

## DIFFERENT KINDS OF MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS USED AS PRAYER BOOKS

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### ABSTRACT

In the Middle Ages the official prayer of the Catholic Church, nowadays commonly known as *liturgia horarum* or Liturgy of the Hours, consisted of a collection of handwritten sources, which were used by monks, nuns or clerics as an aid to memory. This essay will describe the history of these prayers – the Office – from the very beginning to the High Middle Ages in the Latin dominated Western World and will also describe important information carriers which were necessary to perform these prayers (antiphonals, collectars, hymnals, psalters, etc.). Furthermore this essay will explain the inner structure and elements of these liturgical manuscripts in some detail.

### KEYWORDS

Liturgy of the Hours, history of the Office, Western liturgical manuscripts

### Introduction

The study of medieval manuscripts, which were used as prayer books, inevitably raises the question about the definition of the term *liturgy*. Prayers as a fundamental source of the Christian belief can be performed in different forms, such as free forms “in spirit and in truth” (see the gospel of Saint John 4:23) or in structured forms like those of the liturgy of Mass or the Divine Office.

This essay will provide information about the latter, the Liturgy of the Divine Office, nowadays commonly known as the Liturgy of the Hours (lat. *liturgia horarum*).<sup>1</sup> This prayer is given the term “Liturgy of the Hours”, because it is structured and divides the daily lives of religious men and women or clerics into various specified hours of the day.

1 In the days before Vatican II, and this since the Early Middle Ages, terms like *Officium* or *Officium divinum* were used.

The different texts of the liturgy were originally collected in a variety of different types of manuscripts (directories, hymnals, collectars, lectionaries, legendaries, psalters, antiphonals etc.), which were used by different people for different purposes. The prayers were collectively practised by a community of different people having different tasks and followed a fixed order. Over time the congregational prayer became the prayer of the individual and the texts, originally collected in different books, were combined to form of a single book – the breviary.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the structure of the prayers has surprisingly remained nearly unchanged until now.

This development affected books for the clergy and monasticism as well as the prayer books for the laity: breviaries, books of hours and psalters. In this context one type of prayer book will not be mentioned: the *liber precatorum* (common prayer book). The texts in this type of books are too diverse as they pertain to the individual needs of their owners.

The first part of the following summary will provide a short historical overview of the development of the Office until the High Middle Ages. The second part will provide information about the different types of manuscripts which were necessary for conducting the Office. The last part of this essay will describe the structure and elements of the prayer.

### **Historical overview from the beginning of the Office until the High Middle Ages**

In order to understand the description of medieval manuscripts which acted as the foundation of the liturgical prayers the next few chapters will provide an overview of the historical development of these prayers.

#### *Biblical roots and the Early Church*

Large efforts have been made in the past to clarify the history of the Office in the East as well as in the West. Even though this essay mainly describes Western traditions, it also has to be mentioned here, that the effort of researchers in recent years has also led to a deeper knowledge about the beginning of the Office.<sup>3</sup> It is widely accepted that most of

2 See Meßner, Reinhard. Einführung in die Liturgiewissenschaft. Paderborn [etc.] : Schöningh, 2001. P. 49.

3 See Palazzo, Eric. A history of liturgical books from the beginnings to the thirteenth century / translated by Madeleine Beaumont. Collegeville, MN : The Liturgical Press, 1998. P. 114.

the liturgical traditions at the beginning of Christianity were based on Judaism. As Christ and the first Christians were Jews themselves this would be a logical consequence. Nevertheless, it still remains debatable exactly which Jewish-liturgical traditions influenced early Christianity and during which time frame this took place.<sup>4</sup> The development of the Liturgy of the Hours reaches back to the time of the New Testament or of early Judaism, where religious ceremonies were mainly performed in the temple, synagogue and in private homes.<sup>5</sup> The ritual of daily, public prayers at specific hours of the days during the time of Jesus and his disciples still remains debatable as prayers on a regular basis were performed privately.<sup>6</sup> In more recent Judaism, morning and evening Offices were characterized by proclamation and indoctrination as well as invocations and praise. These basic types are also described in the New Testament, where they are extended to “pray without ceasing” (Thess 5:17). “Unceasing prayer on a daily basis, such is the spiritual goal of the Liturgy of the Hours, is a goal suggested by the New Testament.”<sup>7</sup> The texts concerning prayer can be classified into the following issues: 1) references to Jesus (and others) being at prayer; 2) invitations to prayer; 3) instructions on the manner of praying; 4) texts of hymns and prayers.<sup>8</sup>

The Jewish morning and evening Offices were adapted by the Old Church. These prayers together with the Eucharist built up the center of the church Office.<sup>9</sup> From the very beginning, Christian prayer claimed to be a new christological and eschatological reality.<sup>10</sup>

4 Texts from Judaism date back to more recent times. See Rouwhorst, Gerard. *Identität durch Gebet : Gebetstexte als Zeugen eines jahrhundertelangen Ringens um Kontinuität und Differenz zwischen Judentum und Christentum. // Identität durch Gebet : Zur gemeinschaftsbildenden Funktion institutionalisierten Betens in Judentum und Christentum / Herausgegeben von Albert Gerhards [et al.]. Paderborn [etc.] : Schöningh, 2003. Pp. 37-55, p. 44.*

5 See Gerhards, Albert. *Stundengebet : I. Geschichte. // TRE 32(2001), 268-276, 268-269; Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 115.*

6 See Bradshaw, Paul F. *The search for the origins of Christian worship : sources and methods for the study of early liturgy. Trowbridge, Wiltshire : The Cromwell Press, 2002. Pp. 39-40.*

7 Palazzo, E. Op. cit., pp. 113-114.

8 See Taft, Robert F. *The liturgy of the Hours in East and West : the origins of the Divine Office and its meaning for today. Collegeville, MN : The Liturgical Press, 1986. Pp. 4-5.*

9 See Taft, Robert F. “Thanksgiving for the Light” : toward a theology of vespers. // *Diakonia : A quarterly devoted to advancing Orthodox-Catholic dialogue 13/1(1978), 27-50, 31-32.*

10 See Klöckener, Martin. *Im Wandel der Generationen : Vom Beten in der Freiheit des Geistes zum individualisierten Pensum. // Ringseisen, Paul. Morgen- und Abendlob mit der Gemeinde : Geistliche Erschließung, Erfahrungen und Modelle : Mit einem Beitrag von Martin Klöckener. Freiburg i. Br. [etc.] : Herder, 1994. Pp. 98-122, p. 99.*

The daily morning prayers had the characteristics of praise (*laudes matutinae*).<sup>11</sup> The evening prayers were characterized by penitential liturgy which is expressed by text references such as “the evening sacrifice” (Psalm 141). It still remains unclear if the threefold praying of the Lord’s Prayer was part of the daily prayer routine of early Christianity or if it was related to early Jewish praying routines as is widely hypothesized. The references of this routine in the Didache (The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles) which originated in the first century AD in Antioch and represents a church order, thus a normative text, does not give evidence for its daily use.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, a daily prayer routine consisting of different prayers can be suspected.<sup>13</sup> Judaism as well as Greek-Roman heathenism were both characterized by a prayer routine: “Seven times a day do I praise thee because of thy righteous judgments” (Ps 119:164). The third, sixth and ninth hour of the day was of special importance in the Greek-Roman culture. It can be expected that this daily rhythm was also adapted by the early Christian church.

In the New Testament two different types of prayers can be identified: a) On one hand, prayers were performed in the mornings and evenings which were not completely unstructured even though they were characterized by a free and charismatic order. On the other hand, hourly prayers were also performed, based on the call of Jesus to be vigilant (e.g. Mk 14:38) and in expectation of the Return of Jesus Christ (e.g. 1 Petr 4:7).<sup>14</sup> In the early period of the church the daily prayer routine remains unclear due to the lack of references. First references appeared in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD such as the *Traditio Apostolica* (TA), which is available in different copies and probably originated around 215/12.<sup>15</sup> In this document morning and evening congregations are mentioned which point out the importance of the hourly prayer as a primary element of church community.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and the beginning of the third, information is available on various occasions. “In Egypt, in the beginning of

11 See Gerhards, Albert. “Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore” : Geschichtlicher Überblick zum Stundengebet. // Lebendiges Stundengebet : Vertiefung und Hilfe / Herausgegeben von Martin Klöckener and Heinrich Rennings. Freiburg i. Br. [etc.] : Herder, 1989. Pp. 3-33, pp. 6-7.

12 See Bradshaw, Paul F. Paralleles between early Jewish and Christian prayers : some methodological issues. // Identität durch Gebet. Op. cit., pp. 21-36, p. 31.

13 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 114.

