recordare, Domine, quia pulvis sumus, et homo sicut foenum et flos agri.

Translation: *I ask you, our Lord God, that you may accept the soul of this dead for whom you poured your blood. Remember, Lord, for we are dust, and man [is] like grass and the flowers of the field.*

Origin: Psalm 102:14-15

Sources: Ben 35[1], Ben 39[2], Cha 47[2], Oxf 321[1], Pad A47[2], Rom BAng123[2], Rom BLat5319

Transcription: Rom BLat5319

Ro - ga - mus te Do - mi - ne De - us___ no - ster___ ut su - sci - - - pi - as a - ni - ma hu - ius de - func - - - - ti___ pro___ quo san - gui - nem tu - um fu - di - - - sti___ re - cor - da - re Do - mi - ne___ qui - a pul - vis su - mus et___ ho - mo___ si - cut foe - num flos - - - - a - - - - - - gri

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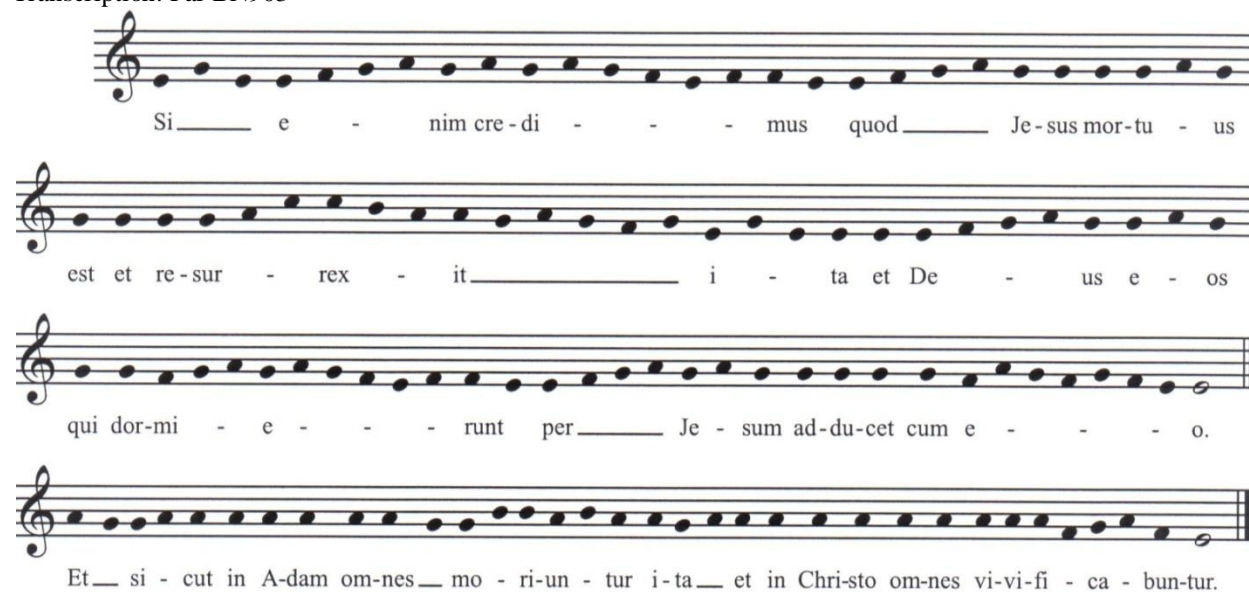
Text: Si enim credimus quod Jesus mortuus est et resurrexit, ita et Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jesum adducet cum eo. Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur.

Translation: *If in fact we believe that Jesus died and rose, then also will God bring them who have slept through Jesus with him. And as in Adam all die,*

Origin: I Thessalonians 4:14, I Corinthians 15:22

Sources: Bam 22[2], Ben 35[3], Ben 39[3], Cab 61[2], Col 443[2], Col 443[4], Col 444[2], Col 444[3B], Got 58[2], Gra 479[1], Gra 703[1], Gra 761[2], Gra 769[1], Kre 28[2], Lin 125[2], Lon 18031[A], Lon 18032[A], Mad 18[4], Mad 20-4[2], Mil 74[2], Mon 12/75[A], Mon 13/76[A], Mon 14/77[A], Mon K11[2], Mun 3914[2], Mun 7919[2], Mun 10075[2], Mun 15730[2], Mun 2°156[1], Nam 1[1], Nam 2[1], Nam 3[1], Oxf 321[2], Oxf 350, Pad A47[3], Par BM384[2], Par BN776[6], Par BN780[2], Par BN903[2], Par BN1087[2], Par BN1132[2], Par BN10511[2], Par BNNA1890[2], Pri Col[3], Pro12[B], Rhe 264[3], Rom BBarb559, Rom BBorg 359[2], Rom BRos76[2], Sal aIV14[2], Sal aIX11[B], StF 204[2], StF 393[2], StF 397[2], Tri 450[1], Vie 1821[2], Vie 1845, Vor 21[2], Vor 332[1]

Transcription: Par BN903[2]

Si ___ e - nim cre-di - - - mus quod ___ Je-sus mor-tu - us est et re-sur - rex - it ___ i - ta et De - us e - os qui dor-mi - e - - runt per ___ Je - sum ad-du-cet cum e - - - o. Et ___ si - cut in A-dam om-nes ___ mo - ri-un - tur i-ta ___ et in Chri-sto om-nes vi-vi-fi - ca - bun-tur.
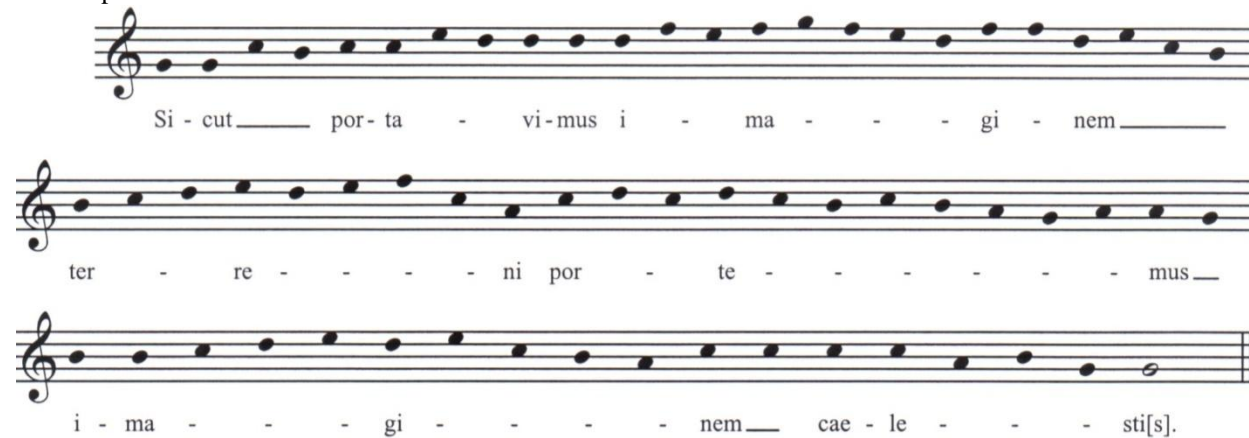
Text: Sicut portavimus imaginem terreni, portemus et imaginem coelestis.

Translation: *As we bear an earthly image, we shall bear a heavenly image as well.*

Origin: I Corinthians 15:49

Sources: Mad 18[3], Par BN776[5], Par BN903[3]

Transcription: Par BN903[3]

Si - cut ___ por - ta - vi-mus i - ma - - - gi - nem ___ ter - re - - - ni por - te - - - - - - mus ___ i - ma - - - gi - - - - nem ___ cae - le - - - sti[s].

Text: Subvenite sancti Dei, occurrite angeli Domini, suscipientes animam ejus, offerentes eam in conspectus Altissimi. Suscipiat Christus qui vocavit te, et in sinu Abrahae Angeli deducant te.

Translation: *Saints of God, come aid [him], angels of the Lord, run to meet his accepting soul, offering him in the sight of the Most High. May Christ receive the one who called you, and may angels escort [him] upon the knee of Abraham.*
Origin: Ordo defunctorum
Sources: Mon 1/101
Transcription: None.

Text: Tuam Deus deposcimus pietatem, ut eis tribuere digneris lucidam et quietam mansionem.
Translation: *I implore your holy God, that you may consider granting a shining and tranquil dwelling for them.*
Origin: Sacramentary of Lorsch, Pal. Lat. 485.
Sources: Pri Col[2]
Transcription: None.

GRADUALS

Text: Convertere anima mea in requiem tuam, quia Dominus benefecit tibi.
Translation: *Turn, my soul, in your rest, for the Lord done good to you.*
Origin: Psalm 114:7
Sources: Bal 6[1], Bal 6[5], Ben 34, Ben 35[3], Ben 39[1], Cab[2B], Col 443[4], Col 444[3], Mad 18[2], Mad 20-8[2B], Mil 74[2], Mon 12/75, Mon 13/76[A], Mon 14/77[B], Mon K11[2], Oxf 321[3], Par BM384[2], Par BN776[3], Par BN1087[1A], Par BN1105[A], Par BN1132[2], Par BN11522, Par BN13253[B], Par BN17312[B], Pri Col[1], Rhe 264[2], Rom BAng 123[1A], Rom BAV6082
Transcription: Par BN1105[A]

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Qui - a e - ri - pu - it a - ni - mam me - am de____

mor - - - - - - - - - - - te____

o - - - cu-los me-os a ___ la - - - - - - - - cri - mis

pe - des me - - os a lap - su. ____

Text: Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectus tuo, Domine.
Translation: *May my prayer be directed as incense to your sight, Lord.*
Origin: Psalm 140:2
Sources: Bal 6[3], Ben 39[3B]
Transcription: None.

Text: Miserere mihi Domine quoniam infirmus sum: sana me Domine.
Translation: *Have mercy on me, Lord, for I am sick. Heal me, Lord.*
Origin: Psalm 6:3
Sources: Cha 47[1B]
Transcription: None.

Text: Qui Lazarum resuscitasti ad monumentum foetidum, tu eis Domine dona requiem et locum indulgentiae.
Translation: *You who reawakened Lazarus from a stinking tomb, grant, Lord, rest and a place of pardon to them.*
Origin: Unknown.
Sources: Ben 35[1], Ben 39[2], Cha 47[2], Oxf 321[1], Pad A47[2], Par BN1105[C], Rom BAng123[2], Rom BLat5319, Rom Cas1695
Transcription: Rom BLat5319

Qui La - za-rum re-su-sci-ta - - - - - - - sti ad mo-nu-men - tum foe-ti - dum tu e-is Do - - - mi-ne do - na re-qui-em et lo-cum in - dul-gen-ti - ae.

Text: Requiem aeternam… (See introit)
Sources: Many.
Transcription: Liber Usualis, Gradual for *Mass on the Day of Death or on the Day of Burial*.

