

CORPVS CHRISTIANORVM

Continuatio Mediaevalis

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BERNO AVGIENSIS

TRACTATVS LITVRGICI

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BREPOLS  PUBLISHERS

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cura et studio
Henry PARKES

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The present study was prompted by the re-identification, in December 2014, of a manuscript previously considered lost. Although it was known to curators at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, where it still resides, the document here referred to as *B* had evaded Bern of Reichenau experts for the better part of a century. At the other end of this study, my edition could never have been completed without the news, in May 2018, that I would be granted sight of the Bern of Reichenau libellus *He*. Formerly held in the Toerring-Gutenzell library and last sold on the open market in 1990, the libellus remains in private hands today. In my pursuit of these two manuscripts many scholars and experts kindly came to my aid, among them Ernst Böhlen, Eugenio Donadoni, Roland Folter, David Ganz, Jörn Günther, Mara Hofmann, Peter Kidd, Bob Kosovsky, Roland Schmidt-Hensel and Barbara Shailor. I am as indebted to these individuals as I am to the present owner of *He*, who graciously assented to the project, and to Francesco Siri and Jérémy Delmulle (IRHT-CNRS) for facilitating digital access.

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myself equipped with a much deeper understanding of this author and his intellectual world. I am profoundly grateful to Sasha for these discussions, as well as to Luc Jocqué, who ultimately helped this project over the line. I am happy to declare that all remaining errors are mine alone.

ABBREVIATIONS

I. EDITIONS AND SERIES

- AMS* *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* – ed. R.-J. Hesbert, Bruxelles, 1935.
- CAO* *Corpus antiphonalium officii* – ed. R.-J. Hesbert (*Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series maior*, 7-12), Roma, 1963-1979.
- CC CM* *Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis*, Turnhout, 1966–.
- CC SL* *Corpus Christianorum series Latina*, Turnhout, 1952–.
- Centuria XI* *Undecima centuria ecclesiasticae historiae, continens descriptionem amplissimarum rerum in regno Christi, quae undecimo post eius nativitatem seculo acciderunt* – ed. M. Flacius, J. Wigand, M. Judix, M. Köppe, Basel, 1567.
- CSEL* *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Wien, 1866–.
- MGH* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Hannover et al., 1826–.
- Capit.* *Capitularia regum Francorum.*
- Concil.* *Concilia.*
- DD* *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae.*
- Epp.* *Epistolae.*
- QQ zur Geistesgesch.* *Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters.*
- SS* *Scriptores in Folio.*
- SS rer. Germ.* *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum.*
- PL* *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina* – ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vol., Paris, 1841-1864.
- RISM* *Répertoire international des sources musicales.*
- B III, 1 *The Theory of Music, I: From the Carolingian Era up to 1400* – ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, München, 1961.
- B III, 3 *The Theory of Music, III: Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c. 1500 in the Federal Republic of Germany* – ed. M. Huglo, C. Meyer, München, 1986.
- B III, 6 *The Theory of Music, VI: Manuscripts From the Carolingian Era up to c. 1500: Addenda, Corrigenda* – ed. C. Meyer, München, 2003.

<i>SC</i>	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i> , Paris, 1942–.
<i>Vulg.</i>	<i>Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem</i> – ed. H. Quentin <i>et al.</i> , 18 vol., Roma, 1926-1995.

2. LITURGICAL ABBREVIATIONS

All.	Alleluia	Lect.	Lectio
Ant.	Antiphona	Oct.	Octaua
Cant.	Canticum	Off.	Offerenda
Co.	Communio	Or.	Oratio
Coll.	Collecta	Postcom.	Postcommunio
Dom.	Dominica	Quad.	Quadragesima
Epist.	Epistola	Q.T.	Quatuor temporum
Eu.	Euangelium	R.	Responsorium
Fer.	Feria	Sabb.	Sabbatum
Grad.	Gradual	Secr.	Secreta
Hebd.	Hebdomada	Tr.	Tractus
Int.	Introitus	V.	Versus

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE AUTHOR

Bern of Reichenau (d. 1048) was a polymath in the long medieval tradition.¹ Formerly a Benedictine monk at Prüm, he is known to us primarily from the four decades he spent as abbot of the great monastery of Reichenau, located on an island in the western portion of the Bodensee. When Henry II appointed this *uir doctus* to the abbacy in 1008, the community was already well into its 'second heyday', a productive hundred or so years marked by local architectural renewal, literary and musical creativity, as well as the fabled creations of distinctive school of manuscript illumination.² During Bern's tenure these energies continued, in no small part because of the abbot's own scholarly disposition. Writing in response to *Qualiter Aduentus Domini*, one of the texts edited here, Bern's colleague Archbishop Aribio of Mainz (1021-1031) congratulated him on 'arguments which have been well and skillfully researched, very well structured, fluently expressed and,

¹ Both Bern and his Reichenau colleagues were consistent in employing the uninflected name 'Bern' in preference to the Latinised 'Berno', as explained in D. BLUME, *Bern von Reichenau (1008-1048): Abt, Gelehrter, Biograph. Ein Lebensbild mit Werkverzeichnis sowie Edition und Übersetzung von Berns Vita S. Uodalrici (Vorträge und Forschungen, 52)*, Ostfildern, 2008, p. 62-63. The appellation 'Berno' was nonetheless popular among medieval audiences, and it is retained here in a Latin context.

² The epithet is from HERM. AVGIENS., *Chron.* (p. 119, 8-10); the quotation ('zweite Blütezeit') is from W. BERSCHIN – T. KLÜPPEL, *Der Evangelist Markus auf der Reichenau (Reichenauer Texte und Bilder, 4)*, Sigmaringen, 1994, p. 16, n. 22. For more general discussions of Reichenau in this period see *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau. Erinnerungsschrift zur zwölfhundertsten Wiederkehr des Gründungsjahres des Inselklosters 724-1924* – ed. K. Beyerle, 2 vol., München, 1925; W. BERSCHIN, *Eremus et Insula. St. Gallen und die Reichenau im Mittelalter. Modell einer lateinischen Literaturlandschaft*, Wiesbaden, 2005². Representative scholarship on the era preceding Bern includes W. BERSCHIN – J. STAUB, *Die Taten des Abtes Witigowo von der Reichenau (985-997). Eine zeitgenössische Biographie von Purchart von der Reichenau (Reichenauer Texte und Bilder, 3)*, Sigmaringen, 1992; M. KLAPER, *Die Musikgeschichte der Abtei Reichenau im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert (Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 52)*, Wiesbaden, 2003; H. MAYR-HARTING, *Ottoman Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2 vol., London, 1999², vol. 1, p. 203-211; W. BERSCHIN – U. KUDER, *Reichenauer Buchmalerei 850-1070*, Wiesbaden, 2015.

lastly, have been recounted with secure recollection'.³ The fawning language is part of the epistolary genre, but the characterisation is apt.