14 See Gerhards, A. “Benedicam”. Op. cit., pp. 8-9.

15 See Traditio apostolica – Apostolische Überlieferung / Übers. und eingel. von Wilhelm Geerlings. // Didache – Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre / Übers. und eingel. von Georg Schöllgen. Freiburg i. Br. [etc.] : Herder, 1991. Pp. 141-358.

the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Clement of Alexandria (C.150-C.215) insisted on fixed times of the day devoted to prayer: at the third, sixth, and ninth hours; it is also from him that we first hear of turning to the east when praying. In the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Origen (C.185-C.254) repeats Clement and further introduces the practice of regularly saying certain psalms for a particular hour, for instance, Psalm 140 for the evening prayer. Tertullian (C.160-C.225) is the first to describe the pattern of daily prayer, a pattern which would become the rule by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. In the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, St. Cyprian (d. 258), bishop of Carthage, confirms for the church of North Africa Tertullian's testimony on the structure of prayer.<sup>16</sup>

Public, daily meetings are assumed to occur in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, whereas before that similar meetings were rather practiced with family and friends.<sup>17</sup> Public meetings in the morning were characterized by indoctrination (*catechesis*) and preaching (TA 39),<sup>18</sup> whereas evening meetings focused on the agape (TA 25). Besides the public prayer meetings the private prayer played an important role in the morning (TA 35), at the third, sixth and ninth hour, as well as at bedtime, at midnight and at cockcrowning (TA 41).<sup>19</sup> The focal points of collective praying remained the services at the beginning and the end of the days (,symbolic moments'), where the symbol of light played a central role.<sup>20</sup> In addition to these prayers nightly Vigils (from lat. *vigilare*, to be awake) developed, in which the church asks that the nightly hours of this world, which meant misery and plight, might end.

### *The cathedral and the monastic Office in the Eastern and the Western*

In further consequence the progression of the Liturgy of the Hours led to the development of two basic types of prayers which are barely described independently in the literature: 1) cathedral type with morning

16 Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 113f.

17 See Bradshaw, Paul F. *The Divine Office : the first three centuries. // The study of liturgy. Revised ed. / edited by Cheslyn Jones [et al.]*. London : SPCK; New York : Oxford University Press, 1992. Pp. 399-403, p. 400.; Bradshaw, Paul F. *The origins of the daily Office. // Alcuin : The occasional journal of the Alcuin Club* (1978), 3-4. ; Meßner, R. Op. cit., p. 242.

18 See Klöckener, M. Op. cit., p. 100.

19 See Taft, R. F. *The liturgy. Op. cit.*, pp. 24-26.; Wegmann, Hermann A. J. *Geschichte der Liturgie im Westen und Osten. Regensburg : Pustet, 1979. P. 29.*; Klöckener, M. Op. cit., p. 100.

20 See Taft, Robert F. *The theology of the liturgy of the Hours. // Handbook for liturgical studies. 5: Liturgical time and space / edited by Anscar J. Chupungco. Collegeville : Liturgical Press, 2000. Pp. 119-132, p. 123.*

and evening prayers and 2) monastic type with various prayers spread across day and night (lat. *horae*, hours).<sup>21</sup>

The first type, with meetings in the morning and evenings, is characterized by eschatological perfection (Christ as the light that never disappears) which could be extended in the evenings towards the celebration of Vigiliis. Whereas this type of liturgy is documented well in the East it could only be observed in the West in the Milanese, Gallican and Mozarabic liturgy.<sup>22</sup> Massive ethnic changes in Western Europe during the Migration Period which caused the destruction of city like structures led to the unnoticed disappearance of this type of liturgy in the West. Evidence can only be found in homilies of the Fathers of the Church, in hagiographic chronicles and occasionally in documents of the early councils.<sup>23</sup>

The second type, the monastic Office, is characterized by eschatological expectation. It was practiced in monastic communities with a stronger time structure.<sup>24</sup> This prayer is more widely known because it was passed down in many traditions during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century. Different arrangements of the daily prayers (*cursus*) helped the monks to perform the *laus continua*.<sup>25</sup>

Originally, the psalms were the carrying elements of the Liturgy of the Hours.<sup>26</sup> They were not defined as songs of praise as they were in cathedral ceremonies, but as God's word. They were used for meditation before answering God in the form of a prayer.<sup>27</sup> The monks of the Egyptian desert spoke/sang<sup>28</sup> for example the psalms (*lectio*) which was then followed by extemporaneous prayers as an answer to these readings.<sup>29</sup>

The praying of the psalms in the West was structured differently by Benedict of Nursia (~480-547): the beginning was characterized by

- 21 To these two types see also Jungmann, Josef A. *Liturgie der christlichen Frühzeit bis auf Gregor den Großen*. Freiburg i. d. Schweiz : Universitätsverlag, 1967. Pp. 266-273.; Grisbrooke, W. Jardine. *The Divine Office : the formative period : cathedral and monastic offices*. // *The study of liturgy*. Op. cit., pp. 403-420, 404-406 (monastic office) and p. 406 (cathedral office).
- 22 See Gerhards, A. "Benedicam". Op. cit., pp. 12-16. The author describes the structure of the church service. See also Reynolds, Roger E. *Divine Office*. // *DMA* 4(1989), 221-231, 229.
- 23 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 115.
- 24 See Gerhards, A. *Stundengebet*. Op. cit., p. 270.
- 25 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 116.
- 26 See Gerhards, A. "Benedicam". Op. cit., p. 6.
- 27 See Taft, R. F. *The liturgy*. Op. cit., p. 364.
- 28 In ancient liturgical documents the terms *legein* (griech.), *dicere* (lat.), *emar* (syr.) do not refer to speaking or singing necessarily but define only that a matter has been expressed orally; see *ibid.*, p. 50.
- 29 See Klöckener, M. *Wandel*. Op. cit., p. 101.

the singing of psalms which was followed by the readings. Therefore, psalms were used as an introduction to the following readings and lost their importance of being the Word of God, which were listened to first and then answered by prayers. Additionally, the performance by two semi-independent choirs in interaction with omission of personal prayers led to fundamental changes in monastic praying. The personal meditation element in prayer was exchanged by a penance owed to God. This behavior resulted in the development of the monastic prayer into a penance (*pensum, officium*) which had to be fulfilled by the individual whenever there was time.<sup>30</sup>

In the Christian East the development of the Liturgy of the Hours was associated with the cathedral office, even though Eastern monastical elements were blended in. In the Eastern tradition the Liturgy of the Hours was an important element of the common liturgical spirituality and was not exclusively used by clerics and monks.<sup>31</sup>

### *The Roman Office*

In Rome in the 5<sup>th</sup> century three different types of office existed in parallel: First of all the monastic office which was practiced by monks in the large basilicas. Second the cathedral office which was practiced by the clergy at the major basilicas of Rome. Besides that a third type that was practiced by special clerics at certain times at the oratories of the early martyrs. Crucial for the development of the Roman office was the replacement of the cathedral by the monastic office.<sup>32</sup>

The liturgy at the Roman basilicas was now adapted by monks who performed their liturgical ministries in monasteries built as extensions to basilicas (e.g. Lateran or St. Peter in Rome).<sup>33</sup> These communities were characterized by monastical regulations such as the Rule of the Master or the rule of Saint Benedict of Nursia, which summarized former regulations. The rule of Saint Benedict replaced all established traditions among monks in Rome and also modified all existing elements of the cathedral liturgy. The primary elements of the Roman Liturgy of the Hours remained the same until nowadays, even though it was diversified throughout its history by many local mani-

30 See Angenendt, Arnold. *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt : Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997. Pp. 482-483.

31 Gerhards, A. "Benedicam". *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

32 See Crichton, J. D. *The Divine Office : the office in the West : the Early Middle Ages. // The study of liturgy*. *Op. cit.*, pp. 420-429, p. 421.

33 See Wegmann, H. A. *Op. cit.*, pp. 137-138.

festations or characteristics. It became widely spread by Benedictine monasticism in Middle and Northern Europe as well as Britain and erased almost all local tradition.<sup>34</sup> Its further development was characterized by an increase in prayer time which became unreasonable.<sup>35</sup> Through reform movements such as performed by Cistercians the Liturgy of the Hours was adjusted back to the scale of the Benedictine.

One important step of reform of the Roman breviary under Pope Innozenz III (1198-1216) was the spread of the Office of the Roman Curia through the Franciscan.<sup>36</sup> This reform was also an important step toward the stabilization of the private recitation of the Liturgy of the Hours which was accompanied by the development of parishes (Middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century) and the isolation of the clergy.<sup>37</sup> At the end of the first millennium and the beginning of the second one Christianity was celebrated centrally within the cities. Weddings and baptisms were celebrated exclusively in Episcopal churches. A richer liturgical life was developing due to the higher demand for clerics. The secular priest was removed through reforms for clerics and their merging into communities of Canons Regular.<sup>38</sup>

This reform could also be followed by the development of the breviary: This book represents a collection of texts from various different liturgical manuscripts in only one codex. This ends the transition of the former communal liturgy into the private recitation of the office.<sup>39</sup>

34 See Van Dijk, Stephen Joseph Peter; Joan Hazelden Walker. *The origins of the modern Roman liturgy : the liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the thirteenth century.* London : Darton [etc.], 1960. P. 18.