Text: Si ambulem in medio umbrae mortis, non timebo mala: quoniam tu mecum es Domine.
Translation: *If I should walk in the middle of the shadow of death, I will not fear evil, for you are with me, Lord.*
Origin: Psalm 22:4
Sources: Ami 159, Bal 6[2], Bam 22[1], Bru 2031-2, Cab B61[2A], CaT G7a27[A], Cht 45[B], Col 443[2], Col 444[2], Col 445[B], Dou 114[B], Fre 95[1], Got 58[2], Gra 9[B], Gra 10[B], Gra 376[1], Gra 479[1], Gra 703[1], Gra 761[2], Gra 769[1], Gre 84, Kre [2], Lao 226, Lin 125[2], Lin 128[A], Lis 249[B], Lis 252[B], Lis 253[B], Lon 17303[1], Lon 18031[A], Lon 18032[B], Lon 23935[B], Mad 18[1], Mad 20-4[2A], Mai 435[1], Man 24[B], Mun 2542[B], Mun 3914[2], Mun 7905[B], Mun 7919[2], Mun 10075[2], Mun 15730[2], Mun 2°156[2], Nam 1[1], Nam 2[1], Nam 3[1], Nao VIE11[2], Oxf d5[B], Par Ar135[B], Par Ar595[B], Par Ar608, Par BN903[3], Par BN904[B], Par BN1087[1B], Par BN1105[D], Par BN1107[B], Par BN1112[B], Par BN9441[B], Par BN10511[2B], Par BN13254[B], Par BN15615[A], Par BN17312[A], Par BN17328[B], Par BNNA541, Par BNNA1235[1], Par BNNA1413[B], Par G99[A], PGr DD23, Pob 11[B], Reg XX[A], Rom BBarb559, Rom BBorg359[2], Rom BRos76[1], Rou A166[B], Rou A280[A], Rou A401, Rou Y50, Sal aIV14[2], Sal aIX11[B], StF 204[2], StF 393[2], StF 397[2], Tri 450[2], Val 19[B], Val 20[B], Vie 1821[1], Vor 21[1], Vor 332[1], Wir, Zwe 196[B], Zwe 199[B], Zwe 245[B]
Transcription: Gre 84

Si am-bu— — —lem in me-di— — — —o— um — brae
mor— — tis— — non— ti - me - bo—
ma - la— — quo-ni-am tu me - — - cum es—
Do - mi - ne.—
Vir — — ga tu — — — — — — — — — — — a
et— ba — cu - lus tu — — — — — — - us—
i — — — — - psa— me — — — — — — —
con-so - la — — — - ta sunt.—

Text: Si enim credimus… (See introit)
Sources: Mad 18[4], Mad 20-4[B], Par BN384[3], Par BN776[5], Par BN776[6], Par BN903[2], Par BN1087[3], Par BN1105[C], Par BN1132[3], Par BN10511[2A], Par BNNA1890[2], Rhe 264[3]
Transcription: Par BN903[2]

Si e - nim cre - - - - di - mus quod Je-sus mor - - tu - us

est___ et re - sur - rex - it___

i - ta et De-us e-os qui dor-mi-e - - - - - runt___

per Je - sum ad - du - - - cet cum e - - - o.___

Et si-cut in A-dam om-nes mor-i - un - - - - - - - - - - tur__

i - ta et in Chri - - - - - - - sto om-nes vi-vi - fi-ca-bun - tur.___

SEQUENCES

Text: De profundis exclamantes audi, Christe, nostras voces in coelestia curia. Pro defunctis fidelibus orat mater nunc omnibus, te supplex ecclesia. Fiant ergo intendentes ut audiant tuae aures vocis haec suffragia. Et haec orat, rex gloriae, fidelibus ut hodie concedas remedia. Peccatores quamvis simus sustinere non possimus, observes vitia. Fiat tamen salutaris quae offertur nunc a nobis pro defunctis hostia. Per quam Patri obtulistis offerimus et nos ipsi, sit eis propitia. Propitius esto eis, solve vincla, Jesu, reis in tua potentia. Propter legem quam dedisti, te sustinet quod fecisti, averte supplitia. Te sustinent eruantur, in te sperant deducantur ad coeli palatia. In te credunt, in te sperant, ad te tendunt et suspirant de faecis miseria. In te die, in te nocte, in te mane et vespere sit eis fidutia. Sit apud te quam rogamus pro qua tibi supplicamus pietatis copia. Ut redimas eos, Christe, supplex rogat chorus iste ab omni nequitia. Reginarum imperatrix, tua roget te genitrix fiat horum imperatrix quae rogamus Maria. Bone Jesu, rex gloriae, omnes sancti praecipuae te rogantes sint hodie pro eorum venia. Qui per crucem exaltatus peccatorum es misertus, audi, Christe, quod devotus ad te clamat noster coetus cum misericordia. Per te vincla confrigantur, porte mortis destruantur, diaboli confundantur et animae consequantur sempiterna gaudia. Amen.

Translation: *Crying from the depths, hear our voices, Christe, in your heavenly court. On behalf of all the faithful dead, the mother Church now suppliantly begs you. May your ears, therefore, be attentive and listen to these suffrages of her voice, and this [voice] begs, O King of glory, that you grant remedy to the faithful. Although we are sinners, unable to endure if you observe our faults, may you nevertheless permit the healthful sacrifice which is now offered by us on behalf of the dead. We offer that which was offered to the Father himself; may it be propitious to them. May you be favorably inclined to them, Jesus; loosen the chains of the guilty in your strength. Because of the law that you gave, those you have made are sustained by you. Turn away from punishment. May they be delivered who are sustained by you. May they be led who hope in you to the heavenly palace. In you they trust, in you they hope, to you they yearn and sigh from the depths of misery. In you by day, in you by night, in you at morning and evening may they have trust. On behalf of those whom we pray to you, we ask that they may be among the abundant pity, that you may redeem them, Christ, from all wickedness, this suppliant choir asks. May the Queen of queens,*
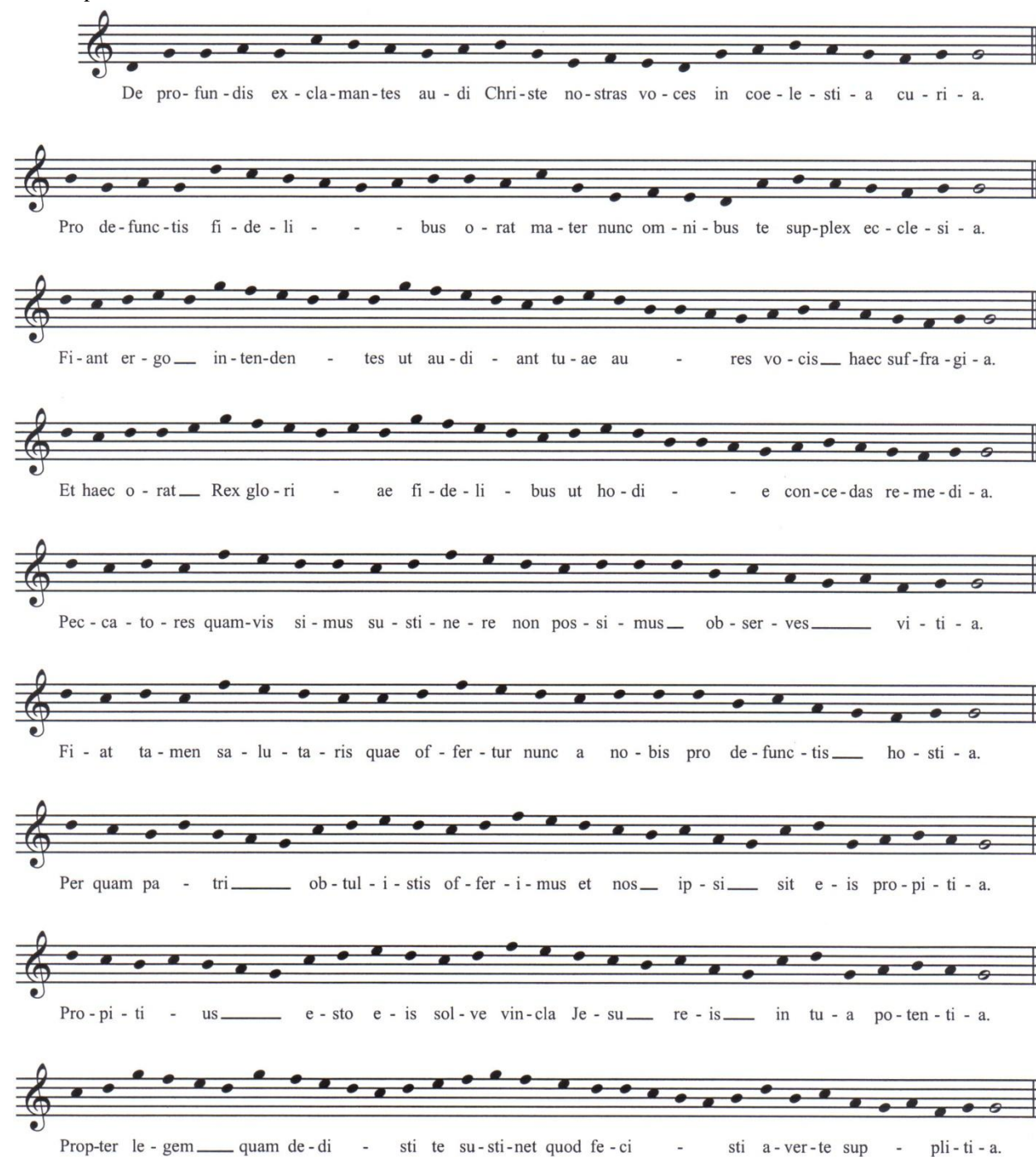
your Mother, intercede to you. May the Queen, Mary, bring about that which we ask. Good Jesus, King of glory, may all the saints ask indulgence for them, especially today. You, who were raised upon the cross, had pity on sinners, hear with mercy, Christ, the devotions which our assembly cries to you. By you the chains are broken, the gates of death are demolished, the devil is confused, and souls may obtain perpetual joy. Amen.

Sources: Lim 2
Origin: Unknown
Transcription: Lim 2

De pro - fun - dis ex - cla - man - tes au - di Chri - ste no - stras vo - ces in coe - le - sti - a cu - ri - a.

Pro de - func - tis fi - de - li - bus o - rat ma - ter nunc om - ni - bus te sup - plex ec - cle - si - a.

Fi - ant er - go in - ten - den - tes ut au - di - ant tu - ae au - res vo - cis haec suf - fra - gi - a.

Et haec o - rat Rex glo - ri - ae fi - de - li - bus ut ho - di - e con - ce - das re - me - di - a.

Pec - ca - to - res quam - vis si - mus su - sti - ne - re non pos - si - mus ob - ser - ves vi - ti - a.

Fi - at ta - men sa - lu - ta - ris quae of - fer - tur nunc a no - bis pro de - func - tis ho - sti - a.

Per quam pa - tri ob - tul - i - stis of - fer - i - mus et nos ip - si sit e - is pro - pi - ti - a.

Pro - pi - ti - us e - sto e - is sol - ve vin - cla Je - su re - is in tu - a po - ten - ti - a.

Prop - ter le - gem quam de - di - sti te su - sti - net quod fe - ci - sti a - ver - te sup - pli - ti - a.

Te su-sti-nent___ e-ru-an - tur in te spe-rant de-du-can - tur ad coe-li pa - la-ti-a.

In___ te___ cre-dunt in te spe - rant ad___ te___ ten-dunt et su-spi-rant de fae-cis mi-se - ri - a.

In___ te___ di-e in te noc - te in___ te___ ma-ne et ves-pe-re sit e-is fi-du - ti - a.

Sit a-pud te quam ro-ga - mus pro qua ti-bi sup-pli-ca-mus pi-e-ta-tis co-pi - a.

Ut re-di-mas e-os Chri - ste sup-plex ro-gat cho-rus is-te ab om-ni ne-qui-ti - a.

Re-gi-na-rum im-pe - ra-trix tu-a ro-get te___ ge - ni-trix fi-at ho-rum im-pe-ra-trix quae ro-ga - mus Ma-ri-a.

Bo-ne Je-su rex glo-ri-ae om-nes sanc-ti prae-ci-pu-ae te ro-gan-tes sint ho-di-e pro e-o - rum___ ve-ni-a.

Qui per crucem exal-ta-tus peccatorum es mi-sertus audi Christe quod de-votus ad te clamat noster coe-tus ___ cum mi-sericordia.

Per te___ vin-cla confrin-gan - tur por-te mor-tis de-stru - an-tur di-a-bo-li con-fun-dan-tur et a-ni-mae con-se-quan - tur

sem-pi-ter - - - - na_____ gau-di-a. A - - - - men.

Text: Dies irae dies illa…
Sources: Nam 1, Reg XX
Transcription: Liber Usualis, Sequence for *Mass on the Day of Death or on the Day of Burial*.

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TRACTS

Text: Absolve, Domine, animas omnium fidelium defunctorum ab omni vinculo delictorum. Et gratia tua illis succurente, mereantur evader judicium ultionis. Et lucis aeternae beatitudine perfrui.

Translation: *Absolve, Lord, all of the souls of the faithful departed from the all chains of [their] transgressions and by the aid of your grace may they merit to deserve to avoid the judgment of retribution and enjoy the blessedness of eternal light.*

Origin: Hadrianum ex Authentico, item 1016. Supplementum Anianense, item 1401, item 1400.