The selection of liturgical writings presented in this edition represents but one corner of a considerable literary output, which by the most recent estimate runs to 61 items and spans 110 surviving pre-1500 manuscripts, or over 180 manuscripts if we include the sources of his widely copied *Vita sancti Uodalrici*.⁴ The latter was Bern's only venture into the hagiographic genre, but as a poet-composer he wrote chants in honour of the same St Ulrich, as well as a handful of other Office chants, hymns, sequences and tropes, some of which survive with musical notation.⁵ He is arguably most famous for his corpus of thirty or so letters, covering matters of contemporary politics, prayer, theology and church history, addressed to a variety of kings, bishops, abbots and other churchmen from across central Europe.⁶ Many of these letters themselves comprised or enclosed more formal pieces of writing, including the liturgical investigation which elicited Aribo's response above,

³ *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (p. 21, 257-259): 'uestris bene et artificiose inuentis, optime dispositis, facunde elocutis, et postremo firma memoria pronuntiatis, ex animo fauemus tractatibus'.

⁴ BLUME, *Bern von Reichenau*, p. 84-114 (for the inventory of non-*Vita* manuscripts) and p. 172-182 (for the *Vita* manuscripts). This inventory improves upon older lists: K. MANITIUS, 'Bern von Reichenau', in *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, II, München, 1911, p. 61-71; H. OESCH, *Berno und Hermann von Reichenau als Musiktheoretiker*, Bern, 1961, p. 43-83; H. HÜSCHEN, 'Bern (Berno) von Reichenau', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon*, I – ed. K. Ruh, G. Keil, W. Schröder, B. Wachinger, F. J. Worstbrock, Berlin, 1978², col. 737-743.

⁵ M. KLAPER, 'Die musikalische Überlieferung aus dem Kloster Reichenau im 11. Jahrhundert und die kompositorische Tätigkeit des Abtes Bern (1008-1048)', in *Beiträge zur Musik, Musiktheorie und Liturgie der Abtei Reichenau: Bericht über die Tagung Heiligenkreuz 6.-8. Dezember 1999* – ed. W. Pass, A. Rausch (*Musica mediaevalis Europae occidentalis*, 8), Tutzing, 2001, p. 1-40; W. GÖTZ, *Drei Heiligenoffizien in Reichenauer Überlieferung. Texte und Musik aus dem Nachtragsfaszikel der Handschrift Karlsruhe, BLB Aug. perg. 60*, 2 vol., Frankfurt, 2002. For further examples of poetic writing see *Epist.* 31 (p. 68-69); *Udalr. Prol.* (p. 198).

⁶ F.-J. SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen Berns von Reichenau', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 68 (1957), p. 69-95; SCHMALE, *Die Briefe des Abtes Bern von Reichenau (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, A 6)*, Stuttgart, 1961. Some of the gaps in this corpus have since been filled out: *Epist.* 30 is edited in R. POKORNY, *Augiensia. Ein neu aufgefundenes Konvolut von Urkundenabschriften aus dem Handarchiv der Reichenauer Fälscher des 12. Jahrhunderts* (MGH, *Studien und Texte*, 48), Hannover, 2010, p. 132-136; *Epist.* 21 and 32 are edited in B. MARXREITER, *Bern von Reichenau: De nigromantia seu divinatione daemonum contemnenda. Edition und Untersuchung* (MGH, *Studien und Texte*, 61), Wiesbaden, 2016, p. 64-65 and 58-63.

or the recently rediscovered *De nigromantia seu diuinatione*, which offered thoughts on practices of magic and demon worship.⁷ Also a productive homilist, Bern's corpus of some two dozen sermons includes two for the Reichenau patron St Mark, in whose honour he rebuilt the *Westwerk* of the abbey basilica.⁸

These humanistic endeavours are complemented in Bern's *œuvre* by works of a more scientific disposition. A pupil named Meinzo would later recall with gratitude how he had studied 'in the presence of the abbot of Reichenau, who in this age is the most greatly esteemed in quadrivial authority'.⁹ We know of no treatise by Bern on astronomy or arithmetic, yet much of his output presupposes those categories of knowledge. The liturgical writings edited here rely upon a secure command of computus, that is, an ability to reckon with the astronomical basis of the calendar. Similarly, Bern's popular work of music theory, the *Prologus in tonarium*, draws upon the speculative *musica* tradition found in Boethius, Augustine and others to map out a new theory of notes and scales for Gregorian chant.¹⁰ Indeed, to later generations this *was* Bern's principal achievement, and the text was still being cited as a musical authority right through to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹¹ Not to be ignored, either, is Bern's proximity to his colleague Hermann (d. 1054), who was himself a seminal exponent of computus, astronomy and music theory.¹² Although it is no longer certain that Bern was Hermann's teacher, it is nonetheless difficult to doubt their intellectual relationship, given that

⁷ MARXREITER, *Bern von Reichenau*; the text is also edited in N. BECKER, *Bern von der Reichenau: De nigromantia seu diuinatione daemonum contemnenda, sowie drei Predigten (de pascha, in epiphania Domini, in caena Domini)*. Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar (Editiones Heidelbergenses, 36), Heidelberg, 2017.

⁸ A. DUCH, 'Eine verlorene Handschrift der Schriften Bernos von Reichenau in den Magdeburger Centurien', in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 53 (1934), p. 417-435, at p. 431-435; H. BARRÉ, 'Sermons marials de Bernon de Reichenau', *Ephemerides Mariologicae*, 14 (1964), p. 39-62; W. BERSCHIN, 'Abt Bern von Reichenau: Erste Predigt auf den heiligen Markus', in *Der Evangelist Markus auf der Reichenau* – ed. W. Berschin, T. Klüppel (*Reichenauer Texte und Bilder*, 4), Sigmaringen, 1994, p. 70-84; BECKER, *Bern von der Reichenau*, p. 165-193.

⁹ MEINZO, *Epist.* (p. 202): 'in presentia Augensis abbatis, qui maxime nunc temporis in quadrivio viget auctoritatis'.

¹⁰ OESCH, *Berno und Hermann*, p. 84-116; A. RAUSCH, *Die Musiktraktate des Abtes Bern von Reichenau (Musica mediaevalis Europae occidentalis, 5)*, Tutzing, 1999.