35 At the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, additional prayers (e.g. the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Office of the Dead, psalms at different occasions, etc.) had to be prayed beside the daily praying requirements of 138 psalms and the *Officium divinum*; see Angenendt, A. *Op. cit.*, p. 483.; Schmidt, Albert. *Zusätze als Problem des monastischen Stundengebetes im Mittelalter.* Münster; Westfalen : Aschendorff, 1986.; Van Dijk, St.; J. Walker. *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-22.; *The monastic breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester.* 6: Introduction to the English monastic breviaries / edited by John Basil Lowder Tolhurst. London : Harrison 1942. Pp. 113-115 and 129-130.; Reynolds, R. E. *Op. cit.*, p. 230.

36 See Van Dijk, St.; J. Walker. *Op. cit.*

37 See Gerhards, A. *Stundengebet.* *Op. cit.*, p. 274. Already in the 8<sup>th</sup> century the rule of bishop Chrodegang of Metz arranged for the Canons Regular that the Office was prayed privately without a choir; see Salmon, P[ierre]. *Das Stundengebet.* // *Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft / Herausgegeben von Aimé-Georges Martimort [et al.].* Freiburg i. Br. [etc.]: Herder, 1965. Pp. 324-422, 372-373.

38 See Gerhards, A. "Benedicam". *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

39 See Klöckener, Martin. "Wenn der Herr das Haus nicht baut ..." (Ps 127,1) : Die Bedeutung der Liturgie für die mittelalterliche Stadt anhand des Beispiels Freiburg im Uechtland. // *Stadtgründung und Stadtplanung : Freiburg/Fribourg während des Mittelalters = Fondation et planification urbaine : Fribourg au moyen âge / Herausgegeben von Hans-Joachim Schmidt.* Wien [etc.] : Lit, 2010. Pp. 149-176, 155-156.; Meßner, R. *Op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

## Liturgical books for the conduction of the Office

The main elements of prayers which were spread over different phases throughout the day and night, were the psalms with their antiphons. These prayers were followed by readings from the bible, by works of the Fathers of the Church, by the Lives of the Saints, hymns and prayers. In these times monks, nuns and clerics recited the majority of the psalter and of the readings. Special books were provided in the choir for specific functions of the clerics during the celebration of the Divine Office: psalters, antiphonals, lectionaries, hymnals, collectars, calendars, etc. The following second chapter gives a short description of the different categories in alphabetical order, as well as an overview of the different forms of the Book of Prayers such as the breviary (for clerics and members of religious orders) and the Book of Hours (for the lay people) which developed over the course of history.

### *Antiphonal (Liber Antiphonarius, Antiphonarium officii)*

The antiphonal is a liturgical book of the Western Church, containing the parts that were sung during the liturgy.<sup>40</sup> The book originated most probably from services in Roman basilicas, but evidence for its existence in the Frankish empire can be found not until around 780. Originally, it was characterized as a collection of different texts. Starting with the ninth century it was supplemented with musical notations written in neume forms.<sup>41</sup> Two different types can be distinguished which obtained their final form in the Carolingian period: the antiphonary for the Mass (*Antiphonarium missae* or *Graduale*) and the antiphonal for the Office (*Antiphonarium officii* as a form for the *liturgia horarum*).<sup>42</sup> The latter is a collection of chants of the Western Office, based on the course of the church year.<sup>43</sup> They can be categorized in two groups: The antiphonals which were used by the canon of the cathedral chapters (secular) and the ones which were used by monastic communities (mo-

40 See Krochalis, Jeanne E.; E. Ann Matter. Manuscripts of the liturgy. // The liturgy of the medieval church / edited by Thomas J. Heffernan, E. Ann Matter. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Kalamazoo, MI : Medieval Institute Publications, 2005. Pp. 393-430, p. 395.

41 See Eham, Markus. Antiphonale = Antiphonar. // LThK<sup>3</sup> 1(1993), 775.; Huglo, Michel. Liturgische Gesangbücher. // MGG<sup>2</sup> Sachteil 5(1996), 1412-1438. To the whole question see the publication of six volumes of the Corpus Antiphonarium Officii (CAO) by René-Jéan Hesbert.

42 See Klöckener, Martin; Angelus A. Häußling. Liturgische Bücher. // Divina Officia : Liturgie und Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter / Herausgegeben von Patrizia Carmassi. Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, 2004. Pp. 341-372, p. 354.

43 See Stäblein, Bruno. Antiphonar (Antiphonale). // MGG 1(1949-1951), 545-549, 545.

nastic).<sup>44</sup> “The difference resides in the number of pieces at the night of office (Vigils), the Little Hours (Prime, Terce, Sext, and None), and Vespers: for the secular, nine antiphons and nocturn responsories at Vigils, one brief responsory at the Little Hours, and five psalms at Vespers; for the monastic, twelve antiphons at Vigils, no brief responsory at the Little Hours, and four psalms at Vespers.”<sup>45</sup>

The development of this book is not clearly resolved as it proceeded in parallel with the development of the *Antiphonarium missae*.<sup>46</sup> The Office antiphonal contains only texts and melodies which derived from antiphons and the responsorial of the Divine Office.<sup>47</sup> Originally, the term *antiphon* signified anthems performed by choirs, later the introductory, thematically and accentual texts before and after the psalms which determined the key of the eight ecclesiastical modes. The responsorial chant alternated between the soloist and the choir. In the Middle Ages the antiphonals defined a large-format choir book. The earliest sources known of the Office antiphonal are from the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>48</sup> Corresponding to the segmentation of the Office into day and night liturgy, the antiphonal is separated into the *Antiphonarium diurnale* – the Office for the day – and the *Antiphonarium nocturnum* – the Office for the night. Often these two types are combined and can therefore seldom occur in pure form.<sup>49</sup>

### *Book of Hours (Livre d’Heures, Primer)*

The breviary was the official book for the liturgical prayer. It followed a special scheme and used specific elements (antiphons, psalms etc.). Over time this prayer was enriched by different supplements brought in by the piety of monks or nuns which subsequently were regularly used by different communities and, in part, even by the Western church (e.g. the Hours of the Holy Virgin Mary or the Hours of the Dead).<sup>50</sup>

44 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 135.; Stäblein, B. Op. cit.

45 Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 135.

46 See Stäblein, B. Op. cit., pp. 546-547.

47 See Hughes, Andrew. *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office: a guide to their organization and terminology*. Toronto [etc.]: University of Toronto Press, 1995. Pp. 161-197. See also chapter *Responsorial*.

48 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 136.

49 See Hughes, A. Op. cit., p. 193.; Thiel, Erich Joseph. *Die liturgischen Bücher des Mittelalters: Ein kleines Lexikon zur Handschriftenkunde*. // *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*. Frankfurter Ausgabe 23/83(1967), 2379-2395, 2380.

50 See Beal, Peter. *A dictionary of English manuscript terminology: 1450-2000*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. 47-48.; Wieck, Roger S. *The Book of Hours*. // *The liturgy of the medieval church*. Op. cit. pp. 431-468, 431-432.

The book of hours is a devotional book used by the laity (men and women) of the Roman Catholic Church, and is based on the official prayer books (breviaries) that were used ecclesiastically.<sup>51</sup> Similarly to the breviary it contains a short version of the Office following the eight canonical Hours (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline) with only one form for the entire year. Books of hours were – as prayer books for the private devotion of rich people – carefully crafted and often richly decorated.<sup>52</sup>

The contents of the book follow both liturgical elements and elements of private devotion.

1) The elements of liturgy:

The calendar, the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary or *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, the Seven Penitential Psalms (*Septem psalmi poenitentiales*)<sup>53</sup> and the Litany to all Saints, Suffrages (short prayers consisting of verses and orations dedicated to a special saint or occasion where the Office was commemorated) and the Office of the Dead (*Officium defunctorum*).

Besides these elements, additional texts could be added such as Gospel Lessons, Gradual Psalms<sup>54</sup> and the *Psalterium minus* of Saint Jerome or the Hours of the Holy Cross (*De sancta cruce*), Hours of the Holy Spirit (*De sancto spiritu*) or the Hours of Holy Trinity (*De sancta trinitate*).<sup>55</sup>

2) Elements of private devotion in the form of variable accessory texts:

Different prayers dedicated to the Virgin Mary, private prayers at the Holy Communion and different texts of catechistic character.<sup>56</sup>

51 Among others, a fundamental summary of the Book of Hours is provided by Victor Leroquais in his work on the Book of Hours of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century to the era of Louis XIV.; see Leroquais, Victor. *Les Livres d'Heures Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. 1.–3. Paris, 1927. According to Leroquais, the Book of Hours was developed in the middle/end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and was, at the beginning, often combined with Psalters. The Book of Hours differed from the Breviary as it was not part of a liturgical cycle – there was one consistent form for each day – as it was used by laity; see *ibid.*, pp. 6–11. See Jungmann, J. A. *Op. cit.*, p. 95.; Köstler, Hermann. *Stundenbücher : Zur Geschichte und Bibliographie*. // *Philobiblon* 28, 2(1984), 95–128, 97.