Sources: Bon 384[1], Col 445, Con 1b, Gra 9, Gra 10, Lis 249, Lis 252[B], Lis 253[B], Lon 23935[1], Mad 20-4[1A], Mad 20-4[2B], Mad 21-8, Mil 74[1], Mon 14/77, Mon K11[1], Mun 2542, Mun 7905, Nap VIG38, Oxf 321[3], Oxf d5, Pad A47[3], Par BN17328, Par BNNA1413, Pia 65[A], Pob 11, Reg XX[C], Rom BAng123[1B], Rom Cas1907, Sal aVII20, Tur FIV18, Tur GV20, Val 19, Val 20[B], Vec 161[A], Vec 162[B], Zwe 196, Zwe 199, Zwe 245

Transcription: Liber Usualis, Tract for *Mass on the Day of Death or on the Day of Burial*.

Text: Commovisti, Domine, terram, et conturbasti eam. Sana contritiones ejus quia mota est. Ut fugiant a facie arcus ut liberentur dilecti tui.
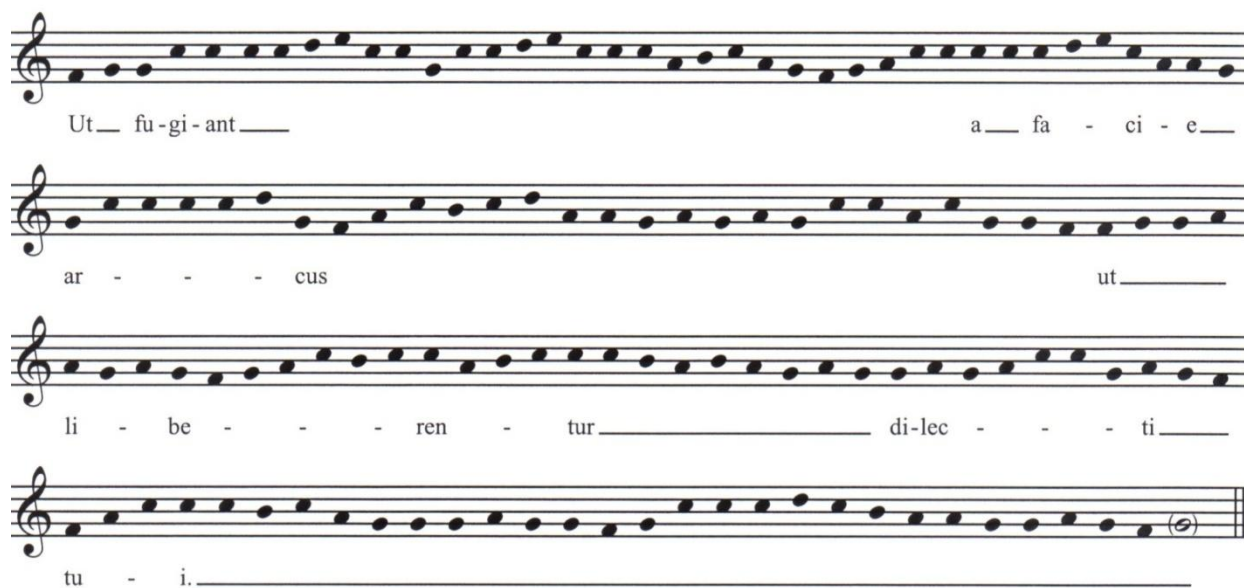
Translation: *You, Lord, have agitated the earth and have confused it. Heal its dismay because it is disturbed, that they may flee from the appearance of your bow, that your beloved may be freed.*

Origin: Psalm 59:4, 6

Sources: Bam 22[1B], Cab B61[2D], Gra 479[1A], Gra 703[1B], Gra 761[2], Gra 769[1A], Lin 125[2B], Lin 128[A], Man 24[A], Mun 2°156[1], Nam 1[2B], Par BN1132[1B], Par 10511[2B], Sal aIX11[C], Vor 21[2B]

Transcription: Man 24[A]

Ut — fu-gi-ant — a — fa - ci - e —
ar - - - cus ut—
li - be - - - ren - tur — di-lec - - - ti—
tu - i. —

Text: Convertere anima eius… (See gradual)
Sources: Pad A47[1], Rom BAng 123[2]
Transcription: Pad A47[1]

Con- ver - te - - - re — a - ni - - - ma e - ius— in re - qui-em
tu - am — qui - a —
Do - mi - - - nus —
be - - ne - fe - cit ti - bi. —

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Qui-a e - ri - pu-it a-ni-mam e - ius de mor - - - - - te

o - cu-los e - - - ius a la-cri - mis

pe - des e - - ius a lap-su.

Pla - ce - bo Do-mi-no in re - gi - o - ne

vi - vo - rum.

Text: De necessitatibus meis, eripe me Domine: Domine exaudi vocem meam.
Translation: *From my need, you rescue me, Lord. Lord, hear my voice.*
Origin: Psalm 106:6
Sources: Cab B61²ᴮ
Transcription: None.

Text: De profundis clamavi ad te Domine: Domine exaudi vocem meam.
Translation: *Out of the depths I cried to you, Lord. Lord, hear my voice.*
Origin: Psalm 129:1-2
Sources: Many.
Transcription: Liber Usualis, Tract for *Septuagesima Sunday.*

Text: Dixit Dominus: Ego sum resurrectio et vita; qui credit in me etiam si mortuus fuerit vivet.
Translation: *The Lord said: I am the resurrection and the life. The one who believes in me will live even if he dies.*
Origin: St John 11:25
Sources: Lim 2ᴮ, Pia 65ᶜ
Transcription: Pia 65ᶜ

Di - xit do - mi - - - nus_____ e - go__ sum re - sur - rec - ti - o__

et_ vi - ta_____ qui cre - dit in_____ me_____ e - ti - am

si mor - - tu - us fu - e - rit_____ vi - vet_____

Et om - - - - - - - - - nis qui vi - vit et cre - i - o in

me_____ non mo - ri - e - - - tur_____

in___ sem - pi - ter - - - num._____

Transcription: Lim 2^B

Di- xit Do-mi - nus _____ e - go sum re-sur-rec-ti-o

et _____ vi - ta _____ qui cre-dit in _____ me _____ e - ti-am

si mor-tu-us fu-e-rit _____ vi - vet _____

Et _____ om - - - - - - - - nis qui vi - vit et cre - dit _____ in

me _____ non mo-ri-e - - tur _____

in _____ e - ter - - - - - - num. _____

Text: Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat.
Translation: *Lord, hear my prayer, and may my cry come to you.*
Origin: Psalm 101:2
Sources: Par BN780²
Transcription: None.

Text: Domine Jesu Christe, Rex saeculorum, misericordia peccatorum, resurrectio mortuorum. Miserere, Deus miserationum, animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. Libera eas de ore leonis, et perduc in paradisum exsultationis. Et pro quibus tuum fudisti sanguine, tu eis, Domine, aeternam concede requiem.
Translation: *Lord Jesus Christ, King of the world, mercy of sinners, resurrection of the dead: have mercy, God of compassion, to the souls of all the faithful departed. Free them from the mouth of the lion, and lead them to the paradise of exultation. And according to the blood which you poured, Lord, grant them eternal rest.*
Origin: Unknown.
Sources: Cab B61^{2A}
Transcription: None.

Text: Qui Lazarum resuscitasti a monumento, tu eis Domine, dona requiem sempiternam. Lux aeterna luceat eis in aeternum cum sanctis tuis, quia pius es. Miserere defunctis fidelibus cunctis pro quibus hoc sacrificium laudis tuae offerimus majestati. Qui venturus es judicare vivos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem, dona eis requiem.
Translation: *You who awakened Lazarus from the tomb, grant them, Lord, perpetual rest. May eternal light shine on them in eternity with your saints, for you are holy. We offer this sacrifice of praise to your majesty according to which you may have mercy upon all the faithful dead. You, who is going to come to judge the living and the dead and the age through fire, grant them rest.*
Origin: Unknown.
Sources: Par BN1105^C

Qui La-za - rum_____ re-su - sci - ta-sti a mo-nu - men - to_____ tu e - is

Do-mi - ne_____ do - na__ re-qui-em sem-pi - - ter - nam.

Lux ae-ter - - - - - - - - na lu-ce-at e - is

in ae-ter - - - num_____ cum sanc - tis

tu - - is_____ qui - a__ pi - - us__ es.__

Mi-se-re - re__

de-func-tis fi-de - li - bus__ cunc - - - - tis__ pro qui - bus hoc-sa-cri-fi - ci-um

lau - - dis_____ tu - ae__ of-fe - ri-mus ma-je - - sta - ti._____

Qui ven-tu - rus_____ es__ iu - di - ca - re vi - vos et

mor - - - tu__ os_____ et sae - cu-lum per ig - nem_____

do - - na e - is re qui - em._____

Text: Qui seminant in lacrimis, in gaudia metent.
Translation: *The one who sows in tears, shall reap in joy.*
Origin: Psalm 125:5
Sources: Vec 161[C], Vec 162[A]
Transcription: None.

Text: Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum: ita desiderat anima mea ad te Deus.
Translation: *As the dear desires the fountains of water, thus my soul desires you, God.*
Origin: Psalm 41:2-3
Sources: Bam 22[1C], Bru 2031-2, Cab B61[2C], CaT G7a27[A], Col 443[2], Col 444[2], Dou 114[B], Got 58[2], Gra 479[1B], Gra 703[1A], Kre 28[2], Lin 125[2A], Lin 128[C], Lon 18031[C], Lon 18032[B], Lon 23935[B], Mad 20-4[2A], Man 24[C], Mun 3914[2], Mun 7919[2], Mun 10075[1], Mun 15730[2], Nam 1[2A], Nam 2[2], Oxf Rd3[B], Par Ar135[B], Par Ar608, Par BN903[2B], Par BN1105[B], Par BN1112[B], Par BN9441[A], Par BN10511[2A], Par BN13253[B], Par BN13254[B], Par BN15615[A], Par BN17312[B], Par BNNA1773[A], Par G99[B], Reg XX[A], Rom BBorg359[1], Rom BRos76[1], Rom BRos76[2], Rom Cas1695[B], Rou A166[B], Rou A280, Sal aIV14[2], Sal aIX11[B], StF 204[2], StF 393[2], StF 397[2], Tri 450[1], Vec 161[2], Vie 1821[1], Vor 21[1B], Vor 332[1]
Transcription: Rou A280

Fu-e - runt mi-chi la-chri-mae me - ae _____ pa-nes di-e ac

noc-te _____ dum di-ci - tur _____ mi-chi per sin-gu-los _____

di - es _____ u - bi _____ est De - us tu-us.

OFFERTORIES

Text: Ad te Domine levavi animam meam: Deus meus, in te confide, non erubescam: neque irrideant me inimici mei: etenim universi qui te exspectant, non confundentur.

Translation: *To you, Lord, I lift my soul. My God, I confide in you; may I not be ashamed. May neither my enemies ridicule me, and indeed all who wait on you will not be founded.*

Origin: Psalm 24:1-3

Sources: Bal 6[3], Ben 39[3D], Par BN776[1]

Transcription: None.