¹¹ A. RAUSCH, 'Bern von Reichenau und sein Einfluß auf die Musiktheorie', in *Mittelalterliche Musiktheorie in Zentraleuropa* – ed. W. Pass, A. Rausch (*Musica mediaevalis Europae occidentalis, 4*), Tutzing, 1998, p. 133-150.

¹² OESCH, *Berno und Hermann*, p. 135-183.

they lived for at least two decades on the same island and penned works on topics which so obviously overlap.¹³

These various literary achievements, both trivial and quadrivial, were themselves organised into larger wholes. As Arno Duch, Carl Erdmann and others have shown, Bern probably assembled a manuscript of his complete works towards the end of his career.¹⁴ The only physical testimony comes from a near-contemporary compendium of the abbot's writings, now in St Gall (manuscript *S*), which has the appearance of a sequential catalogue, but breaks off prematurely during a text datable to 1027. However, Bern's later letters cumulatively reveal that he probably prepared just such a compilation for Henry III, who became the sole ruler of Germany after 1039. The most important of these survives only in a sixteenth-century copy, where it bears the rubric 'Bern abbot of Reichenau dedicated his works [*opera sua*] to Emperor Henry III with this letter'.¹⁵ A later letter, from 1043 or shortly thereafter, offers two new sermons to the king together with the request that 'if you think these worthy you should have them to be appended to my writings [*nostris scriptis*]'.¹⁶ A third letter to Henry III, probably from the final years of the abbot's life, offers the king a handful of named writings, including the lengthy liturgical tract *De uaria Psalmorum* (edited here, henceforth *Modul. Ps.*).¹⁷ On this basis it is understood that the 'opera' given to Henry III may have represented a catalogue up to 1043 or 1044, whereupon they were supplemented piecemeal. One final, crowning piece of evidence comes from the comprehensive survey of

¹³ There is no positive evidence that Bern was Hermann's teacher, and the theory is called into question by evidence that Hermann was educated in Augsburg. See K. F. WERNER, 'Zur Überlieferung der Briefe Gerberts von Aurillac', *Deutsches Archiv*, 17 (1961), p. 91-144, at p. 106-107; N. HÖRBERG, *Libri sanctae Afrae. St. Ulrich und Afra zu Augsburg im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert nach Zeugnissen der Klosterbibliothek* (*Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte*, 74), Göttingen, 1983, p. 216-224; W. BERSCHIN, 'Ego Herimannus. Drei Fragen zur Biographie des Hermannus Contractus', in *Hermann der Lahme. Reichenauer Mönch und Universalgelehrter des 11. Jahrhunderts* – ed. F. Heinzer, T. Zotz (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg*, B 208), Stuttgart, 2016, p. 19-24, at p. 21-22.

¹⁴ DUCH, 'Eine verlorene Handschrift'; C. ERDMANN, 'Bern von Reichenau und Heinrich III.', in *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters* – ed. F. Baethgen, Berlin, 1951, p. 112-119; SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen', p. 70-71.

¹⁵ *Epist.* 26 (p. 55): 'Bern abbas Augiensis opera sua dedicavit Heinricho III. imperatori cum hac epistola'.

¹⁶ *Epist.* 27 (p. 60): 'si dignum ducitis illos nostris scriptis adnecti iubeatis'.

¹⁷ *Epist.* 29 (p. 64-65).

Bern's writings in the sixteenth-century *Centuria XI*, whose now-lost source appears to cut off around the 1043 mark and is referred to as if a single-volume exemplar.¹⁸

We do not need evidence of the 'complete works', however, to know that Bern was concerned with the careful curation and dissemination of his writings. Berschin has identified a fascinating corpus of four or five 'original' Bern manuscripts: contemporary copies, of excellent or exquisite quality, complete with illuminations or decorated initials, which appear to have been prepared at Reichenau for non-Reichenau audiences.¹⁹ Some may have been copied specifically for their dedicatees; others may simply represent the packaging up and delivery of Bern's texts to interested parties. Henry III may have benefitted in both categories. It was probably the latter in the case of the elegant libellus *He*, apparently copied for Freising Cathedral, whose liturgical contents lie at the heart of this edition.

2. BERN'S LITURGICAL WRITINGS

This volume is devoted to Bern's collected writings on the rituals, texts and temporal configurations of Christian worship. Four are presented here as securely attributable: *Qualiter Aduentus Domini celebrari debeat* (henceforth *Adu. Dom. celeb.*) and *De obseruatione ieiunii quatuor temporum* (*Obseru. ieiun.*), on the permutations of the Church's calendar, dedicated to Archbishop Aribio of Mainz in the years around 1030; *De quibusdam rebus ad missam officium pertinentibus libellus* (*Off. miss.*), on various matters relating to the Mass, from the 1030s; and *De uaria Psalmorum et cantuum modulatione* (*Modul. Ps.*), on the relationship between liturgical texts (chiefly of the Divine Office) and their underlying scriptural sources, probably composed in the 1040s. A short fifth text, *Ratio generalis de initio Aduentus Domini* (*Adu. Dom. rat.*), has a contested attribution and is offered here in an appendix.

The importance of these works has long been recognised, both as a subset of Bern's extensive output and as historical sources in

¹⁸ This argument originated with DUCH, 'Eine verlorene Handschrift', p. 423. However, in my discussion of *Centuria XI* under 'Lost manuscripts', below, I argue that the editors probably called upon more than one source.

¹⁹ BERSCHIN, *Eremus et Insula*, p. 24-25; but see also BLUME, *Bern von Reichenau*, p. 82.

their own right. Surveying Bern's surviving corpus of writings, Schmale considered 'liturgical problems' to be no less than the abbot's 'main interest'.²⁰ We can now confirm that claim quantitatively, since the two largest works edited here, *Off. miss.* and *Modul. Ps.*, are together greater in word count than Bern's surviving writings in any other category.²¹ The other two works extend that total by half again. But quantity is not the only reason for us to pay attention. From a historical perspective, Bern's writings are supremely rare and important witnesses to the inner workings of ecclesiastical ritual and custom around the first millennium, for they fall into the midst of an otherwise fallow period of liturgical thought between Carolingian rule and the Gregorian Reforms.²² In particular, they afford insights into the perennial quest of Christian worshippers to attach meaning to their rituals, as well as their desire to reassure themselves of the propriety of their actions. They also reveal a great deal about the social, political and intellectual relationships which Bern cultivated during his career as the Reichenau abbot. For scholars of Reichenau, meanwhile, these works help to fill out our understanding of the monastery's liturgy in a period from which relatively few corroborating books survive.