52 See Krochalis, J. E.; E. A. Matter. *Op. cit.*, p. 397.

53 The sense of this prayer was to resist the Seven Deadly Sins. The name Penitential Psalms or Psalms of Confession dates from the 6<sup>th</sup> century given to Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143 (6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142 in the Septuagint numbering), which are especially expressive of sorrow for sin.

54 These are fifteen psalms – namely, Psalms 119-133 (in Hebrew 120-134). They bear a Hebrew inscription which is rendered in the Vulgate as *canticum graduum*.

55 See Ochsenbein, Peter. *Stundenbücher*. // *MarL* 6(1994), 320-322, 320.; Thoss, Dagmar. *Stundenbuch*. // *LMA* 8(1997), 259.; Plotzek, Joachim M. *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*. // *Euw, Anton von; Joachim M. Plotzek. Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig / Herausgegeben von Schnütgen-Museum d. Stadt Köln. Köln : Schnütgen-Museum der Stadt Köln, 1982. Pp. 25-26.*

56 See Wieck, R. S. *Op. cit.*, pp. 457-458.

In contrast to the assumption commonly found in literature that the book of hours derived from the psalter, it seems more accurate that additions to the breviary should be seen as the origin of this prayer book.<sup>57</sup>

The liturgically used elements in the books of hours are the same as the additions to the breviary which rendered the Office a prayer assignment which was difficult to manage both psychologically and time wise, until the High Middle Ages.<sup>58</sup> Laity which were in contact with different Orders were especially attracted by these particular prayers and made them their main prayers. This led to the development of the classic book of hours.<sup>59</sup> The book of hours became famous for its artistically exceptional appearance which reached its finest manifestations in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>60</sup>

### *Breviary (Breviarium, liber breviarius)*

The breviary contained all liturgical texts of the office, which were necessary to fulfill the prayer commitment – either alone or by being part of a choir – of the secular clergy and the religious orders. Originally, *breviarium* described all forms of books which gave some kind of summary, even non-liturgical ones.<sup>61</sup> The application of this term for the official book of prayers derived from the Franciscan which used that term in the rule of 1223 which was approved by Innozenz III. Since then such books of prayer often carried the title *breviarium*.<sup>62</sup> In the first breviaries different elements of the Office were grouped together similarly to what can be found in the missal (e.g. psalter, hymnal, antiphonal, lectionary, collectar and so on). This type was called *Liber officialis*.<sup>63</sup>

57 See Meßner, R. Op. cit., p. 273.

58 See Schmidt, A. Op. cit.

59 See Bishop, Edmund. *Liturgica historica : papers on the liturgy and religious life of the Western Church*. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1918. Pp. 235-237.; Stadlhuber, Josef. *Das Laienstundengebet vom Leiden Christi in seinem mittelalterlichen Fortleben*. // ZKTh 72(1950), 282-325, 286.

60 See Plotzek, J. M. Op. cit., p. 33.

61 See Heinzer, Felix. *Brevier* // LGB<sup>2</sup> 1(1987), 544-545, 545.; Fiala, Virgil; Wolfgang Irtenkauf. *Versuch einer liturgischen Nomenklatur*. // *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie : Zur Katalogisierung mittelalterlicher und neuerer Handschriften*. Sondernummer 1(1963), 105-137, 116-118.

62 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 169.

63 See *ibid.*, p. 170. Especially manuscripts from St. Gall are typical examples of this type; Huglo, M. *Livres*. Op. cit., p. 118.; Gy, Pierre-Marie. *Les premiers bréviaires de Saint-Gall (deuxième quart du XI<sup>e</sup> s.)*. // *Liturgie : Gestalt und Vollzug* / Herausgegeben von Walter Dürig. München : Hueber, 1963. Pp. 104-113, p. 105.

In the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century there was a tendency towards reducing the extent of the books for practical reasons. Readings were reduced to a few lines,<sup>64</sup> so that the books could be taken on journeys. “The examination of the many manuscript sources from the eleventh and twelfth centuries leads to the conclusion that the breviary was regarded as a practical book.”<sup>65</sup> The term *portiforium* was widely used in England. Due to their small size and low number of pages breviaries were often divided into two volumes (summer: *pars aestivalis* from Easter to Advent; winter: *pars hiemalis* from Advent to Easter).<sup>66</sup>

Further differentiation of the manuscripts can be made based on liturgical criteria and correlated to the different periods of the Church Year: *Proprium de tempore* (Advent, Christmastide, Lent, Easter etc.) and *Proprium de sanctis* (cycle of the saint’s days). Occasionally these books were also divided into volumes for the day (*diurnal*) and the night office (*nocturnal*).<sup>67</sup> The beginning of the book was often characterized by a liturgical calendar and tables needed to determine moving church festivals, and occasionally introductory rubrics. In contrast to the Liturgy of Hours of the laity, the breviary was barely elaborated upon artistically, and mainly used by the clerics as a common book for daily use.<sup>68</sup> The invention of the printing press allowed the production of large quantities of breviaries to be printed with the same layout and texts. The liturgical reform claimed by the council of Trent generated the *Breviarium Romanum* in 1568 by Pius V., which was in use for around four Centuries. Not until the Vatican II were new reforms of the breviary made.<sup>69</sup>

### *Calendar (Calendarium)*

In the Roman-Catholic tradition the latin term *calendarium* is used as a liturgical term, which can be translated best by liturgical calendar and is based on the Julian calendar in its reformed Gregorian version.<sup>70</sup> It gives a list of the feasts of the church in daily and monthly

64 See Krochalis, J. E.; E. A. Matter. Op. cit., pp. 398-399.

65 Palazzo, E. Op. cit., pp. 171-172.

66 See Fiala, V.; W. Irtenkauf. Op. cit., p. 117.; Heinzer, F. Op. cit. p. 544.

67 See Fiala, V.; W. Irtenkauf. Op. cit., p. 120.

68 See Thiel, E. Op. cit., p. 2381.

69 See Heinzer, F. Op. cit. pp. 544-545.

70 See Harnoncourt, Philipp. Der Kalender. // Gottesdienst der Kirche. Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft. 6,1. Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit 2/1 / Herausgegeben von Hans Bernhard Meyer [et al.]. Regensburg : Pustet, 1994. Pp. 9-63. Register 359-401, 44. ; Schuler, Peter-Johannes. Kalender = Calendarium. I. Allgemein. // LMA 5(1991), 866.

order, and mostly contains a liturgical prefix of books such as the missal, breviary, psalter or the book of hours which was written for the laity to perform private prayers.<sup>71</sup> The *dies liturgicus* can be defined as the basic element of the liturgical calendar and lasts from midnight to midnight. Only on Sundays and special liturgical feasts does it start with the first Vesper of the previous evening of the respective day.<sup>72</sup>

Two types of church festivals can be differentiated in the calendar based on their contents. In liturgical books they appear at different positions. They are defined as:

1) *Temporale* (*Proprium de tempore*) for church celebrations in the course of the year such as Sundays or Weekdays or certain church feasts during the liturgical year (Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter, etc.); and 2) *Sanktorale* (*Proprium de sanctis*) for celebrations based on Saint's days or memorial days.<sup>73</sup> Further, moveable (Sun- and Weekdays, Easter with Eastertide) and stationary (Sanctoral Cycle, Christmastide, consecration of a church, etc.) feasts were differentiated, which led to the circumstance that the calendar had to be constructed annually.<sup>74</sup> Originally, every single church had its own calendar, the so called *depositiones martyrum*, in which the days of death of the martyrs were recorded in order to secure the remembrance of their memorial day.<sup>75</sup> Since the early Middle Ages these local characteristics of the calendar were slowly replaced by feasts which were of importance for the whole church: for example the worship of individuals of great importance in the New Testament (John the Baptist, Holy Mary, apostles, St. Stephen, etc.). The beginning exchange of saint's relics subsequently caused the exchange of cults between local churches. Further, the calendar of the mother church was adopted by newly founded churches in the course of missionary work. The urban Roman liturgy and its calendar propagated through the Anglo-Saxon mission and the Frankish-Carolingian reform and obtained general recognition. Despite wide conformity of the different calendars they could still be considered as particular calendars since bishops and

71 See Fiala, V.; W. Irtenkauf. Op. cit., p. 133.; Krochalis, J. E.; E. A. Matter. Op. cit., p. 399.

72 See Harnoncourt, Ph. Op. cit., p. 45.

73 See *ibid.* Regarding feasts of the Saints the votive celebrations have to be considered (e.g., Virgin Mary on Saturday or on work days).