Text: De profundis clamavi… (see tract)

Sources: Bal 6[2], Gra 479[1B], Gra 761[2A], Lin 125[2], Vie 1821[1], Vor 332[1]

Transcription: None.
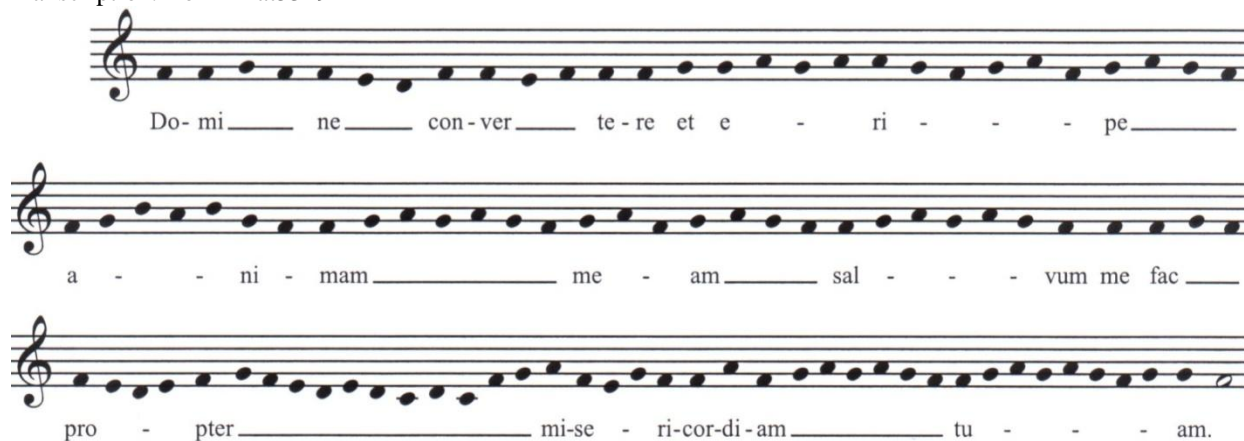
Text: Domine convertere et eripe animam meam, salvum me fac propter misericordiam tuam.

Translation: *Lord, change and rescue my soul; save me on account of your mercy.*

Origin: Psalm 6:5

Sources: Bal 6[1], Bal 6[4], Ben 34[B], Ben 35[3], Ben 39[1], Ben 39[2A], Cab B61[2A], Cha 47[1], Col 443[2], Col 444[2], Ein 113[B], Fre 95[1], Gra 376[1], Gra 479[1C], Gre 84, Lon 17303[1], Mai 435[1], Mil 74[2], Mon 1/101, Monza 12/75[A], Mon 13/76[A], Nam 1[1B], Nap VIE11[1], Oxf 321[3], Pad A47[1], Pad S697, Par Ar610, Par BN776[3], Par BN780[1], Par BN903[3B], Par BN1087[3B], Par BN1132[2], PGr DD23[A], Pri Col[1], Rhe 264[2], Rom BAng123[A], Rom BLat5319[A], Rom BAV6082[B], StG 339[A], StG 340[A], StG 374, StG 376[A]

Transcription: Rom BLat5319[A]

Do- mi _____ ne _____ con - ver _____ te - re et e - ri - - - pe _____

a - ni - mam _____ me - am _____ sal - - - vum me fac _____

pro - pter _____ mi-se - ri-cor-di-am _____ tu - - - am.

Text: Domine fac mecum misericordiam tuam, propter nomen tuum, quia suavis est misericordia tua.

Translation: *Lord, do with me your mercy to me because of your name, because your mercy is sweet.*

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Origin: Psalm 108:21
Sources: Ben 39[3A]
Transcription: None.

Text: Domine in auxilium meum respice: confundantur et reveantur, qui quaerunt animam meam, ut auferant eam.
Translation: *Lord, look down to aid me, may they be confounded and ashamed who search for my soul in order to try to take it.*
Origin: Psalm 39:14-15
Sources: Cab B61[2C], Nam 1[1D]
Transcription: None.

Text: Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriae, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de poenis inferni, et de profundo lacu: libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum: sed signifier Sanctus Michael repraesentet eas in lucem sanctam: quam olim Abrahae promisisti, et semini ejus. Hostias et preces tibi, Domine, laudis offerimus: tu suscipe pro animabus illis, quarum hodie memoriam facimus. Face as, Domine, de morte transpire ad vitam.
Translation: *Lord Jesus Christ, King of glory, free the souls of all the faithful dead from the pains of hell and from the deep pit. Free them from the mouth of the lion, do not let them be swallowed into Tartarus, nor fall into darkness, but may the standard-bearer, Saint Michael, lead them into holy light which formerly your had promised to Abraham and his seed. Sacrifices, prayers and joyful praise to you, Lord, we offer. Accept them on behalf of the souls whom today we make memory. Let them, Lord, cross from death to life.*
Origin: Unknown
Sources: Many.
Transcription: Liber Usualis, Offertory for *Mass on the Day of Death or on the Day of Burial*.

Text: Domine memorabor justitiae tuae solius: Deus docuisti me a juventute mea, et usque in senectam et senium, Deus ne derelinquas me.
Translation: *Lord, I will only remember your justice. God, you teach me from my youth and unto age and grey hair, God, you will not abandon me.*
Origin: Psalm 70:16-18
Sources: Ben 39[3C]
Transcription: None.

Text: Domine ne in ira tua arguas me, neque in furore tuo corripias me.
Translation: *Lord, in your anger may you not blame me, neither in your fury rebuke me.*
Origin: Psalm 37:2
Sources: Rom BAV6082[C]
Transcription: None.

Text: Ego sum resurrectio et vita: qui credit in me habet vitam aeternam, et in judicio non venit, sed transiet a morte ad vitam.
Translation: *I am the resurrection and the life. The one who believes in me has eternal life, and judgment will not come, but will cross over from death to life.*
Origin: St. John 11:25, St John 5:24
Sources: Mad 18[1], Par BN776[5]
Transcription: Par BN776[5]

E - - go___ sum___ re - sur-rec - ti - o___ et___ vi - ta

qui cre - - - dit in___ me ha - - bet___ vi - tam___

ae - ter - - - nam et in iu - di - ci - o___ non ve - nit___

sed tran - si - et a mor - - te___ in___ vi - tam.___

Text: Erue Domine animas eorum de morte, et projice post tergum tuum omnia peccata eorum, quia non infernus confitebitur tibi nec mors laudabit te.

Translation: *Pluck, Lord their souls from death, and cast behind your back all their sins, because hell will not confess to you nor will death praise you.*

Origin: Isaiah 38:17-18

Sources: Bam 22[1B], Cab B61[1], Dou 114[B], Gra 703[1], Lon 18031[A], Lon 18031[A], Mad 18[2], Mun 10075[2B], Par BM384[2], Par BN776[6], Par 903[2], Par BN1087[2], Par BN1107[B], Par BN1132[1B], Par BN9436[B], Par BN10511[2A], Par BN13253[B], Par BNNA1890[2], Pri Col[3], Rhe 221, Rom BBorg359[2]

Transcription: Par BN13253[B]

E - - - ru - e Do - mi - ne___ a - ni - mas

e-o - - - rum___ de mor - - - te et___ pro - - - - i-ce

post ter - gum___ tu - - - um___ om - ni - a pec-ca - ta e-o - rum

qui - a___ non in-fer - - - - - - - - nus

con - - fi - te - - - - - bi - tur___ ti - bi nec mors

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lau - da - - - - - - - - - - - - bit te.

Tu - am De - us

de - pos - - ci - mus pi - e - ta - tem ut e - is cri-bu - e-re

di - gne-ris lu - ci-das et qui - e-tas man-si - o - nes.

Text: Illumina oculos meos nequando obdormiam in morte: nequando dicat inimicus meus: prevalui adversus eum.

Translation: *Enlighten my eyes lest I might fall asleep in death, lest my enemy may say to me: "I have prevailed against him."*

Origin: Psalm 12:4-5

Sources: Ein 113[D], StG 339[B], StG 340[B], StG 376[B]

Transcription: None.

Text: Jesu bone, triumphator mortis in cruce, attolle oculos clementia rutilos et respice in faciem ecclesiae, matris nostrae viduae, quae plorat filios suos, fratres nostros defunctos, qui pro culpa offensionis gemunt incolae sub mortis caligine ubi nullus ordo, set miserabilis in habitat orror. Christe, propicius iudex ultra David in mansuetudinem, ut super exaltet misericordia iudicium, suscipe pro mortuis, quos fides catholica sepelit, sacrificium ecclesiae matris, illud revoluens, quod memor figulus figmenti olim per prophetam prompsisti: ego feci ego feram ego usque ad canos et senectam portabo ego salvabo.

Translation: *Kindly Jesus, triumphant over death on the cross, lift the shining eyes of mercy, and gaze upon the face of the church, our widowed mother, which weeps for her sons, our dead brothers, who, groan for the guilt of sin, dwellers beneath the darkness of death, where no order but miserable horror inhabits. O Christ, propitious judge greater than clement David, so that mercy shall rise above judgment, accept the sacrifice of the mother church on behalf of the dead whom the Catholic faith buries, reflecting upon that which [you], a potter mindful of [his] creation, promised formerly through the prophet: I have made [you], I will carry [you] and, even through old age and grey hairs, I will save [you].*

Origin: Unknown with references to Job 10:21-22 and Isaiah 46:4

Sources: Par BN13253[D]

Transcription: Par BN13253[D]

Je - - - - - su _ bo - ne tri - um - pha - tor _ mor - tis

in cru - - - - ce at - - tol - - - - le o - cu - los _

cle-men - - - - - - - ti - a _ ru - ti - los _ et _

re - spi - ce _ in fa - ci em ec - cle - si - ae _ in at-ris _ no - strae vi - - du - e

quae plo - - rat _ fi - li - os su-os _ fra - tres no - stros de - func - tos _

qui pro cul - - - pa of-fen - si - o - nis ge - munt in-co - le _ sub mor - tis _

ca - li - gi - ne u-bi nul-lus or - - - - - - - - do

set mi-se - ra - bi - lis _ in ha - bi - tat _ or - - - - - ror. _

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Text: Miserere michi Domine, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam: dele, Domine, iniquitatem meam.

Translation: *Have mercy on me, Lord, according to your great mercy; erase, Lord, my iniquity.*

Origin: Psalm 50:3

Sources: Cab B61[2D], Ein 113[C], Par BN776[2], Par BN1087[3A], Par BN1132[3], Pri Col[2], Rhe 264[3], Rom BAV6082[D], StG 339[C], StG 340[C], StG 376[C]

Transcription: None.

Text: O pie Deus qui primum hominem ad aeternam patriam revocasti, pastor bone qui ovem perditam pro humero ad ovilem reportasti, juste judex, dum veneris judicare, libera de morte animas eorum quos redemisti. Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentes tibi, ne derelinquas eas in finem. Domine Jesu Christe, judex mortuorum, una spes mortalium, qui moriens, morientium condoluisti interitum, ne inters in judicio cum servis tuis, ne damnentur cum impiis in adventu tui districti judicii.