All five works have previously appeared in print under Bern's name, albeit in shapes and contexts quite different from the present edition, and none with a remotely complete set of manuscript sources. This study is more than just a gap-filling exercise, however, because there is still a fundamental state of uncertainty about what Bern's liturgical writings actually are. Lingering questions about the extent and stability of the manuscript transmission have fuelled lingering questions about Bern's authorship, and vice versa, and the situation is greatly complicated by evidence of revision and rearrangement. Needless to say, this confused history has clouded our historical understandings, not only of Bern, as liturgist, intellectual and politician, but also of the subsequent generations of medieval thinkers and scholars who may (or may not) have digested his insights. As Daniel Taylor put it some twenty years ago, Bern's texts 'will require new and critical editions before

²⁰ SCHMALE, *Die Briefen*, p. 4.

²¹ By 'category' I mean the divisions of his *œuvre* in Bern scholarship to date, comprising letters, sermons, music theory, hagiography and so on.

²² For an excellent summary see R. E. REYNOLDS, 'Liturgical Scholarship at the Time of the Investiture Controversy: Past Research and Future Opportunities', *Harvard Theological Review*, 71 (1978), p. 109-124.

the impact of the south German liturgical writers of the eleventh century can be adequately assessed'.²³ This study is an urgent first step in that direction.

a. Defining the corpus

It is important to recognise at the outset that we are not dealing with 'liturgical commentary' in any traditional sense. Bern's works are not synthetic studies in the mould of Amalar or Durand, prefaced with aspirations to address 'ecclesiastical offices' at large. Nor could they conceivably have functioned to train students in the rudiments of Christian worship. We are dealing instead with a much earthier, more practical mode of writing. Framed not as formal treatises but as personal communications, these texts are focussed in their scope, current in their outlook and direct in their message. The personal angle explains why several portions qualified for Schmale's edition of the *Epistolae*, yet that categorisation is itself misleading. Bern's musings on the liturgy are fundamentally *sui generis*.

As the reader quickly learns, the arguments presented in these texts are not seamless wholes. They are characteristically episodic, list-based or iterative, and they sometimes lack in rhetorical and linguistic artifice. This makes it easy to rush to judgement about the worth or validity of what survives, as Henri de Lubac did upon reading *Modul. Ps.*: 'not a very great mind, but a vigorous and steady one'.²⁴ Conversely, the tacit assumption that Bern's arguments should be of a certain intellectual or literary standard has made it easy to dismiss his writings as inauthentic. We will return to this point later.

Whether or not we enjoy his prose, however, Bern does appear to have known what he was doing. At various points we find him acknowledging his working methods, variously introducing material as 'soundbites' ('dictatiunculis'), as small units of text ('sermo', 'narratio' or 'ratio') or as multiples thereof ('multiplex sermo', 'series narrationum'). We also find him apologising on one occasion for being long-winded (*Off. miss.* 4, p. 79, 63), and on another occasion for the sudden turn of his argument

²³ D. S. TAYLOR, 'A New Inventory of Manuscripts of the *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus* of Bernold of Constance', *Scriptorium*, 52 (1998), p. 162-191, at p. 167.

²⁴ H. DE LUBAC, *Medieval Exegesis*, III: *The Four Senses of Scripture* – trans. E. M. Macierowski, Grand Rapids, MI, 2009, p. 30-31.

(*Modul. Ps.* 3, p. 140, 216). This is not necessarily what we expect from great Christian authors, but it does seem to have been a viable mode of eleventh-century thought. Arno Borst offered the helpful image of ‘textual splinters’ (‘Textsplittern’) in monastic research of the period.²⁵ Or we can turn to the words of a German author of the eleventh century, who declared that he often composed ‘notes on points in the Liturgy and Canon Law,’ in Vincent Kennedy’s paraphrase, ‘not with the intention of publishing them for the general use of the church, but rather to satisfy his friends and to instruct the less learned of his confreres’.²⁶ We know from within Bern’s texts that this was often his aim too.

The comparison is worth pushing a little further, because many scholars, including Kennedy, believe that the aforementioned German author was Bernold of Constance.²⁷ As the creator of the most successful work of Gregorian Reform-era liturgical scholarship, the *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis obseruationibus*, Bernold is often discussed in the same breath as the aforementioned greats of medieval liturgical commentary.²⁸ But in terms of style and structure his work is arguably far closer to Bern, and to Borst’s ‘splintered’ ideal, than it is to the wider commentary tradition. The *Micrologus* is not an architectural whole, but a concatenation of three self-contained sections; it begins and ends abruptly; and no explicatory prologue or introduction survives. The fact that Bernold was also a student of Bern’s work underlines the point: Bern’s liturgical tractates were not as anomalous as we might imagine.

Let us therefore recapitulate. The ingredient which binds this edition together is not a textual genre, but a topic of investigation. More specifically, it is Bern’s lifelong interest in the texts, books and calendars of medieval Christian worship. The four main texts in this edition comfortably conform to this definition, just as his

²⁵ A. BORST, ‘Ein Forschungsbericht Hermanns des Lahmen’, *Deutsches Archiv*, 40 (1984), p. 379-477, at p. 391.

²⁶ V. L. KENNEDY, ‘For a New Edition of the *Micrologus* of Bernold of Constance’, in *Mélanges en l’honneur de Monseigneur Michel Andrieu*, Strasbourg, 1956, p. 229-241, at p. 233-234.

²⁷ The text in question, entitled ‘De sacramentis morientium infantium’ (*PL*, 148, col. 1271-1276, at col. 1274) or ‘De paruulorum unctione’, was never explicitly attributed to Bernold, but appears adjacent to his works in two twelfth-century manuscripts. See O. MÜNSCH, ‘Neues zu Bernold von Konstanz’, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, 92 (2006), p. 207-223, at p. 209-215.

²⁸ KENNEDY, ‘For a New Edition’, esp. p. 229: ‘he was a versatile genius’.

other writings do not. For this reason we exclude Bern's fragmentary letter on prayer, fasting and almsgiving, which considers those acts in the abstract, outside of any ritual instantiation.²⁹ Nor is there space for Bern's writings on music theory, which pertain to a classic liturgical repertory, that of Gregorian Chant, yet are less concerned with the practice of worship than with the technicalities of melodic classification. All of these texts may be consulted in good modern editions.