74 See *ibid.*, 46.

75 See Auf der Maur, Hansjörg. Feste und Gedenktage der Heiligen. // Gottesdienst der Kirche. Op. cit., pp. 65-357. Register 359-401, 91-94 (These calendars smoothed the way for the development of martyrologies.); Adam, Adolf. Kalender. IV. Christlicher Kalender. // LThK<sup>3</sup> 5(1996), 1145-1147, 1145.

heads of monasteries were responsible for the arrangement of their own calendar until the Council of Trent.<sup>76</sup>

Calendars also provided an opportunity for book illuminations, which (e.g. the labours of the months in breviaries, missals or books of hours) are counted among the most important creations of book art. They primarily illustrate specific tasks of the month or year and the correlating astrological sign in form of locketts or rhombuses.<sup>77</sup>

*Collectar (Liber Collectarius, Collectarium, Collectaneum, Orationale, Manuale)*

This book of the celebrant includes all the elements necessary for the priest (*hebdomadarius*) to pray and sing at the office.<sup>78</sup> It contains mainly the daily orations (*collectae*), but also short biblical readings (*capitula*), sometimes a calendar, *preces*, benedictions, the *principia antiphonarum* etc.<sup>79</sup> The collectar can be seen in parallel to the sacramentary (the book for the celebration of the Holy Mass).<sup>80</sup>

Before the rise of collectars, sacramentaries were used in order to perform the required orations. Usually, the collect of the Mass of the day was taken. Sacramentaries of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Centuries contained collects for Lauds and Vespers,<sup>81</sup> which were often arranged in groups. At the beginning (9<sup>th</sup> century) they contained only collects of the day for each liturgical hour, but soon *capitula* (readings) and other *preces* (a sort of oration) were added. Various forms of manuscripts existed: hymnal-(collectar)-psalters, antiphonal-collectars or benedictional-collectars. In the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Centuries even rituals were combined with the collectar. Overall, collectars were often books for the entire liturgical year.<sup>82</sup>

76 See Harnoncourt, Ph. Op. cit., pp. 48-49.

77 See Plotzek, Joachim M. *Andachtsbücher des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz : Katalog zur Ausstellung im Schnütgen-Museum. Köln : Schnütgen-Museum der Stadt Köln, 1987. Pp. 71-75 (Nr. 3), 73, pp. 80-82 (Nr. 6), 80 and pp. 85-86 (Nr. 9), 85 with figures on pp. 11 and 15; Grams-Thieme, Marion. Kalender = Kalendarium. II. Kunsthistorisch. // LMA 5(1991), 866-867, 867.*

78 See Meßner, R. Op. cit., p. 46.; see also Gy, Pierre-Marie. *Collectaire, rituel, processional. // La liturgie dans l'histoire / Pierre-Marie Gy. Paris : Cerf, 1990. Pp. 91-126.*

79 See Braun-Niehr, Beate. *Liturgische Handschriften des hohen Mittelalters und ihre Ausstattung. // Romanik / Herausgegeben von Andreas Fingernagel. Graz : Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2007. Pp. 289-308, p. 292.*

80 See Fiala, V.; W. Irtenkauf. Op. cit., p. 118.; Heinzer, Felix. *Kollektar. // LGB<sup>2</sup> 4(1995), 282.; Krochalis, J. E.; E. A. Matter. Op. cit., p. 399.*

81 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., pp. 145-146.

82 See *ibid.*, p. 146. In this publication (pp. 147-148) one can find a short list of early manuscript collectars. See also Reynolds, R. E. Op. cit., p. 223.

*Hymnal (Hymnarium)*

“As early as the sixth century, the ancient monastic rules, in particular those of Benedict and Caesarius of Arles, mention the liturgical role of hymns and suggest that there existed repertories proper to the different Hours.”<sup>83</sup> The hymnal represents a collection of hymns with or without notation. The oldest hymnal goes back Ambrosius of Milan.<sup>84</sup> The earliest hymnals were written without notations and were copied into special *libelli*. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century first hymnals appeared with notations, and in the 12<sup>th</sup> century they were composed as fully neumed manuscripts. Usually only the first verse of the hymn was notated.

Starting with the 11<sup>th</sup> century hymnals were combined with psalters or with other liturgical books such as the breviary (e.g. hymnal-psalters or hymnal-lectionaries, hymnal-collectars etc.).<sup>85</sup> In connection with the *psalterium non feriatum*, the hymnal can be found at the end of the book in the form of an independent corpus. In this case the composition is separated into three parts: *Proprium de Tempore*, *Proprium Sanctorum* und *Commune Sanctorum*. In connection with the *psalterium feriatum*, the hymns are integrated in their proper liturgical places of liturgical meaning partly with antiphons.<sup>86</sup>

*Lectionary (Lectionarium officii, Liber Lectionarius, Lectionale)*

This book contains parts of the Holy Scripture or of the Church Fathers<sup>87</sup> which were used for readings (*lectiones*) during the Matins (therefore terms like *Nocturnale*, *Matutinale* were used) in contrast to the book which was used for readings during the Mass (*Lectionarium missae*). The book either contains the whole ecclesiastical year or only individual segments (*Pars hiemalis* or *aestivalis*, *Proprium de tempore*, *Proprium de sanctis* – the latter can also occur miscellaneously). The arrangement of readings is an important aid for the identification of manuscripts: 4, 8 and 12 readings for Sundays and feast days allow the association with the Benedictine tradition. Cathedral churches and other orders (Augustinians, Premonstratensians, Franciscans, Dominicans, etc.) arranged them in 3, 6 and 9 readings.<sup>88</sup>

83 Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 142.

84 See Huglo, M. Gesangbücher. Op. cit., pp. 1417-1418.; Thiel, E. Op. cit., p. 2387.

85 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 143.; Huglo, M. Livres. Op. cit., p. 116.

86 See Fiala, V.; W. Irtenkauf. Op. cit., p. 123.; Reynolds, R. E. Op. cit., p. 224.

87 Regarding the readings of the lives of the saints see chapters *Legendary* or *Passional*.

88 See *ibid.*, p. 118.; Thiel, E. Op. cit., pp. 2387-2388.; Vogel, Cyril. *Medieval liturgy: an introduction to the sources / revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen*. Washington, D.C. : The Pastoral Press, 1986.

Regarding the Office, we know three kinds of readings: scriptural readings, patristic and hagiographic ones. The books to serve this demand are the Bible, lectionaries, breviaries, sermonaries, homilaries, lists of readings, legendaries and passionals.

At first, most of these books were combined into the Office lectionary; later on, they were collected in the breviary along with other parts of the Office.<sup>89</sup>

The lectionary of the Office represents a collection of the readings for the Office (in form of the *incipit*) and outlined each celebration for the whole liturgical year. The Office lectionaries appeared first in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and was displaced starting with the 12<sup>th</sup> century by the breviaries.<sup>90</sup> The Office lectionaries were of local character as they were intended for *one* monastery or *one* religious order. “The great diversity existing in both the arrangement of the Office readings and the other elements of the Liturgy of the Hours prevented the emergence of a standard lectionary which would be authoritative throughout the whole West. An abbey or an order affirmed its identity in liturgical matters by establishing, among other things, its own original system of readings, the result of the combination of several homilaries for instance.”<sup>91</sup>

### *Legendary (Legendarium)*

“Legendaries are collections of Lives of the saints, arranged according to the order of the liturgical calendar, used for lections on feasts of saints.”<sup>92</sup> They contain collections of lives of the saints of all “non-martyrs” which are proclaimed through feasts at the Matins office. “The early legendaries, whose production began in the 8<sup>th</sup> century and reached its climax in the eleventh and twelfth, were rarely intended for the celebration of the Office. Their liturgical structure suggests rather that they were used for the reading in the refectory or for personal meditation. Some medieval legendaries in which the texts are divided into three, six, nine, or twelve readings, were used in choir during the Office.”<sup>93</sup>

89 For the different types of books see Palazzo, E. Op. cit., pp. 149-160.

90 See *ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

92 Krochalis, J. E.; E. A. Matter. Op. cit., p. 408.

93 Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 157.