Translation: *O blessed God, you who have called the first man to the eternal home, Good Shepherd, you who carried the lost sheep upon your shoulder to the flock, just judge, until you come to give judgment, free their souls from death whom you have redeemed. You neither surrender the souls confessing to you to the beasts, nor forsake them at the end. Lord Jesus Christ, judge of the dead, the one hope of mortals, you have grieved the destruction of*
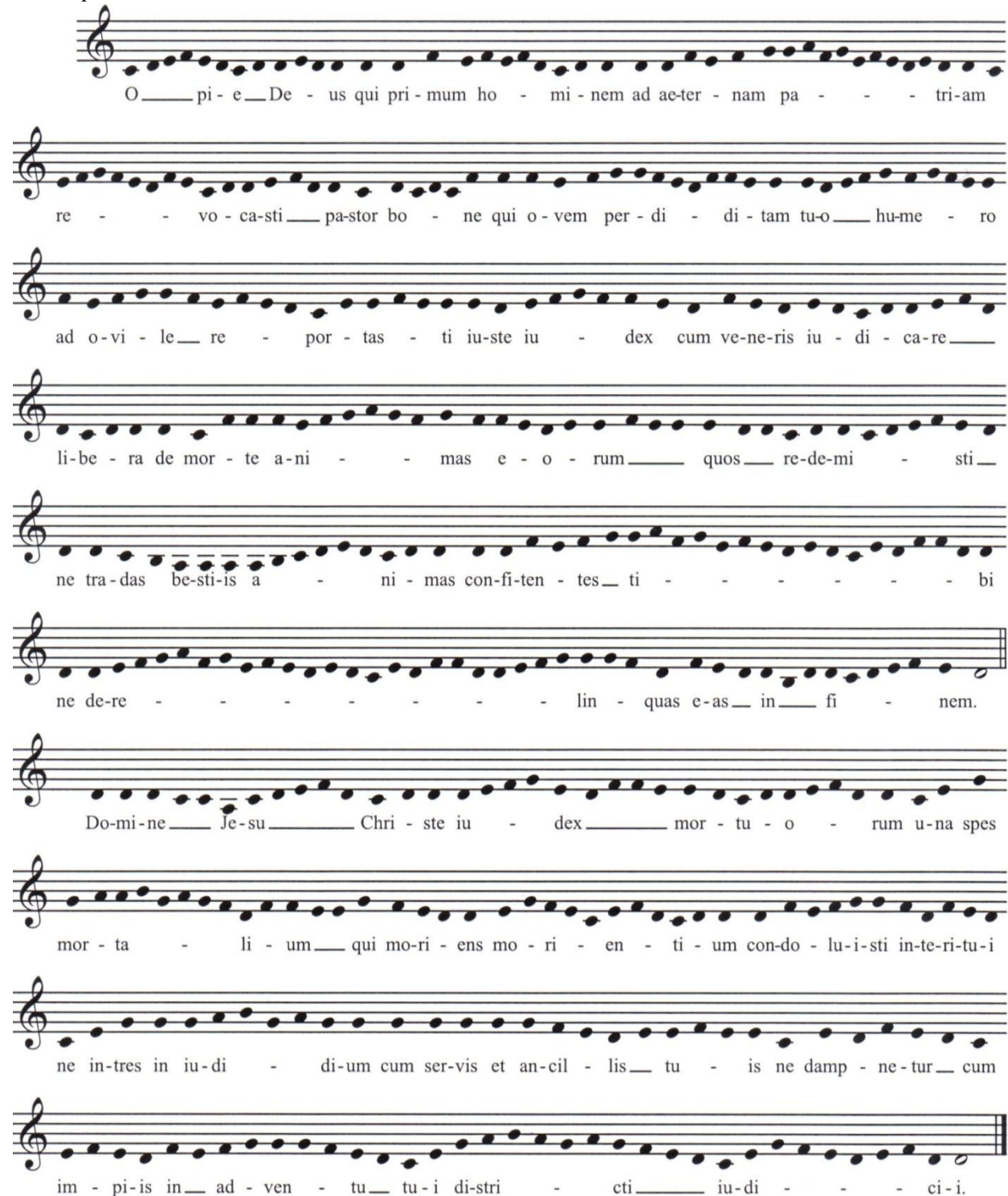
perishing, you neither enter into judgment with your servants, nor are they found guilty with the wicked by the arrival of your severe judgment.

Origin: Unknown, references Psalm 73:19

Sources: Gra 479[1D], Gra 769[1A], Kre 28[2], Lim 2[B], Lon 18031[A], Lon 18032[B], Mad 18[4], Mad 20-4[1B], Mad 20-4[2], Mun 10075[2A], Nam 1[2], Oxf Rd3[B], Par Ar135[B], Par BM384[3], Par BN776[6B], Par BN903[3A], Par BN1105[B], Par BN10511[2B], Par BN13253[C], Par BNNA1235[2], Rom BRos76[1], Sal aIX11[B]

Transcription: Par BN13253[C]

O pi - e De - us qui pri - mum ho - mi - nem ad ae-ter - nam pa - - - tri-am

re - - vo-ca-sti pa-stor bo - ne qui o-vem per-di - di - tam tu-o hu-me - ro

ad o-vi-le re - por-tas - ti iu-ste iu - dex cum ve-ne-ris iu - di - ca-re

li-be - ra de mor-te a-ni - - mas e - o - rum quos re-de-mi - sti

ne tra-das be-sti-is a - ni - mas con-fi-ten - tes ti - - - - - - bi

ne de-re - - - - - - lin - quas e-as in fi - nem.

Do-mi-ne Je-su Chri - ste iu - dex mor-tu - o - rum u-na spes

mor - ta - li - um qui mo-ri - ens mo - ri - en - ti - um con-do - lu-i-sti in-te-ri-tu-i

ne in-tres in iu-di - di-um cum ser-vis et an-cil - lis tu - is ne damp - ne-tur cum

im - pi-is in ad - ven - tu tu-i di-stri - cti iu-di - - ci-i.

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Text: Subvenite sancti Dei, occurrite angeli Domini, suscipientes animam ejus, offerentes eam in conspectus Altissimi. Suscipiat Christus qui vocavit te, et in sinu Abrahae Angeli deducant te. Pro cujus memoria has hostias offerimus dona ei Domine requiem sempiternam.

Translation: *Saints of God, come aid [him], angels of the Lord, run to meet his accepting soul, offering him in the sight of the Most High. May Christ receive the one who called you, and may angels escort [him] upon the knee of Abraham. On behalf of whose memory we offer these sacrifices, grant to him, Lord, everlasting rest.*

Origin: Ordo defunctorum

Sources: Ben 35[1], Ben 39[2B], Cha 47[2], Oxf 321[1], Pad A47[2], Rom BAng123[2]

Transcription: Pad A47[2]

Pro cu - ius _____ me - mo - ri - - - - - a _____

has _____ hos - ti - as ___ of - fe - ri - - - - - - - mus

do - na ___ e - i ___ Do - - - mi - ne re-qui - em ___ sem - pi - ter - nam.
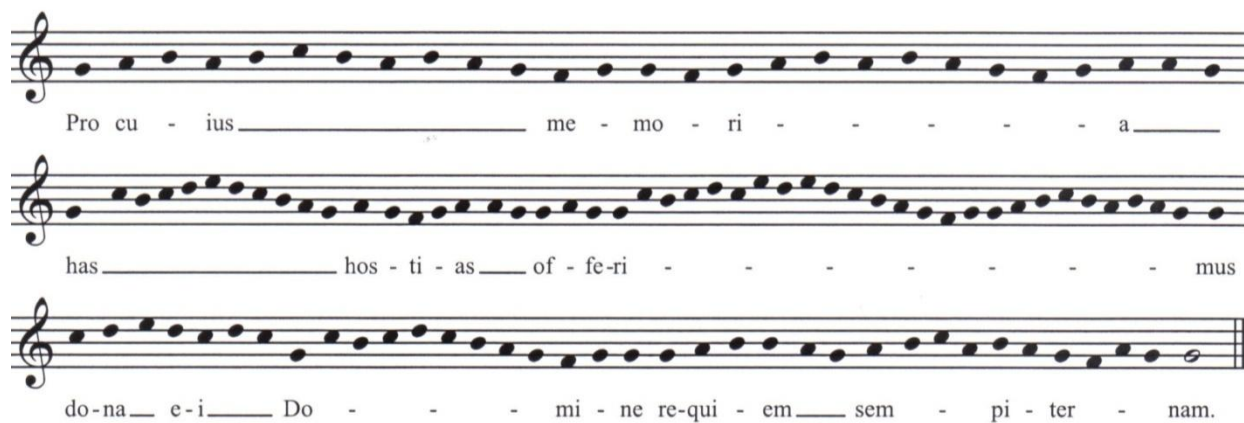
COMMUNIONS

Text: Absolve Domine animas eorum… (See tract)

Sources: Arr 437[B], Bam 22[1], Cab B61[2B], Col 444[3C], Ein 113[B], Gra 479[2], Gra 703[2D], Gra 761[1A], Gra 767, Gra 769[2], Kas 15[B], Kre 28[1], Lin 125[2], Lin 128[A], Lon 18031, Lon 18032[A], Mel 709, Mon K11[1A], Mun 3914, Mun 7919[1B], Mun 10075[1], Mun 15730[1], Mun 2°156[1A], Mun 2°156[2], Nam 1[1D], Nam 2[1], Nam 3[1], Pad A47[2B], Pad A47[3C], Par BN780[1], Par BN903[2A], Par BN10503, Par BN10511[1A], Par BN13253[B], Pia 65[A], Rom BAng123[1D], Rom BRos76[2], Sal aIV14[1], Sal aIX11[C], StF 204[1], StF 209, StF 393[1], StF397[1], Sto A139, Tri 450[2], Vie 1821[1], Vie 12785, Vie 13682[A], Vie SN2837, Vor 21[1A], Vor 303[1C], Vor 332[2A], Wir

Transcription: Pad A47[2B]

Ab - sol - ve ___ Do - mi - ne a - ni - mas ___ fi - de - li - um ___

de - func - to-rum ab ___ om - ni vin-cu-lo ___ de - lic - to-rum ut in re-sur-rec-ti - o - nis

glo - ri - a in-ter sanc-tos tu - os ___ re - su - ci - ta - ti me - re - an-tur.
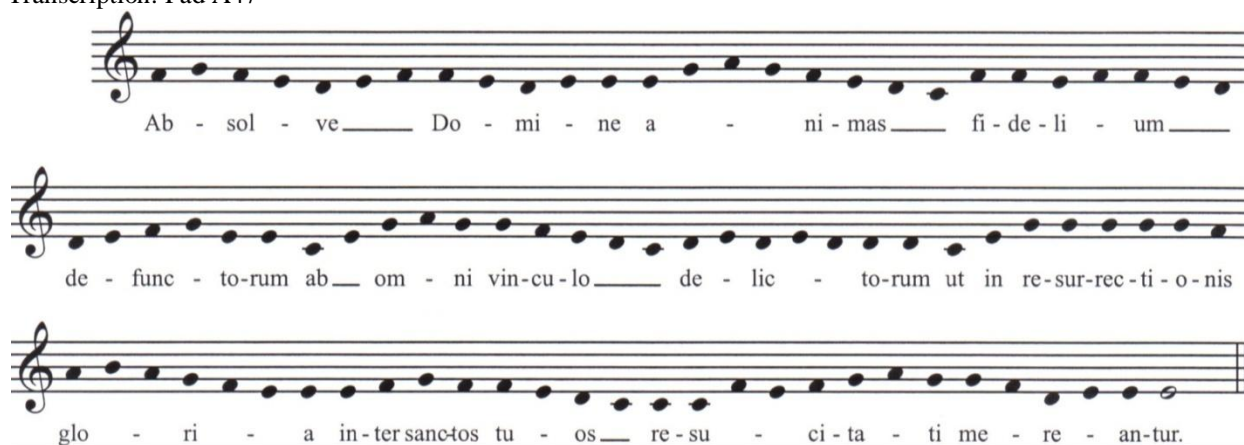
Text: Amen amen dico vobis: quia qui verbum meum audit et credit eum qui me misit, habet vitam aeternam et in judicio non venit, sed transiet de morte ad vitam.
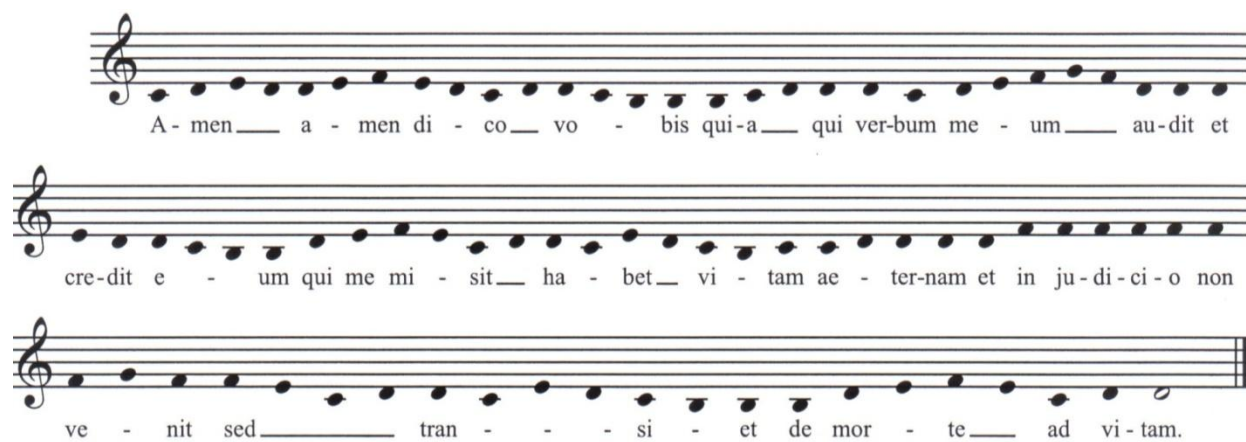
Translation: *Amen, amen I say to you: the one who hears my word and believes him who send me, has eternal life and does not come into judgment but will pass from death into life.*