Even before we assess Bern's authorship from historical and stylistic vantage points, the attribution of these four *tractatus liturgici* is outwardly simple: *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, *Obseru. ieiun.* and *Modul. Ps.* all bear Bern's name; *Off. miss.* does not, but it includes an unambiguous cross-reference back to the same author's *Adu. Dom. celeb.* Although medieval and early modern biographers acknowledged Bern as the author of no more than three liturgical

Table 1
Medieval and early modern inventories
of Bern's liturgical writings

	SIGEBERT. GEMBL., <i>Vir. ill.</i> 157 (p. 98)	WOLFG. PRÜF., <i>Script.</i> 81 (p. 146, 810-811)	JOHANNES TRITHEMIVS, <i>Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis</i> , Basel, 1494 (f. 48v-49r)	<i>Centuria XI</i> (1567), passim ³⁰
<i>Adu. Dom. celeb.</i>			'De aduentu domini ad Aribonem'	'Sermones de aduentu Domini' 'Liber de aduentu Christi'
<i>Obseru. ieiun.</i>	'De quatuor temporum ieiuniis'		'De ieiunio quattuor temporum' 'De ieiunio sabbati'	'De ieiunio quatuor temporum' 'Dialogus Bernonis et Gerungi'
<i>Off. miss.</i>		'Librum de institutione missarum'	'De officio quoque missae'	'Cap. 5 de concordia officiorum' 'Liber de concordia officiorum'
<i>Modul. Ps.</i>				

²⁹ *Epist.* 31 (p. 68-69).

³⁰ The full set of *Centuria XI* citations is helpfully tabulated in BECKER, *Bern von der Reichenau*, p. 353-356, improving on that in ERDMANN, 'Bern von Reichenau', p. 115, n. 2-5.

discussions, as summarised in Table 1, it is easy to imagine why *Modul. Ps.* might have slipped under their radar. Surviving in only two copies, this late, possibly unrevised work appears not to have circulated widely.

b. The author of the Ratio generalis de initio Aduentu

Besides the establishment of appropriate textual recensions, the greatest challenge for an edition of Bern's liturgical writings is to arbitrate on the authorship of a possible fifth work, *Ratio generalis de initio Aduentu* (*Adu. Dom. rat.*). This short tract on the Advent calendar was never attributed in its medieval copies. However, it was very frequently transmitted together with Bern's *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, a text which puts forward the very same argument: that Advent Sunday should be celebrated no earlier than 27 November. Bernhard Pez was the first to print both texts under the abbot's name, whence the attribution entered wider circulation via *PL*.³¹ But he was not the first to interpret the evidence this way. A century and a half earlier, the Magdeburg Centuriators reported that Bern 'remembered the canons of Orléans' and 'remembered the French bishops in his letter on Advent' – comments which refer unambiguously to *Adu. Dom. rat.* – and at one point they described his Advent work in the plural, as *sermones*.³² Still further back, the twelfth-century scribe of *W* conflated *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Adu. Dom. rat.* into a single chapter, and presented this composite under the auspices of Bern's *Off. miss.*, as discussed further below.

So did Bern compose *Adu. Dom. rat.* as well? Scholars have spent the better part of a century debating this question. Those of a more sceptical disposition have focussed their attention on the author's claim to have been a monk at Fleury, a detail not other-

³¹ B. PEZ, *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus seu veterum monumentorum, praecipue ecclesiasticorum, ex Germanicis potissimum bibliothecis adornata collectio recentissima*, IV.2, Augsburg, 1721, col. 49. See also A. RIVET DE LA GRANGE, 'Bernon, abbé de Richenow', in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, VII, Paris, 1746, p. 575-588 (*recte* p. 375-388), at p. 580 (*recte* 380); A. GATARD, 'Bernon de Reichenau', *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, II.1 – ed. F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, Paris, 1910, col. 820-823, at col. 821.

³² *Centuria XI*, col. 20, 58-59: 'Bernon meminit Aurelianensium Canonicorum'; col. 23, 56-58: 'Francigenarum enim episcoporum meminit Bernon in epistola de Aduentu Domini'; col. 23, 16-17: 'Ariboni enim archiepiscopo Bernon dedicat sermones de aduentu Domini'.

wise corroborated in Bern's biography.³³ In particular, they have analysed the text's account of a liturgical confrontation between the monks of Fleury and canons of Orléans on 4 December 993, during the abbacy of the famed scholar Abbo.³⁴ It is clear that the author was a foreign visitor at the time, for although he wrote about 'us the Fleury monks', he also mentioned that these events took place when 'stationed among French people', as if this was not his normal environment.³⁵ But there is nothing else in the text to suggest that Bern himself was the protagonist. No less pertinently, the Fleury story rubs against more secure evidence that Bern was appointed to Reichenau from the Lotharingian monastery of Prüm.³⁶

This latter detail explains why those in favour of Bern's authorship have attempted to substantiate a Fleury connection by other means. One prominent argument concerns a Fleury monk who had a similar name. In the late tenth-century astronomical collection LONDON, British Library, Harley MS 2506, copied in the circle of Abbo, there is a short *sententia* in which the author's own name 'Abbo' has been replaced with 'Berno'.³⁷ In the original text of the *sententia*, penned in 978, the author had described his lowly place in the monastic hierarchy in terms of a 'prima luna', or new moon. So we can understand why the scribe of this London compilation of the late tenth century, working at a time when Abbo was now abbot and thus the very antithesis of a 'prima luna', might have substituted another name in his place, perhaps even his own. Standing in the way of that conclusion is Blume's recent determi-

³³ The seeds of doubt were first sown in P. BLANCHARD, 'Notes sur les œuvres attribuées à Bernon de Reichenau', *Revue Bénédictine*, 29 (1912), p. 98-107, at p. 104-105, a position later amplified in OESCH, *Berno und Hermann*, p. 30-31.

³⁴ In earlier literature this occasion is misdated to 999 or 1000. For discussion and clarification of the dating see A. VAN DE VYVER, 'Les œuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury', *Revue Bénédictine*, 47 (1935), p. 125-169, at p. 143, n. 2. Abbo himself reported on the 'grauissimus error' of the occasion in ABBO FLOR., *Apol.* (col. 472), as cited in VAN DE VYVER, 'Les œuvres inédites', p. 143, n. 2.

³⁵ *Adu. Dom. rat.*, p. 162, 67-68: 'nos Floriacenses fratres'; p. 161, 56: 'apud Gallos positus'.

³⁶ HERM. AVGIENS., *Chron.* (p. 119, 9).

³⁷ The text appears on f. 31r: 'Ergo dum primam lunam duodecim partibus semper a sole distare audis, ita intellige ac si duodecim fratribus distet Berno a sua abbate, et ita tredecimus aliquo resideat in ordine'. For the original observation see VAN DE VYVER, 'Les œuvres inédites', p. 141-143; for a more recent description and dating see D. PINGREE, *Preceptum canonis Ptolemei* (*Corpus des astronomes byzantins*, 8), Louvain-la-Neuve, 1997, p. 7-9.

nation that 'Bernō' preferred to be called 'Bern'.³⁸ Nevertheless, the dates remain plausible. A Fleury monk whose status was analogous to the new moon in the 990s could well have died in old age at Reichenau in 1048.