Legendaries also incorporated fables in versified form from the Middle Ages. As a result, they stepped out of their rigorous liturgical function and became a book of folk tales.<sup>94</sup>

*Passional (Passionale, Liber passionalis, Passionarius)*

Starting from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Centuries a great number of passionals are known. They contained the acts of the martyrs and, in the form of extension, any other hagiographic narrative. It is possible that they were used in liturgical celebrations, but there is no certain proof of this.<sup>95</sup> They belong to the *lectionarium matutinale* and were sometimes referred to martyrologies.<sup>96</sup> Passionals generally follow the order of the calendar or were organized by categories of personages (apostles, saints, confessors). The oldest passionals originated in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The most famous one is the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine (~1230-1298).<sup>97</sup>

*Psalter (Psalterium)*

The psalter is the oldest of the liturgical books<sup>98</sup> and originated between the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The original text of the 150 psalms written in Hebrew was part of the Old Testament of the bible. It was translated into Greek and served as the foundation for the daily prayers of the oriental church. The psalms were finally translated from the Septuagint into Latin and were available to the different sections of the church in different versions.<sup>99</sup>

Depending on the version of the text they can be differentiated between *Psalterium Gallicanum*, which is based on the translation of the Greek Hexapla des Origen of Alexandria (C185-C254), the *Psalterium Romanum* (the Old Latin text version / *Vetus Latina*) which was mainly used in Rome, and the *Psalterium Hebraicum*, a direct translation of the psalms from Hebrew language into Latin. In addition the *Psalterium Ambrosianum* existed in Milan and the *Mozarabicum* in Spain.<sup>100</sup>

94 See Fiala, V.; W. Irtenkauf. Op. cit., p. 124.

95 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., pp. 157-158.

96 See Krochalis, J. E.; E. A. Matter. Op. cit., p. 411.

97 See Fiala, V.; W. Irtenkauf. Op. cit., pp. 123-124.; Thiel, E. Op. cit., p. 2389.

98 See Huglo, Michel. Les livres de la chant liturgique. Turnhout, Belgium : Brepols, 1988. P. 116.

99 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 129.; Huglo, M. Gesangbücher. Op. cit., pp. 1416-1417.; Le-roquais, Victor. Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France. 1. Paris, 1940/41, LI-LXII.; Euw, Anton von; Joachim M. Plotzek. Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig / Herausgegeben von Schnütgen-Museum d. Stadt Köln. Köln : Bachem, 1979. Pp. 303-307.

100 See Euw, A.; J. M. Plotzek. Op. cit., p. 303.; Reynolds, R. E. Op. cit., pp. 223-224.

Historically, the psalter was used very early in the liturgy and dominated the Office during the Middle Ages in two forms: the Roman and the Benedictine form. Extant psalters from the early Middle Ages display great differences which help to depict the history of this liturgical book.<sup>101</sup> Since the High Middle Ages the church has differentiated between the liturgical and the biblical psalter. The latter kept its biblical structure and was divided into five books, whereas the liturgical psalter occurred in various different forms with subdivisions. The Fathers of the Church divided the psalter into three parts with 50 psalms each (1-50, 51-100, 101-150) and interpreted them Trinitarian.<sup>102</sup>

In the Roman liturgy the psalter was arranged in a form that allowed the use of the 150 psalms in the course of one week. The psalms were distributed in the Roman as well as the Benedictine *cursus* among the seven days of the week accordingly. Within the Roman *cursus* they were distributed in the following way:

<b>Dominica</b>	Ad matutinam: Pss 1-20	Ad vesperam: Pss 109-113
<b>Feria II</b>	Ad matutinam: Pss 26-37	Ad vesperam: Pss 114-120
<b>Feria III</b>	Ad matutinam: Pss 38-51	Ad vesperam: Pss 121-125
<b>Feria IV</b>	Ad matutinam: Pss 52-67	Ad vesperam: Pss 126-130
<b>Feria V</b>	Ad matutinam: Pss 68-79	Ad vesperam: Pss 131-136
<b>Feria VI</b>	Ad matutinam: Pss 80-96	Ad vesperam: Pss 137-142
<b>Sabbato</b>	Ad matutinam: Pss 97-108	Ad vesperam: Pss 141-150

Particular psalms were separated from this structure and prayed at special times. Pss 92, 99, 62, 66, 50, 5, 42, 64, 89, 142, 91, 148-50 were used for the morning prayer (Lauds); Pss 53, 117, 23-25, 22, 21, 118 were used for Prime, Terce, Sext and None; Pss 4, 30, (2-6), 90, 133 were used for the Compline (concluding prayer in the evening); and Ps 94 as the psalm of the *Invitatorium* at Matins.<sup>103</sup>

Within the psalter, the beginning of the first psalm of the Matins each day and the beginning of the Psalm of the Vesper (Ps 109) was highlighted with a special initial.<sup>104</sup> Such a psalter was called *Psalterium Romanum* as it was divided into eight parts by the Romans. The Early Christian in the East divided them into 15 groups with 10 psalms

101 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 129-130.

102 See Thiel, E. Op. cit., p. 2390.

103 See ibid.

104 Regarding the role of the illustrated appearance of liturgical books see Braun-Niehr, B. Op. cit., pp. 299-306.

each (the beginning of 15 psalms was highlighted). It was presumably spread by the Milanese liturgy to the liturgy of St. Gall (psalter of Wolfooz, psalter of Folchard). The *Psalterium Aureum* of St. Gall finally combines the different types of divisions into one manuscript which led to an extraordinary precious decoration.<sup>105</sup>

The liturgical psalter occurred in three types: 1) *Psalterium non feriatum*. The psalms were listed without further supplements (Ps 1-150) according to their consecutive numbering. Larger initials arranged the psalms into groups as described above. 2) *Psalterium cum ordinario officii* corresponds to the first type with the difference that invitatories, antiphons, verses, short readings (*capitula*) and hymns were added. 3) *Psalterium feriatum* (*Psalterium per hebdomadam*, *Psalterium per ferias* etc): The biblical order remains, but the psalms are arranged according to the Liturgy of the Hours which means that each psalm is arranged according to its liturgical use. The *Ordinarium officii* is included into the psalter. Invitatories and antiphons are provided with neumes.<sup>106</sup> Psalters often occur in combination with other liturgical books such as hymnars, collectars, etc.

The psalter is considered the book of prayer of the Middle Ages par excellence, also for laity of higher rank.<sup>107</sup> For this reason psalters were frequently illustrated. The beginning of the psalter was often illustrated with a picture of David and the beginning words of the first psalm “*Beatus vir*” were preferably decorated on an initial page. Additionally, the principle of word illustration was widely used in psalters which meant that the language of the psalms which was rich in metaphors and pictures was transformed into (real) images.<sup>108</sup> The illustration of the psalter, especially those which covered full pages and contained decorative initials could be considered as the most appealing chapters of the history of art of the Middle Ages.<sup>109</sup>

### *Responsorial (Responsoriale)*

Parallel to the multiplication of the different types of liturgical psalter and certain books of hours, the appearance of responsorials which are collections of the responsories contained in the antiphonals could be

105 See Euw, A.; J. M. Plotzek. Op. cit., p. 304.; Thiel, E. Op. cit., pp. 2391-2392.

106 See Fiala, V.; W. Irtenkauf. Op. cit., p. 121.

107 See Krochalis, J. E.; E. A. Matter. Op. cit., p. 415.

108 See Psalter [cited: 2011-11-30]. Available at: <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/helios/fachinfo/www/kunst/digi/glossar/p-r.html#P>.

109 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 132.

observed north of the Alps during the Middle Ages.<sup>110</sup> This type of liturgical book contained texts and music of both types of responsories: *Responsoria prolixa* (large responsories) for the night prayers and *Responsoria brevia* for concluding the *capitula*, which are short readings in diverse canonical hours.<sup>111</sup>

### *Sermonaries, Homilaries (Liber homilarius)*

Homilaries and sermonaries were special forms of Office lectionaries, both containing a choice of patristic commentaries or homilies for the patristic reading at the Office of Matins.<sup>112</sup> “In the Middle Ages, the distinction between sermonary and homiliary was artificial even though in the Latin usage, the word ‘homily’ is reserved for the explanation of the Gospel.”<sup>113</sup>

Both books contained texts of the Church Fathers, which were arranged in paragraphs of different lengths and according to their appearance in the liturgical year.<sup>114</sup> Similarly to the breviary, a division into winter (Advent to Easter) and summer (Easter to Advent) could be occasionally observed.<sup>115</sup> The patristic homilaries contained special patristic texts for the readings of monks in monasteries, whereas the Carolingian homilaries were like handbooks for the preaching ministry.<sup>116</sup> Homilaries, especially, were richly bound and illustrated.<sup>117</sup>

### **Conduction and structure of the church prayer**

The third passage focuses on the conduction, structure and the elements of the Devine Office.<sup>118</sup> For conducting the prayer in choir form different books containing the necessary elements were used. As already mentioned, the monastic Office focused on the vigilance of Christianity.<sup>119</sup> Meetings were held several times during the day and also night in monastic communities in order to pray. These meetings were structured

110 See *ibid.*

111 See Fiala, V.; W. Irtenkauf. *Op. cit.*, p. 123.; Thiel, E. *Op. cit.*, p. 2392. See Krochalis, J. E.; E. A. Matter. *Op. cit.*, p. 415.

112 See Heinzer, Felix. *Homilar.* // *LGB*<sup>2</sup> 3(1991), 527.; Restle, Marcell. *St. Homilie = Homilar : illustrationen.* // *LMA* 5(1991), 111-112. Evidence for the oldest homilaries of Western liturgy can be found in Dekkers, Eligius. *Clavis patrum latinorum.* // *SE* 3(1961), 451.