Origin: St John 5:24

Sources: Par BN776[2]

Transcription: Par BN776[2]
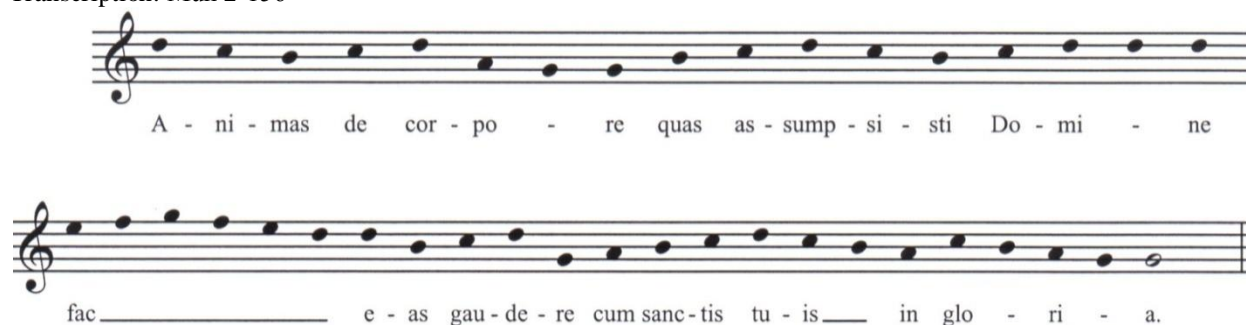
A - men___ a - men di - co___ vo - bis qui-a___ qui ver-bum me - um___ au-dit et cre-dit e - um qui me mi - sit___ ha - bet___ vi - tam ae - ter-nam et in ju-di-ci-o non ve - nit sed___ tran - - si - et de mor - te___ ad vi-tam.
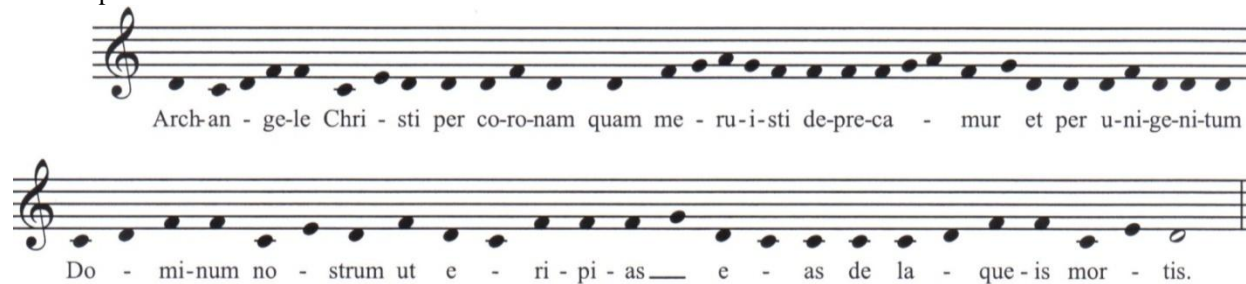
Text: Amen dico vobis: veniet hora quando mortui audient vocem Filii Dei, et resurgent qui in monumentis sunt.
Translation: *Amen I say to you: the hour will come when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who are in graves will rise again.*
Origin: St John 5:25, St John 5:28
Sources: Mil 74[2]
Transcription: None.

Text: Animas de corpore quas assumpsisti Domine, fac eas gaudere cum sanctis tuis in gloria.
Translation: *You, Lord, assumed the souls from the body, make him to rejoice with your saints in glory.*
Origin: Unknown
Sources: Arr 437[A], Got 58[2], Gra 479[1B], Gra 703[1], Gra 761[2], Gra 769[1B], Kre 28[2], Lin 128[D], Mun 3914[2B], Mun 2°156[1B], Reg XX[B], Sal aIV14[2A], Vie 13682[B], Vor 21[2], Vor 332[1]
Transcription: Mun 2°156[1B]

A - ni - mas de cor - po - re quas as - sump - si - sti Do - mi - ne fac___ e - as gau - de - re cum sanc - tis tu - is___ in glo - ri - a.

Text: Archangele Christi, coronam quam meruisti deprecamur te per Unigenitum Dominum nostrum, ut eripias eas de laqueis mortis.
Translation: *Archangel of Christ, you merited the crown that we pray of you through our only-begotten Lord, that you may snatch them away from the snare of death.*
Origin: Unknown
Sources: Mon 14/77[A]
Transcription: Mon 14/77[A]

Arch-an - ge-le Chri - sti per co-ro-nam quam me - ru-i-sti de-pre-ca - mur et per u-ni-ge-ni-tum Do - mi-num no - strum ut e - ri-pi-as___ e - as de la - que-is mor - tis.

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Text: Audivi vocem de caelo dicentem: beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur.

Translation: *I heard a voice from heaven saying: blessed [are] the dead who die in the Lord.*

Origin: Revelation 14:13

Sources: Mon 13/76[B], Par Ar610, Par BM384[3], Par BN1132[1C], Par BN1132[3], Par BN10511[2B], Par BN13253[C], Rhe 264[3], Rom BAng123[1C]

Transcription: Rhe 264[3]

Au-di-vi vo - cem de cae-lo di-cen-tem be - a-ti mor - tu-i qui in Do-mi-no — mo-ri - un-tur.

Text: Chorus angelorum te suscipiat, et cum Lazaro quondam pauper aeternam habeas requiem.

Translation: *May a chorus of angels accept you, and with Lazarus, formerly a pauper, may have eternal rest.*

Origin: (See Sicard)

Sources: Ben 39[2], Cha 47[2], Pad A47[2B], Rom BAng123[2E]

Transcription: Ben 39[2]

Cho - rus an - ge - lo-rum te_____ su - sci - pi - at_____ et_____

cum la - za - ro_____ quon - dam pau - per-re ae - ter-nam ha - be-as re-qui-em.

Transcription: Pad A47[2B]

Cho - rus an - ge-lo-rum te_____ su - sci - pi - at_____ et_____ cum

be-a - to — la - za-ro_____ quon - dam pau - pe - re ae - ter-nam — ha - be - as_____ re-qui - em.
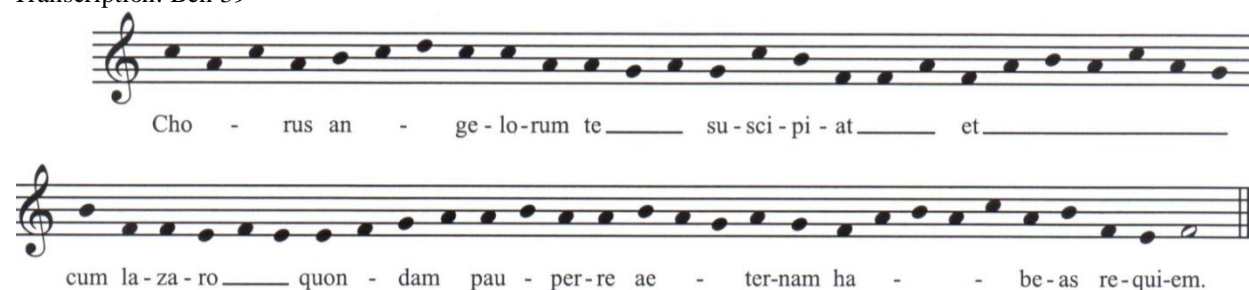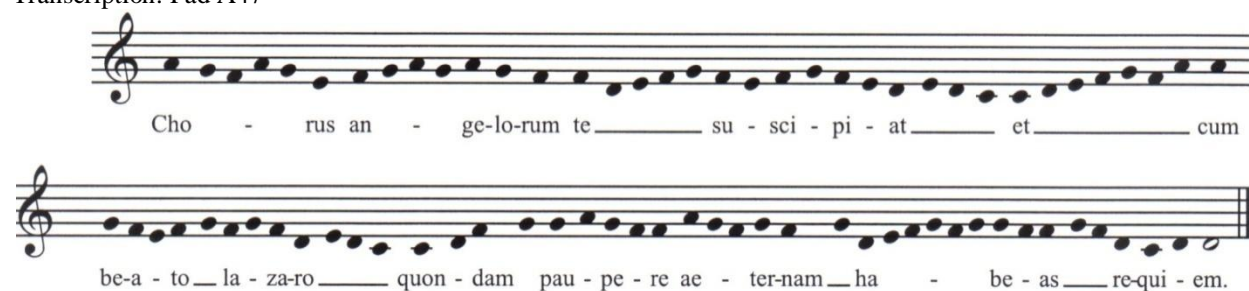
Text: Christus qui natus est ex Maria Virgine, Ipse resuscitet in die qua venturus est judicare saeculum.

Translation: *Christ, who is born of the Virgin Mary, may revive himself in time whereby he will come to judge the age.*

Origin: Unknown

Sources: Rom BLat5319[C]

Transcription: Rom BLat5319[C]

Chri-stus qui na - tus_____ est ex_____ Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne ip-se te re-su-sci - tet

in_____ di - e qua ven-tu - rus_____ est ju - di - ca - re se - cu - lum.

Text: Credo quod redemptor meus vivit, qui de terra ipse me fecit, et in novissimo restaurabit corpus meum.
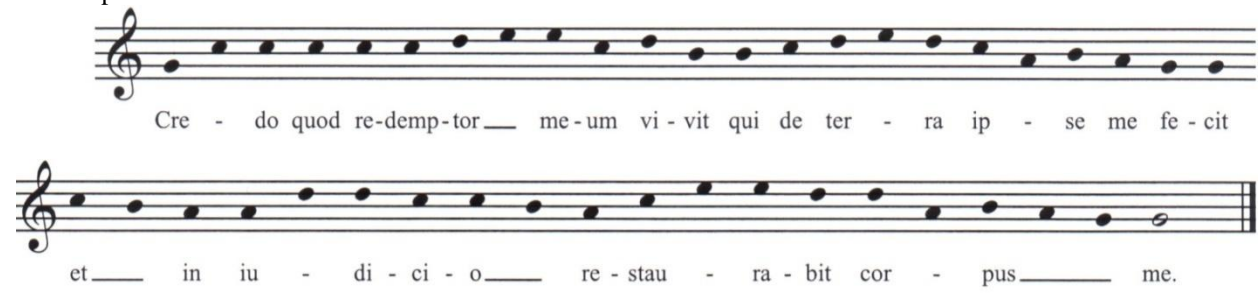
Translation: *I believe that my redeemer lives, who created my body from the earth, and at the end will restore it.*
Origin: Job 19:25
Sources: Oxf 321[2], Pad A47[1], Pia 65[B], Rom BAng123[2A]
Transcription: Pia 65[B]

Cre - do quod re-demp-tor___ me-um vi - vit qui de ter - ra ip - se me fe - cit
et___ in iu - di - ci - o___ re-stau - ra - bit cor - pus___ me.

Text: Domine memorabor… (See offertory)
Sources: Bal 6[2]
Transcription: None.