Another argument in favour of Bern's authorship concerns the intellectual connections between the two communities. Scholarship on the transfer of Arabic knowledge into Western Europe has demonstrated beyond doubt that there was a connection between the Fleury school of the late tenth century and the work of Hermann, who became a monk at Reichenau in the early eleventh century under Abbot Bern.³⁹ To be more precise, Hermann's scholarship on the astrolabe shows the unmistakable influence of documents cultivated in the vicinity of Abbo – a path since confirmed by a contemporary Reichenau fragment (KONSTANZ, Stadtarchiv, Fragmentensammlung Mappe 2, Umschlag 8, Stück 7) which transmits three astronomical texts from the Fleury nexus, complete with local Fleury readings.⁴⁰ Thus *Adu. Dom. rat.* encourages us to see Bern as the missing link between two great exponents of astronomical thought around the first millennium: his putative teacher Abbo of Fleury and his putative pupil Hermann of Reichenau. Arno Borst put the point more bluntly: 'Kein Zweifel, Abt Bern von Reichenau ist der Mittelsmann'.⁴¹ So confident was Borst of the institutional connection, indeed, that in 1984 he declared the doubt about Bern's Fleury credentials to be 'outdated'.⁴²

We must be clear, however, that arguments about an institutional relationship do not resolve the matter of authorship. Indeed, on the contrary, these arguments use the presumption of

³⁸ BLUME, *Bern von Reichenau*, p. 62–63.

³⁹ See, above all, A. BORST, *Astrolab und Klosterreform an der Jahrtausendwende*, Heidelberg, 1989, p. 58–69.

⁴⁰ BORST, *Astrolab*, p. 112–127. We can posit a similar story for MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 560, an early copy of the astronomical *Liber Alchandreï* linked to eleventh-century Fleury, later annotated by a scribe from eleventh-century Constance, which was at some point bound together with a section from ninth-century Reichenau. On the Fleury connection see D. JUSTE, *Les Alchandreana primitifs: Étude sur les plus anciens traités astrologiques latins d'origine arabe (x^e siècle)* (*Brill's Studies in Intellectual History*, 152), Leiden, 2007, p. 340–342. On the identity of the annotator, and for the suggestion that the 'Fleury' portion was *also* German, see H. HOFFMANN, *Schreibschulen des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts im Südwesten des Deutschen Reichs*, 2 vol. (*Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 53), Hannover, 2004, vol. 1, p. 173.

⁴¹ BORST, *Astrolab*, p. 59.

⁴² BORST, 'Ein Forschungsbericht', p. 389, n. 15.

Bern's responsibility as a means to explain how Reichenau and Fleury were related. The distinction is important to make because a direct lineage from Abbo to Bern to Hermann, as per Borst's thesis, is *not* the only conceivable route for intellectual exchange between two institutions. Charles Burnett has shown that one of Hermann's major sources for his work on the astrolabe, Ascelin of Augsburg, was probably communicating with the Fleury School in the early eleventh century via an individual named Constantine.⁴³ Since Hermann himself appears to have grown up in Augsburg, it now seems more likely that he gained his astronomical education not from Bern, but from a period of tuition with Ascelin.⁴⁴ This does not advance the question of who wrote *Adu. Dom. rat.*, except in one key respect: Bern is no longer the default candidate.

So who might have been the original author, if not Bern? Ironically, had it not been for arguments about the relationship between Abbo and Hermann, a frontrunner would have emerged long ago. As Van de Vyver pointed out in 1935, a likely alternative is Theodoricus of Amorbach (often Thierry of Amorbach), who was a monk at Fleury in the 990s before returning via Italy to his native Germany in the early eleventh century.⁴⁵ Besides being the perfect candidate for the emigré figure of *Adu. Dom. rat.*, Theodoricus was a man of serious liturgical erudition, who had a unique proclivity for reporting on French matters for German audiences. He did so most prominently in a complete record of Fleury customs, probably written for Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim, which stands as the earliest guide to that institution's liturgy and one of the very earliest texts of this genre.⁴⁶ He also did so in a history of the Fleury feast of the *Illatio* of St Benedict, held each year on 4 December, which he dedicated to Richard of Amorbach.⁴⁷ And it just so happens that this feast was the context

⁴³ C. BURNETT, 'King Ptolemy and Alchandreus the Philosopher: The Earliest Texts on the Astrolabe and Arabic Astrology at Fleury, Micy and Chartres', *Annals of Science*, 55 (1998), p. 329-368, at p. 333-334.

⁴⁴ For more on Hermann's childhood see WERNER, 'Zur Überlieferung', p. 106-107; HÖRBERG, *Libri sanctae Afrae*, p. 216-224; BERSCHIN, 'Ego Herimannus', p. 21-22.

⁴⁵ VAN DE VYVER, 'Les œuvres inédites', p. 143, n. 2 (p. 144). For more on Theodoricus see A. DAVRIL, 'Un moine de Fleury aux environs de l'an mil: Thierry, dit d'Amorbach', in *Études Ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales* – ed. R. Louis, Auxerre, 1975, p. 97-104.

⁴⁶ THEOD. AMORB., *Consuet.* See also DAVRIL, 'Un moine', p. 101-103.

⁴⁷ THEOD. AMORB., *Bened. I.*

for the events described in *Adu. Dom. rat.*, when the Orléans canons made a catastrophic liturgical blunder in the presence of the Fleury monks. This could be a coincidence, of course, but nor would it be a surprise to learn that the leading advocate of this special Fleury custom (in the *Illatio* text) was *also* the leading critic of those who had jeopardised its successful performance (in *Adu. Dom. rat.*). To these details let us append two more minor observations. First, Theodoricus had an affinity for the relatively rare verb ‘uilipendo’, absent from the Vulgate and from Patristic texts, but conspicuously present in *Adu. Dom. rat.*⁴⁸ Second, in his commentary on the Canonical Epistles he drew upon writings by Hilary of Poitiers, an author who appears prominently in *Adu. Dom. rat.*, but is otherwise completely absent from the works securely attributable to Bern.⁴⁹

More research is required before we can treat this as anything more than a hypothesis, but one point should now be clear: there are no strong or *a priori* grounds to consider Bern as author of *Adu. Dom. rat.* In this edition we include the text as an appendix, without formal attribution, so that scholars may make up their own minds about a textual tradition that has hitherto been entirely opaque. But by no means does this exclude the possibility of Bern’s involvement. As we shall now see, there are many good reasons to believe not only that Bern knew of *Adu. Dom. rat.*, but also that he actively marshalled it into place as an appendix to *Adu. Dom. celeb.* – thus instigating the very debate which we have attempted to resolve here.

c. Drafts and corrected versions

The fact that Bern compiled his works into formal compilations, especially late in life, opens up the important possibility that his texts circulated in more than one authorial version. Schmale discovered evidence to this effect in his work on Bern’s *Epistolae*, including a roughly twofold division of the sources in *Adu. Dom.*

⁴⁸ *Adu. Dom. rat.* (p. 161, 42): ‘uilipendenda’; THEOD. AMORB., *Comm.* (ed. Dümmeler, p. 28, p. 33, p. 36): ‘vilipensis’, ‘vilipendisti’, ‘vilipendistis’. My assessment of the verb’s spread is derived from two sources: the frequency statistics of the Latin Word Study Tool, part of the Perseus Digital Library at [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?lang=la](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?lang=la;); and the Cross Database Searchtool, part of Brepolis at <http://www.brepolis.net> (both accessed 4 April 2019).