113 Palazzo, E. *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

114 See Krochalis, J. E.; E. A. Matter. *Op. cit.*, p. 417.

115 See Palazzo, E. *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

116 See Longère, Jean. *Predigt.* // *LMA* 7(1995), 171-174, 172.

117 See Krochalis, J. E.; E. A. Matter. *Op. cit.*, p. 406.

118 See Hughes, A. *Op. cit.*, pp. 50-80.

119 See chapter *Historical overview.*

by a special scheme, the so called “Horenschema” (lat. hora = hour).<sup>120</sup> The arrangement of the liturgical day in scheduled prayer meetings (*horae canonicae*), should have sanctified the daily routine. The following terms for these cycle of prayers were used: Matins (*Vigilia, Nocturna*), Lauds (*In matutinis laudibus*), Prime, Terce, Sext, and None (in manuscripts often referred to: I, III, VI und VIII), Vespers (*ad vespertas*) and Compline (*ad completorium*).

It must also be mentioned that there was not a single perfect text or structure of the Office. Throughout the Middle Ages the performance of the Office varied from church to church. “Although there are definite groupings of Office performance according to religious order or geographical and ecclesiastical boundaries, no structural stability was found for the Office ... in the canon of the Roman Mass.”<sup>121</sup> Nevertheless, elusive differences can be recognized between the monastic-Benedictine and the secular Office.

The *Liturgia horarum* contains elements such as psalms with antiphons, hymns, readings of texts from the Bible and the Church Fathers, responsories, canticles and prayers (orations, collects). These are assigned to their respective praying times according to the day of the week.

### *The structure of the Office for a liturgical day*

For a long time, liturgists have been aware of the specificity of each Hour, of its character, of its spirituality, and have established a hierarchy regarding the Hours, in which Lauds and vesper services occupy an important place.<sup>122</sup> Since the liturgical day, as mentioned above, lasts from midnight to midnight<sup>123</sup> this overview about the hours of prayers of the Office begins with the description of the Night Office.

#### Matins (Vigil)

The Night Office contains Vigils,<sup>124</sup> whose structure varies, according to the day, from one Nocturn to three (on Sunday).<sup>125</sup> It is the longest of all Offices.<sup>126</sup> Meetings were held early in the morning in order to recite psalms. The Nocturn can be considered the core of the Matins which

120 See chapter *Cathedral and monastic office*.

121 Reynolds, R. E. Op. cit., p. 225.

122 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 122.

123 See chapter *Calendar*.

124 Vigils, sometimes called Matins, is the first office of the day to come and not the last of the preceding day.

125 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 123.

126 See Hughes, A. Op. cit., pp. 53-66.; Reynolds, R. E. Op. cit., p. 228.

consists of psalms and antiphons followed by readings and responsories. The Night Office invariably opens with a verse repeated three times, a hymn and a psalm – the so called Invitatory; the length of each Nocturn is variable, and the third on Sunday is the most developed.<sup>127</sup> A blessing is conducted ahead of the reading: *Iube, Domne, benedicere*. The number of Nocturns (1-3) depends on the rank of the day or feast. The end of the Matins is often marked by the “*Te Deum*” which builds the bridge to the Lauds. The Matins offers a good opportunity to differentiate the Benedictine and the secular Office.<sup>128</sup>

“The essential goal of Vigils is the fostering of watchfulness and the stimulation of the expectation of the Lord, who will come back at daybreak. The Easter Vigil, then, secondarily, various prayer meetings at night were probably at the root of the progressive evolution of the night office ..., initially for the big feasts of the Temporal and later for the celebrations of certain feasts of the saints, especially those held at their burial places.”<sup>129</sup>

### Lauds

The Office of Lauds follows after the Matins. Lauds and Vespers (morning and evening prayers) are of special theological significance as they were the central prayer meetings in the cathedral liturgy.<sup>130</sup> This service is much simpler than the Matins. It opens with an invariable versicle *Deus in adiutorium* and its response.<sup>131</sup> Every fifth psalm has its own antiphon, but it is also possible that only one antiphon is used for all five psalms. Most Sundays and church feasts have their own antiphons which are subsequently used in the following week as the only one. The reading is performed as a short reading from the Old or the New Testament and its end is confirmed with a *Deo gratias* from the choir.<sup>132</sup> The choice of readings and, in particular, of psalms is determined by the themes of setting and rising or references to the death and resurrection of Christ.<sup>133</sup>

127 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 123.

128 See Hughes, A. Op. cit., p. 54. Benedictine: six psalms and antiphons were used in the first two Nocturns, three *cantica* instead of psalms in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Nocturn and four readings in all Nocturns. The Matins of the secular clergy was arranged in the form of 12 psalms for the first Nocturn, three psalms for the second and third nocturne, and three readings for each Nocturn.

129 Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 123.

130 Nowadays the term cathedral would refer to a community corresponding to the size of a parish.

131 See Hughes, A. Op. cit., p. 66.

132 See *ibid.*, p. 67.

133 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 122.

Hymn, versicles, and responsories change during the church year, and are omitted at *Easter Triduum* (three holy days at Easter) and in the week after Easter. The length and the text of the antiphon on *Benedictus*, as the laud of Zachariah (Lk 1: 68-79) is called, changes almost every day.

At octaves the same antiphon is used most of the time as on the feast day. The Lauds end with a type of blessing. They are supplemented with orations and other supplements, which were prayed with a few exceptions the whole year. Enrichments of the texts were achieved also through so called commemorations.<sup>134</sup> The formula *Dominus vobiscum* initializes the concluding prayer – an oration. The Service of the Lauds ends with the blessing *Benedicamus Domino* and the formula *Deo gratias*.

The Church Fathers of the 4<sup>th</sup> century already mention the topics of the morning prayer: Thanks to the Lord for the gift of salvation and the resurrection of Christ and request for his help for the coming day.<sup>135</sup> The Lauds remember the resurrection of Christ which defeated death for eternity. The praying person is invited to persevere in confidence that Christ will come “to give light to them that sit in darkness [in] the shadow of death” (Lk 1:79).

#### The Little Hours

Manuscripts often contain the term “*ad cursum*”.<sup>136</sup> The canonical hours Prime, Terce, Sext and None are also referred to as “The Little Hours”. They mainly consist of psalms followed by short readings and hymns, with versicles and prayers at the beginning and the end. The Prime vary more in the course of the church year than the other Little Hours. The reading is followed by a *responsorium breve* (short responsory), which is omitted only at *Triduum sacrum*.

The Little Hours can be found between Lauds and Vespers and are the deepest expression of the unceasing prayer of Christians. Their structure (nearly the same for the three Hours) remained unchanged during the Middle Ages.<sup>137</sup>

The hour of Prime was the last Hour in the history of the Office to be established. It was a very short office at the first hour of the day dating back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century, probably established to prevent monks

134 See Hughes, A. Op. cit., p. 68.

135 See Taft, R. F. Theology. Op. cit., pp. 125-126.

136 See Hughes, A. Op. cit., p. 75.

137 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., pp. 122-123.

from going to sleep again. It was celebrated in the choir and followed by a sort of “supplement” to the office in chapter. This is a half-liturgical and a half-administrative office as matters concerning the life in the monasteries were addressed during its composition.<sup>138</sup>

Daily, Terce, Sext and None recall parts of the life and passion of Christ and lead to the center of the Christian faith.<sup>139</sup>

### Vespers

The structure of Vespers is similar to the one of Lauds. Sundays and feasts contain two Vespers. The first Vesper on Sunday replaces the Vesper on Saturday which is also of lower rank.<sup>140</sup> Most of the time, only the first Vesper is mentioned, as it is the more important one. The first Vesper contains five antiphons, whereas the second one contains only one for the psalms. The oration (collect) is in most cases similar in the first and the second Vesper. Hymns, versicles and responsories vary according to the church year. The first and second Vespers are also different. The same is true for responsories, psalms and antiphons whereby the antiphon on the *Magnificat* is always independent. The readings are mostly from the New Testament except at the time of Advent. A special role is given to the Vesper at Easter, which has a completely different pattern – it corresponds to the Roman Vesper at Easter.<sup>141</sup>

The liturgy of the light (*lychnicon*, *lucernarium*) was a central element of the evening prayer of the traditional church and still plays these roles in the tradition of the Orthodox church.<sup>142</sup> The aim of the Prayer of Thankfulness during Vespers is to express thanks for the ending day and to direct ones view to the end of all things and times. The church used the time of the lighting of the lamps to recall Christ as the savior with the image of the never ending setting sun.<sup>143</sup>

Darkness recalls the suffering and the death of Christ and reminds us of the mortality of all things on earth. The recurring light in the morning visualizes Christ as the light of the world (John 8:12), which

138 See *ibid.*, p. 123.

139 See Braun-Niehr, B. *Op. cit.*, p. 292.

140 See Reynolds, R. E. *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

141 See Hughes, A. *Op. cit.*, pp. 68-75.

142 See Plank, Peter. *Stundengebet. IV. Orthodox. // RGG<sup>4</sup>7(2004)*, 1802.

143 See Taft, R. F. *Theology. Op. cit.*, p. 126. The author refers to a prayer of thanksgiving during the bringing of the Light according to the apostolic tradition. See also Taft, R. F. *Thanksgiving. Op. cit.*, pp. 37-41. In addition to the *lucernarium* the elements “light hymn”, offering of frankincense and the raising of the hands according to Psalm 140:2 (141:2) also have to be listed.

will never set. The Litany of Intercession is prayed by the church for the whole world where it additionally asks for forgiveness of the sins of the day. This concept, which can be considered as a basic theme of the evening liturgy, motivated the Church Fathers to install Psalm 140 (141) as *the* psalm of Vespers.<sup>144</sup>

### Compline

The service of Compline (a Night Office) ends the day, before all creatures are immersed in the silence of the night. In this service the praying people ask for a good and sheltered night for themselves and mankind. Compline is the stillest prayer meeting, which tries to lead towards the peace inside the heart, towards the silence of the night. Life is given into God's blessing.