Text: Dona eis Domine requiem sempiternam, et in splendoribus animae eorum requiescant in loco Dei.
Translation: *Grant them, Lord, perpetual rest, and may their souls rest in splendor in the place of God.*
Origin: Unknown
Sources: Bam 22[2], Ben 34[A], Ben 35[1], Ben 39[3A], Ber 15, Ein 113[D], Kas 15[A], Lon 11669[B], Rom BAV6082[B], StG 339, StG 340, StG 374, StG 376, Vie 1845
Transcription: None.
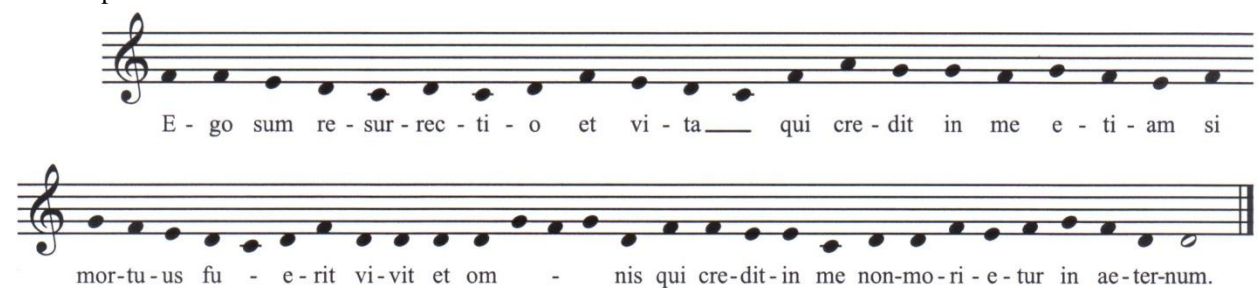
Text: Ego sum resurrectio et vita: qui credit in me, etiam si mortuus fuerit, vivet; et omnis qui vivit et credit in me, non morietur in aeternum.
Translation: *I am the resurrection and the life. The one who believes in me, even if he were to die will live, and all who live and believe in me, will not die in eternity.*
Origin: St John 11:25-26
Sources: Bal 6[1], Bal 6[3], Ben 34[C], Ben 35[2A], Ben 39[1B], Ben 39[3C], Cab B61[1A], Cha 47[1], Fre 95[1], Gra 376[1], Gre 84, Lao 239, Lon 17303[1], Mai 435[1], Mon 1/101, Mon 12/75, Mon 13/76[A], Mon 14/77[B], Nap VIE11[2], Par BM384[2], Par BN776[5], Par BN 776[6], Par BN903[2B], Par BN1107[B], Par BN1132[1B], Par BN1132[2], Par BN9436[A], Par BN10511[2A], PGr DD23[A], Pri Col[1], Rom BAng1[1A], Rom BAV6082[A]
Transcription: Ben 34[C]

E - go sum re - sur - rec - ti - o et vi - ta___ qui cre - dit in me e - ti - am si
mor-tu - us fu - e - rit vi - vit et om - nis qui cre-dit-in me non-mo - ri - e - tur in ae - ter-num.

Text: Lux aeterna luceat eis Domine: cum sanctis tuis in aeternum, quia pius es.
Translation: *May light eternal shine on them, Lord, with your saints in eternity, because you are pious.*
Origin: Unknown
Sources: Many.
Transcription: Liber Usualis, Communion for *Mass on the Day of Death or on the Day of Burial.*
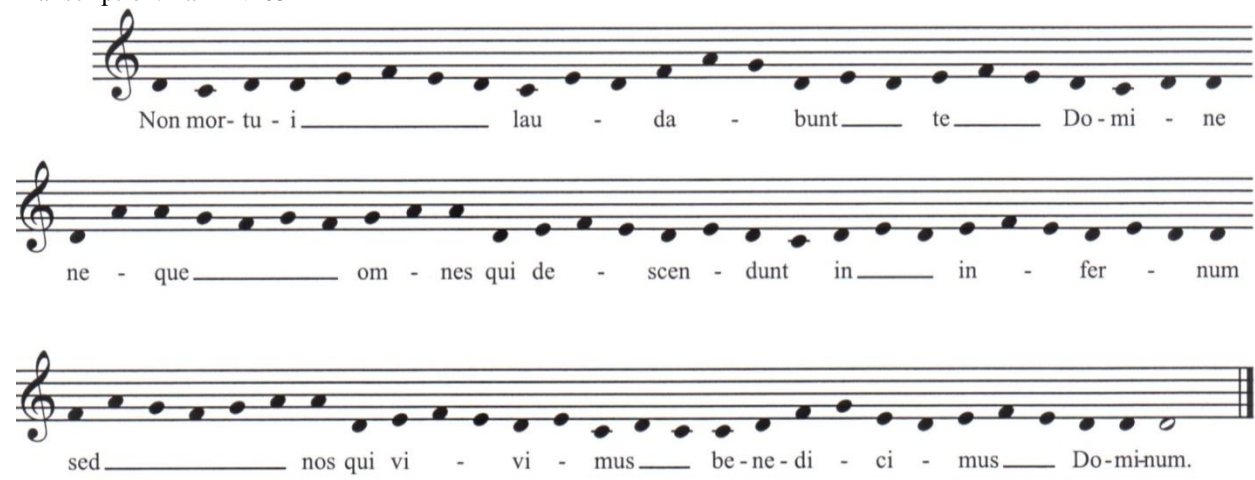
Text: Non mortui laudabunt te Domine, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum, sed nos qui vivimus benedicimus Dominum.
Translation: *The dying will not praise you, Lord, neither will all those who descend into Hell, but we praise you who are alive.*
Origin: Psalm 113:25-26

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Non mor- tu- i _____ lau - da - bunt _____ te _____ Do - mi - ne

ne - que _____ om - nes qui de - scen - dunt in _____ in - fer - num

sed _____ nos qui vi - vi - mus _____ be - ne - di - ci - mus _____ Do - mi-num.
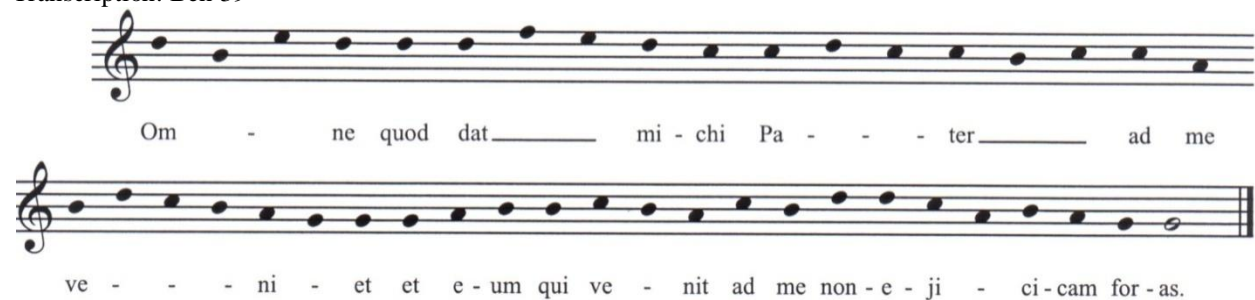
Text: Omne quod dat michi Pater ad me veniet, et eum qui venit ad me non ejiciam foras.

Translation: *All which my father gives to me will come, and him, the one who comes to me, I will not cast out.*

Origin: St John 6:37

Sources: Bal 6[4], Ben 34[B], Ben 35[2B], Ben 39[1A], Par BN1087[2], Pri Col[2], Rhe 264[2], Rom BAng123[B], Vec 161[A], Vec 162[A].

Transcription: Ben 39[1A]

Om - ne quod dat _____ mi - chi Pa - - - ter _____ ad me

ve - - ni - et et e - um qui ve - nit ad me non - e - ji - ci - cam for - as.

Text: Partem beatae resurrectionis obtineant, vitamque aeternam habere mereantur in coelis per te, Jesu Christe.

Translation: *May they obtain a portion of the blessed resurrection and may they merit having eternal life in heaven through you, Jesus Christ.*

Origin: Unknown

Sources: Par BN903[3]

Transcription: Par BN903[3]

Par - tem be-a-tae re-sur-rec-ti-o - nis ob - ti - ne - ant vi-tam - que ae-ter-nam ha-be - re

me - re - an - tur in _____ cae - lis per _____ te _____ Je - su _____ Chri-ste.

Text: Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi sumitur, dona eis, Domine, requiem sempiternam. Pro quorum memoria sanguis Christi sumitur, tu dona eis, Domine, requiem sempiternam.

Translation: *On behalf of whose memory the body of Christ is taken up, grant them, Lord, everlasting rest. On behalf of whose memory the blood of Christ is taken up, grant them, Lord, everlasting rest.*

Origin: Unknown

Sources: Col 443[2], Col 443[4A], Col 444[2], Col 444[3A], Ein 113[C], Gra 479[1C], Gra 703[2C], Gra 761[1C], Gra 769[1C], Lin 125[1B], Lin 128[C], Lon 11669[C], Mad 20-4[1C], Mad 20-4[2], Man 24[B], Mil 74[1A], Mon K11[2], Mun 3914[2A], Mun 7919[2], Mun 15730[2], Nam 1[2A], Nam 2[2A], Oxf 350, Oxf R892[B], Oxf Rd3[B], Pad A47[2A], Par Ar135[B], Par Ar595[A], Par BN1087[3], Par BNNA1235[1], Rom BAng123[1F], Rom BBorg359[1], Rom BRos76[1B], Sal aIV14[2B], Sal aIX11[A], Vie 1821[2A], Vor 21[1C], Vor 303[1B]
Transcription: Mon K11[2]

Pro quo-rum me-mo - ri - a cor-pus Chri-sti su-mi-tur tu do-na e-is Do-mi-ne re-qui-em sem-pi-ter-nam.

Et lux per - pe - tu - a lu - ce - at e - is.

Pro quo-rum me-mo - ri - a san-guis Chri-sti su-mi-tur tu do-na e-is Do-mi-ne re-qui-em sem-pi-ter-nam.

Text: Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi frangitur tu ei dona requiem cum sancti tuis Domine.
Translation: *On behalf of whose memory the body of Christ is broken, grant him rest with your saints, Lord.*
Origin: Unknown
Sources: Ben 35[3]
Transcription: Ben 35[3]

Pro quo - rum me - mor - ri - a cor - pus Chri - sti fran - gi - tur

tu e - i do - na re - qui - em_____ cum sanc - ti tu - is Do - mi - ne.

Text: Qui es, Domine, requies post laborem, qui es vita post mortem, tu dona eis requiem sempiternam.
Translation: *Who, Lord, is rest after labor? Who is life after death? You. Give them everlasting rest.*
Origin: Unknown
Sources: Par BN1105[B]
Transcription: Par BN1105[B]

Qui__ es Do - mi - ne re - qui - es post la - bo - rem qui__ es vi - ta__

post___ mor - tem tu___ do - na e - is re - qui - em.

Text: Qui Lazarum resuscitas… (See gradual)
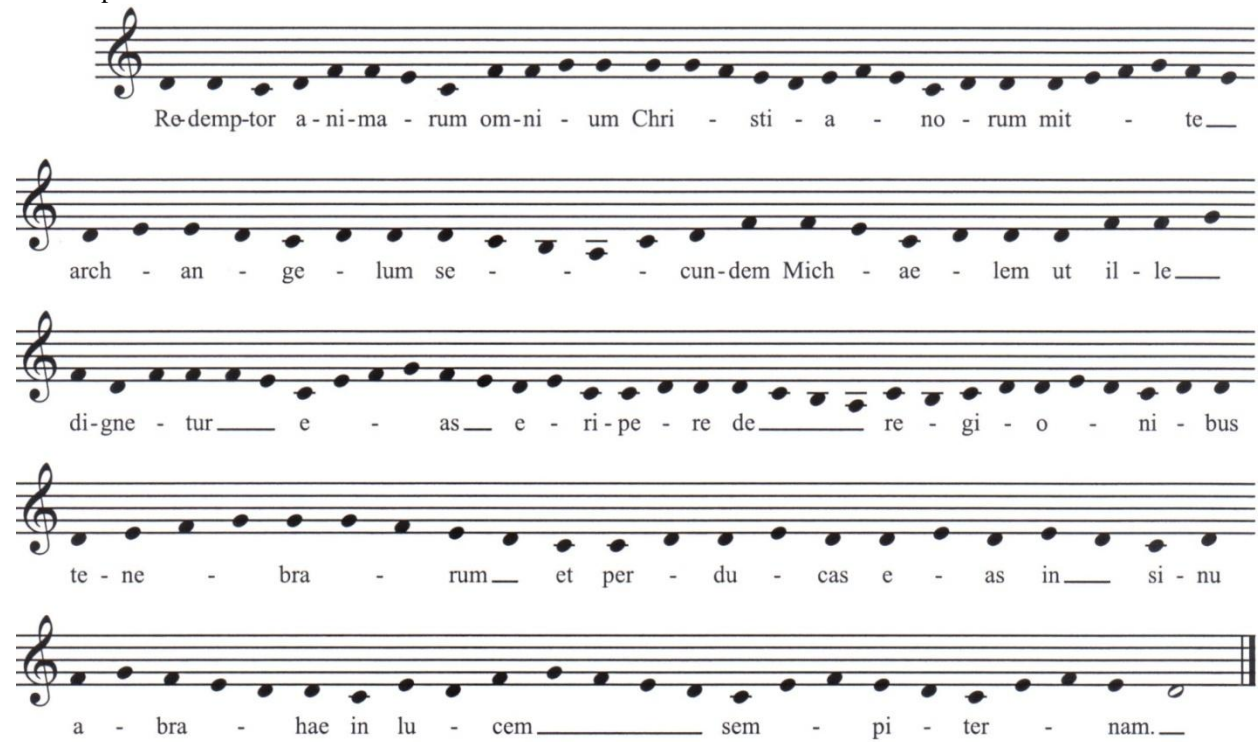Sources: Oxf 321[1], Pad A47[3A], Rom BAng123[2B]

Transcription: None.