⁴⁹ THEOD. AMORB., *Comm.* (ed. Dümmeler, p. 9, n. 2), but note that the reference in question belongs to an unpublished portion of the text.

celeb., though he never published the promised study in which he had intended to lay the tradition bare.⁵⁰ In this edition we observe similar patterns, not only in *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, but also in *Obseru. ieiun.* and *Adu. Dom. rat.*, the two intimately related texts which frequently accompanied it. As we shall now see, the sum total of this evidence, philological and codicological, suggests not only that Bern acted as corrector to these texts – one of which, as we have seen, was probably *not* his original composition – but also that the act of correction coincided with their compilation into a group, as found in the Reichenau libellus *He* and its descendants.

To advance this hypothesis we need to understand several key details about the individual manuscript witnesses and their textual relations – matters which have not yet been discussed in detail. However, the implications are sufficiently critical, both for the strategies adopted in this edition and for our developing understanding of Bern as a scholar and self-curator, that a skeleton argument is offered here. For further clarification and justification of the claims being made, the reader may refer forwards to the manuscript descriptions and corresponding textual studies below.

(1) In their earliest surviving copies *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, *Adu. Dom. rat.* and *Obseru. ieiun.* all appear on their own, without titles. The first text is found in *T* and *V* (copies datable to the second quarter of the eleventh century); the second in *V* (in a different hand, also datable to the second quarter); the third in *P* (datable palaeographically to the middle third of the eleventh century).

(2) None of these early copies was made at Reichenau. Since *V* was assembled in Mainz, it is possible that its copy of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* derives from Bern's original epistle to Aribio, archbishop of Mainz, written in 1027. This copy also includes Aribio's reply.

(3) The earliest Reichenau-affiliated copy of any of these works is *He*, copied at Reichenau or by Reichenau-trained scribes in the middle third of the eleventh century, possibly in the 1040s. This manuscript is also the oldest to bring these three texts together into an unbroken sequence. That sequence survives in three fur-

⁵⁰ SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen', p. 90: 'Wir haben in der Überlieferung der einzelnen Stücke nicht vereinbare Varianten festgestellt, als deren Ursache wir Unterschiede zwischen Konzept und Original vermuteten'. For a partial stemma see *Ibid.*, p. 79; on the promised study see SCHMALE, *Die Briefen*, p. 9.

ther copies (*Ma Mb Md*); a fourth copy (*A*) includes other works by Bern but lacks *Obseru. ieiuu.*

(4) The early Reichenau compilation *He* is considerably more formal than the earliest copies *T*, *V* and *P*, in four respects. First, it is devoted to these works alone. Second, it provides descriptive rubrics, not found in the earlier copies or their descendants, which serve to identify Bern as author and Aribio as dedicatee (*Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Obseru. ieiuu.*), and to invoke Hilary of Poitiers as a principal authority (*Adu. Dom. rat.*). It is from these rubrics that we derive the works' titles. Third, the rubrics for the second and third texts begin with 'Item', a clear gesture of continuity, binding the works together as a group. Fourth, the script and presentation are of relatively high grade. Blume has challenged Berschin's claim that *He* belongs among the Reichenau 'originals', which are otherwise of exquisite quality.⁵¹ Content-wise, however, it is clear that we are dealing with a meticulously curated collection, in which three independent communications have been formally constituted as a coherent set of liturgical writings.

(5) *He* is the most superior textual witness to the three writings as a group, and it is among the strongest witnesses to each individual work. (*A* is also a strong witness for the first two.) This should give us confidence that *He* is good record of these works as known at Reichenau during Bern's lifetime. (Note that a Reichenau association is not itself a guarantee of textual reliability, as we see in *H*'s problematic recension of *Modul. Ps.*)

(6) *He* is the earliest witness to an adaptation which brings *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Adu. Dom. rat.* into dialogue. In all surviving compilations of these works (i.e. *He* and its descendants) the end of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* acknowledges the patristic authority of Hilary:

p. 20, 236-237 a sanctis patribus Gelasio, Gregorio, Hieronymo *Vm*]
 atque Hilario *add. He Ma Mb Md*, Hilario *add. A*

This is a strange move if we look at *Adu. Dom. celeb.* on its own, for Hilary appears nowhere else in that text and was not widely known as an authority on these matters. But Hilary is central to the argument of the ensuing *Adu. Dom. rat.*, via a quotation from

⁵¹ BLUME, *Bern von Reichenau*, p. 82, responding to BERSCHIN, *Eremus et Insula*, p. 24-25.

a now-lost work, which seems not to have been in the Reichenau library.⁵² The rubric makes this debt clear:

p. 159, Tit. Item ratio generalis de initio Aduentus Domini secundum auctoritatem Hilarii episcopi *He Ma Mb Md*,
Item de Aduentu Domini *A* [*titulus deest in aliis codicibus*]

Thus it appears that these texts were meant to be considered in tandem. Scholars have often voiced their bafflement about Bern's failure to cite the older *Adu. Dom. rat.* at any point in *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, for at every turn it provides valuable weight to the abbot's own claims. But this arrangement gives us a possible answer: the presence of the second text *is* the citation, as signalled by the brief anticipation of Hilary's name.

(7) The adaptations mentioned above are part of a larger pattern. The copies in which the three works are transmitted on their own (comprising the earliest copies *TV P*, plus later relatives *mc*) are philologically distinct from those manuscripts in which the works are transmitted together (*He Ma Mb Md A*, plus their likely derivative *Mc*). The stemmata printed in the respective introductions reveal that each work divides consistently into two basic recensions, α and β , and that each manuscript is affiliated to one recension or the other. Even before we look at the evidence, this correlation comes with a strong implication: compilation and correction went hand in hand.