Compline also belongs to the canonicle hours which rarely change within the year. The opening versicle *Converte nos* and *Deus in adiutorium* remain the same all year long. The four psalms are sung under one antiphon.<sup>145</sup> The reading from Jeremiah 14 is used all year long, which is followed by a responsory only during the fasting period. Subsequently a hymn (or a sequence) is sung which varies seasonally. "Like the antiphons for the other major canticle, the antiphon to the canticle *Nunc dimittis* is the most variable part of the service ... The liturgical greeting, *Oremus*, and ... the second liturgical greeting and *Benedicamus* formula are invariable ..."<sup>146</sup>

In historic manuscripts the Office of the Compline appears quite seldom as it is quite stable and rarely changes. It can be concluded that during the hourly prayers the praying people consistently turn towards God in all life situations according to the five categories of the biblical book of the Psalms.

### *The principal elements of the Office*

Each Hour followed a certain structure and used special elements that are sometimes the same, sometimes not. Liturgical manuscripts generally indicate the different pieces or elements and Hours of the day in abbreviated forms. The service is presided over by the bishop (or a canon) in the cathedral Office and by the abbot or abbess in the mo-

144 See Taft, R. F. Thanksgiving. Op. cit., pp. 33-34. John Chrysostom says the service of forgiveness is the primary element of the evening prayer; see *ibid.*, p. 34.

145 See Hughes, A. Op. cit., pp. 74-75.

146 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

nastic Office. Their part was to recite the prayers and the reading of the Gospel. The assignment of any person in the community could be – as a rule – to be the reader at the Office for one week. The part of the whole community was the singing of the psalmody, generally divided into two choirs, mostly under the guidance of one or two soloists.<sup>147</sup>

Already in the ancient monastic rules, the psalmody plays an important role in the monk's prayer.<sup>148</sup> By adopting the principle of *lectio continua* prescribed in Benedict's Rule or by choosing psalms according to the time, one gets several forms of psalmody. 1) Direct psalmody in which one or several soloists sing the psalm *in directum* (straight through, without antiphons or refrains) in one melody and without interruption; 2) Responsorial psalmody, in which one or several soloists conduct the psalm verses, but at the end of each verse, the community takes up a brief responsory, a sort of refrain ranging from the simple word "*alleluia*" to part of a psalm verse or a whole verse; 3) Alternating psalmody, in which two choirs alternate the singing of the whole psalm without interruption, verse by verse or strophe by strophe.<sup>149</sup>

The chanting of the psalms at the Office is enriched by antiphons (from the Latin word *antiphona*), a kind of brief refrain generally sung at the beginning and the end of the psalm, or even between strophes.<sup>150</sup> On one hand, the function of antiphons is to frame the singing of each psalm and to indicate what psalm tone is to be used. On the other it is to highlight of the musical, lyrical, and spiritual meaning of the psalm. Originally, it was composed of one or two Scripture verses, generally drawn from the psalm it frames; in this case, it is called a Psalmic antiphon. Starting with the 5<sup>th</sup> century, non-biblical antiphons were created.<sup>151</sup>

The hymns (from the Latin *hymnus*) were always conducted by the soloist or soloists and the choir. They designate a lyrical chant in metric or rhythmic verses intended to enrich the spiritual power of the Office and express, in poetical terms, the mystery of the day. They were placed either in the beginning of the Office or after the reading and collected into hymnals to facilitate their diffusion.<sup>152</sup>

147 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 120.

148 See Hughes, A. Op. cit., pp. 23-33.

149 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., pp. 120-121.

150 Ibid., p. 120. See Hughes, A. Op. cit., pp. 33-34.

151 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 120 and p. 125.

152 See *ibid.*, p. 127.; see also Hughes, A. Op. cit., pp. 37-38.

The readings (from Latin *lectiones*) designate any liturgical reading done during the Office. There could be three kinds of readings: biblical, patristic, and hagiographic. The biblical reading (Old and New Testaments) is the oldest and most important; as a general rule, the proclamation of the Gospel is the abbot's or abbess's privilege. The reading of the Church Fathers and the hagiographic writings also appeared very early in the history of the Office, in Africa and the East, and greatly developed during the Middle Ages.<sup>153</sup>

A brief reading from Scripture is called *capitulum* ["chapter"]. A reading from the Fathers of the Church is called a homily or sermon<sup>154</sup>, while the hagiographic readings are termed legends or passions (gathered in legendaries or passionals). The number and selection of lessons characterize the liturgical usages of a given tradition (monastic, Roman, and so on), a given Church, even a given diocese.<sup>155</sup>

Responsories (from the Latin *responsorium*) generally followed a reading.<sup>156</sup> The term derived from the psalmody since it was a psalm reduced to one or two verses, and it is characterized by the repetition of a limited number of psalm verses. "Later on, when the reading was excerpted from other books of the Old Testament, the responsory was also taken from the same text. In the Middle Ages, a given liturgical time, a given feast, had a common treasury of responsories from which each church drew to organize its own series. The study of responsories is one of the means of determining the liturgical use of a manuscript."<sup>157</sup>

Versicles (from the Latin *versus*) designate short sentences drawn from the Psalms or other parts of Scripture. There were versicles of introduction ("O God, come to my aid"), of conclusion ("Let us bless the Lord"), of transition, leading from the recitation of psalms to listening to the word of God or else from the reading to the oration.<sup>158</sup>

Finally, the celebration of the Hours makes room for the recitation of prayers of intercession and thanksgiving. In the earliest monastic rules, the custom of concluding certain Offices with prayers of intercession (especially Lauds and Vespers) is well attested. In most traditions, it became customary to introduce the recitation of the *Pater Noster* (Our Father) at least three times a day at the beginning or

153 See Hughes, A. Op. cit., pp. 22-23.; Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 121 and p. 126.

154 See chapter *Homiliary or Sermonary*.

155 Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 126.

156 See Hughes, A. Op. cit., p. 41.

157 Palazzo, E. Op. cit., p. 127.

158 See *ibid*.

end of the celebration. Such recitation could be accompanied by that of an oration<sup>159</sup> reserved for priests, without the Our Father, at certain Hours, always as a conclusion to the Office. In rare occasions, a blessing was foreseen, as Benedict's Rule prescribes at the end of Compline.<sup>160</sup>

## Conclusion

As we have seen the request of unceasing prayer traces back to Jesus and the time of the New Testament. Medieval prayer books owe their existence to a long tradition of different liturgical books. They finally summarize what was previously spread over many varied volumes. They also reflect a tradition that has transformed a congregational prayer to the prayer of an individual using a single book. The use of prayer books in the Middle Ages touched not only the clerical or monastic area, but also the world of the laity. It served to deepen the piety and found broad distribution.

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159 See Hughes, A. Op. cit., p. 21.; see also chapter *Collectar*.

160 See Palazzo, E. Op. cit., pp. 121-122.

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## RAZLIČITE VRSTE SREDNJEVJEKOVNIH RUKOPISA KOJI SE KORISTE KAO MOLITVENICI

### Sažetak

U srednjem vijeku službena molitva Katoličke crkve, koja je danas poznata pod nazivom *liturgia horarum* ili časoslov, sastojala se od zbirke rukom pisanih izvora koje su kao podsjetnik koristili redovnici, redovnice ili svećenici. Ovaj esej opisuje povijest tih molitvi – Službe Božje – od početka visokog srednjeg vijeka u zapadnom svijetu u kojem je dominirao latinski. Opisani su i značajni nositelji informacija nužni za izvođenje ovih molitvi (antifoni, kolekte, pjesmarice, psaltiri itd.). Detaljno se objašnjavaju unutarnja struktura i elementi liturgijskih rukopisa.

**Ključne riječi:** časoslov, povijest Službe Božje, zapadni liturgijski rukopisi