Text: Redemptor animarum omnium Christianorum mitte archangelum secundum Michaelem, ut ille dignetur eas eripere de regionibus tenebrarum et perducas eas in sinu Abrahae in lucem sempiternam.

Translation: *Redeemer of all Christian souls, send the great archangel Michael so he may be fit to snatch them from the region of darkness and you may lead them to the knee of Abraham in everlasting light.*

Origin: Unknown

Sources: Par BN13254[B]

Transcription: Par BN13254[B]

Text: Requiem aeternam… (see introit)

Sources: Rom BAV6082[C]

Transcription: Rom BAV6082[C]

Text: Sancta et salubris est cogitatio pro defunctis offerre sacrificium, ut a peccatis solvantur.
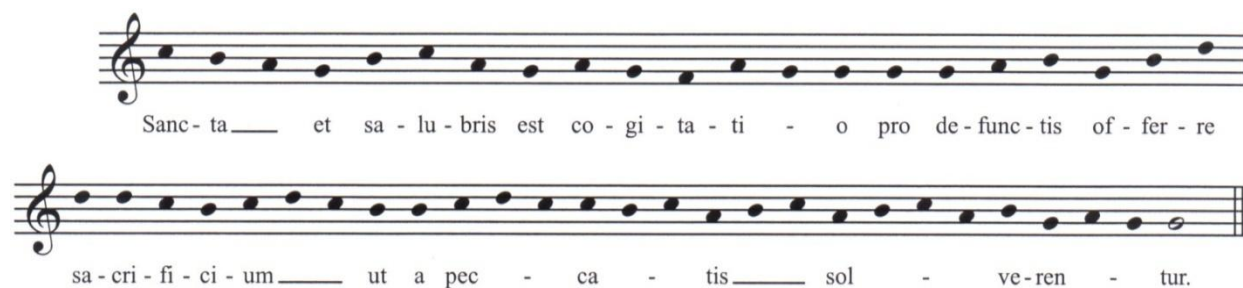
Translation: *Blessed and salubrious is the notion of offering sacrifices for the dead in order that they may be released from their sin.*

Origin: II Maccabees 12:46

Sources: Mad 18[3], Par BN776[4]

Transcription: Par BN776[4]

Sanc - ta___ et sa - lu - bris est co - gi - ta - ti - o pro de - func - tis of - fer - re
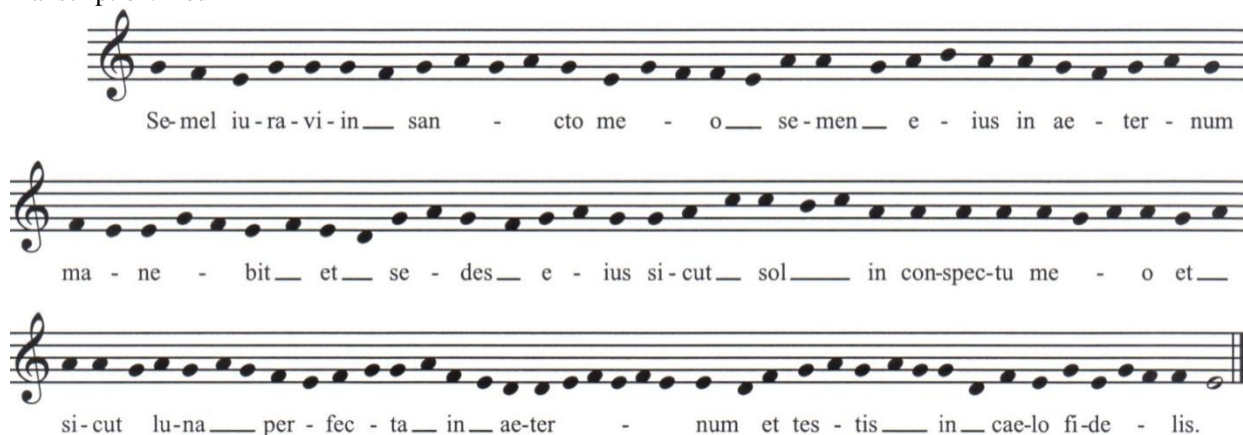sa - cri - fi - ci - um___ ut a pec - ca - tis___ sol - ve - ren - tur.

Text: Semel iuravi in sancto meo, semen eius in aeternum manebit, et sedes eius sicut sol in conspectu meo, et sicut luna perfecta in eternum, et testis in caelo fidelis.

Translation: *Once I swore by my holiness, his seed will remain for eternity, and his throne as the sun in my sight, and as the moon, perfect in eternity, and a faithful witness in heaven.*

Origin: Psalm 88:36-38

Sources: Dou 114[B]

Transcription: Dou 114[B]

Se - mel iu - ra - vi - in___ san - cto me - o___ se - men___ e - ius in ae - ter - num
ma - ne - bit___ et___ se - des___ e - ius si - cut___ sol___ in con-spec-tu me - o et___
si - cut lu - na___ per - fec - ta___ in___ ae-ter - num et tes - tis___ in___ cae-lo fi-de - lis.

Text: Sicut in holocausto arietum et taurorum, et sicut in millibus agnorum pinguium: sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectus tuo hodie, ut placeat tibi: quia non est confusio confidentibus in te Domine.

Translation: *As by burnt offerings of rams and bulls, and as by a thousand fat lambs, thus may our sacrifice happen in your sight today, that [it] may be pleasing to you, because there is no confusion to those trusting in you, Lord.*

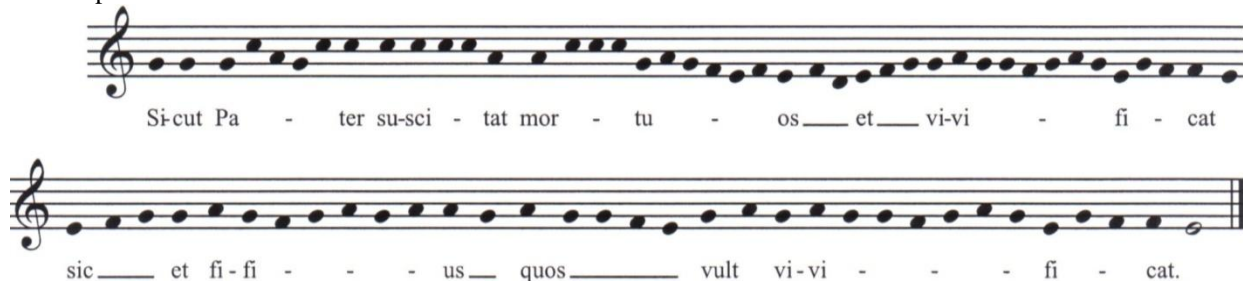Origin: Daniel 3:40

Sources: Nam 1[1B]

Transcription: None.

Text: Sicut pater suscitat mortuos et vivificat, sic et Filius quos vult vivificat.

Translation: *As the Father raises the dead and brings [them] back to life, so, too, the Son gives life to whom he is willing.*

Origin: St John 5:21

Sources: Pad S697, Rom BAng123[2D]

Transcription: Pad S697

Si-cut Pa - ter su-sci - tat mor - tu - os___ et___ vi-vi - fi - cat
sic___ et fi-fi - - - us___ quos___ vult vi-vi - - - fi - cat.

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Text: Subvenite sancti Dei… (see introit)
Sources: Mad 18[1], Par BN776[1]
Transcription: Mad 18[1]

Sub-ven-i-te___ sanc-ti___ De - i___ oc - cur - ri - te___

an - - - ge - li___ Do - mi - ni su-sci-pi-en - tes___

a - - ni-mam e - jus___ of-fe-ren-tes e - - - - - am

in con - spec - - - - - tus___ al - - - ti-si - mi.

Text: Suscipe, Domine, animam defuncti huius, ne pro suis criminibus deputetur gehenne ignibus. Mitte, Domine, angelum tuum et suscipe in tuis sedibus, ne absorbeat illam Tartarus.

Translation: *Accept, Lord, the soul of this dead, not according to his crimes may he be assigned to the fires of hell. Send, Lord, your angel and accept [him] to your home, may Tartarus not swallow him.*
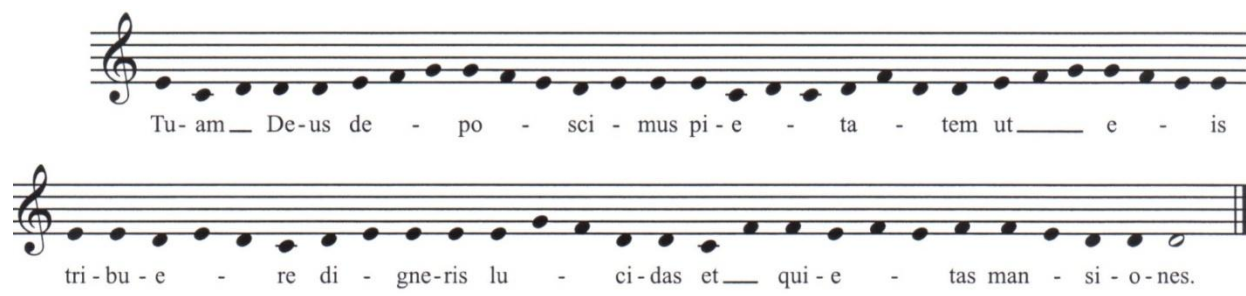
Origin: Unknown
Sources: Par BN13254[C]
Transcription: Par BN13254[C]

Su-sci-pe___ Do-mi - ne a-ni-mam de - func - ti___ hu-ius ne pro su-is cri-mi-ni - bus

de-pu-te - tur ge-hen - ne___ i-gni-bus___ mit-te Do-mi-be an - ge - lum

tu-um et su-sci-pe in tu-is___ sed-i-bus ne ab-sor - be-at___ il - lam___ tar-tar-us.

Text: Tuam Deus deposcimus… (See introit)
Sources: Bru 2031-2, Col 443[1], Col 443[3B], Col 444[1], Col 444[3B], Ein 113[A], Ein 114, Got 58[1], Gra 479[1A], Gra 703[2B], Gra 761[1B], Gra 769[1A], Lin 125[1B], Lin 128[B], Lon 11669[A], Lon 18032[B], Mad 20-4[1B], Mel 109, Mun 3914[2C], Mun 2°156[1C], Rom BAng123[1D], Rom BAng123[2C], Rom BBorg359[2], Rom BRos76[1A], Sal aIX11[B], StF 204[2], Vie 1821[2B], Vor 21[1B], Vor 303[1A], Vor 332[2B]
Transcription: Lon 18032[B]

Tu- am __ De-us de - po - sci - mus pi - e - ta - tem ut __ e - is
tri - bu - e - re di - gne-ris lu - ci-das et __ qui - e - tas man - si - o - nes.

Text: Videns Dominus flentes sorores Lazari ad monumentum, lacrimatus est coram Judaeis et clamabat: Lazare, veni foras: et prodiit ligatis minibus et pedibus qui fuerat quatriduanus mortuus.

Translation: *The Lord, seeing the crying sisters of Lazarus by the tomb, wept in the presence of the Jews and cried out, "Lazarus, come forth." He, who had been dead four days, came forth, hands and feet bound.*

Origin: Referencing St John 11:33, 35, 43-44

Sources: Rom BBarb559

Transcription: None.

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