(8) Correction can go in either direction, of course, but analysis of the differences strongly indicates that the α recensions postdate the β recensions. The most salient points are as follows:

(a) While the α recensions of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Obseru. ieiun.* are consistently more faithful to Amalar's *De officiis*, the primary source of quoted authority in those works, the β recensions regularise certain aspects of grammar and word order. Unless we truly believe that a scribe reverted the text to Amalar's original, this is a one-way process.

(b) The α recension of *Adu. Dom. rat.* has a basic computistical error that is corrected in the β recension. The former version reck-

⁵² A. WILMART, 'Le prétendu *Liber officiorum* de saint Hilaire et l'avent liturgique', *Revue Bénédictine*, 17 (1910), p. 500-513.

ons the distance between Septuagesima Sunday and Easter to be sixty-four days (nine weeks and one day), and the distance between Quadragesima Sunday and Easter to be forty-two days (six weeks). Sources of the β recension remove the inconsistency, giving the distances as sixty-three (nine weeks) and forty-two (six weeks) respectively.

(c) The α recension of *Obseru. ieiun.* has two computistical anomalies that are ameliorated in the β recension. The first occurs at the moment when Bern's interlocutor Gerung asks how many Wednesdays in a given month should precede the Ember Saturday. In March there is one Wednesday before the Ember Saturday, so Gerung asks whether the pattern continues in June (two?) and September (three?). But in the α recension Gerung asks if there are two Wednesdays before the September Ember Saturday, a question which, though legitimate, is clearly illogical. The second anomaly follows straight on, for Bern answers that there are some exceptions to the above rule. In the α recension Bern nominates September when it begins on 'Saturday or Friday', an answer which is objectively wrong and rhetorically backwards; the β recension has the correct answer, correcting 'Saturday' to read 'Thursday'.

(9) Two scholars have previously detected these patterns of bifurcation. Schmale, already mentioned, considered the copies of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* in *Vm* (α recension) to approximate the status of uncorrected 'original'.⁵³ Although he did not consider *S* to be among those 'originals', as we do, he did hypothesise that it preserves within its ordering scheme aspects of the process by which Bern's various 'originals' were brought together.⁵⁴ More recently, Alexander Rausch discerned two main branches in the complex tradition of Bern's *Ton. prol.*, in addition to two supplementary branches containing shortened and interpolated versions.⁵⁵ This is relevant because Bern's musical and liturgical writings were sometimes transmitted together. And there is a clear parallel. The second of Rausch's main branches is led by siglum G (a manuscript which was formerly bound together with *He*), closely fol-

⁵³ SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen', p. 79, n. 84 (his sigla W and W₁ correspond to my *m* and *V*).

⁵⁴ SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen', p. 90-91.

⁵⁵ See RAUSCH, *Die Musiktraktate*, p. 17-29, esp. the stemma on p. 29.

lowed by sigla M_6 and M_2 (our sources *Ma* and *Ma*). All three transmit β recension texts.

It is still not possible to assert beyond doubt that Bern was the author of these changes. One could also conceivably nominate Hermann of Reichenau, or some other nameless protégé, or a group thereof. Nevertheless, if we accept that *He* was copied at Reichenau during his lifetime, as is suggested by the palaeographic evidence, Bern is by far the most plausible candidate. He was the one with a track record of formal self-publication; he was the noted pedagogue; and he was the liturgical expert who composed advisory texts in pursuit of ritual correctness and propriety. This was evidently more than just a hobby, for in the conclusion to *Adu. Dom. celeb.* he petitioned Archbishop Aribio to promote his findings more widely. ‘Although we believe these things to be so,’ he wrote, ‘we will not easily convince others’.⁵⁶ All of the achievements we have so far registered in *He* – the formal compilation of related calendrical writings, including the bringing together of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and its supporting appendix *Adu. Dom. rat.*, plus the simultaneous correction of all three – can be seen to have supported such an agenda. On these grounds we attribute the ‘publication’ of these works to Bern, and for this edition we favour the putatively ‘revised’ versions of *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, *Adu. Dom. rat.* and *Obseru. ieiun.* as found in the best witness *He*.

d. Posthumous revisions

The foregoing story stands in stark contrast to that of the other two works in this edition, *Modul. Ps.* and *Off. miss.*, whose variable transmission and unconventional content have long suggested a history of posthumous reworking. The alarm was raised a century ago by Pierre Blanchard, who took advantage of the newly-discovered source *B* to take a fresh look at *Modul. Ps.*, and so to reassess the state of Bern’s liturgical works more generally.⁵⁷ What he found were troubling discrepancies between the new source and the older source *H*, as well as a previously lost epistle in *B* whose overview of the contents of *Modul. Ps.* seemed to be a poor fit for the actual text. Noting the ominous precedent of Bern’s *Ton. prol.*,

⁵⁶ *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (p. 20, 240): ‘Haec etsi ita esse credimus, haud facile tamen aliis persuadebimus’.

⁵⁷ BLANCHARD, ‘Notes’.

which by that point was already known for the complexities of its manuscript tradition,⁵⁸ Blanchard resigned himself to the possibility that the original forms of both *Modul. Ps.* and *Off. miss.* were irreparably lost. This more sceptical view has enjoyed great longevity, even as the textual and intellectual traditions of *Ton. prol.* are now considered unproblematic.⁵⁹ In this edition, at last, we lay those doubts to rest.

One of the reasons Blanchard's arguments went unchallenged for so long is that his comments on *Modul. Ps.* came from a uniquely privileged position. His investigations had been prompted by the pending sale of *B*, the very same sale which would soon obstruct any further research. Although the book briefly reappeared on the market in 1929, when it was sold to the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, the memory of its whereabouts subsequently faded.⁶⁰ Unable to locate it in the 1960s, Franz-Josef Schmale was forced to reprint Blanchard's transcriptions within his own edition. Thus it is only now, with the re-emergence of *B*, that we can properly scrutinise Blanchard's arguments.

What emerges is evidence that *Modul. Ps.* was indeed revised at some point, but not to great effect. As discussed further in the introduction to the edition, the discrepancies between *B* and *H* amount to two short paragraphs. Since neither changes the argument or is stylistically out of place, it is perfectly possible that Bern added the sentences as afterthoughts. It is also possible that they were omitted by *H*'s scribe, whom we know to have been inclined to eyeskip. Although Blanchard believed that the discontinuous style of *Modul. Ps.* was a direct consequence of revision, the argu-

⁵⁸ H. RIEMANN, *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift*, Leipzig, 1878, p. 37; W. BRAMBACH, *Das Tonsystem und die Tonarten des christlichen Abendlandes im Mittelalter, ihre Beziehungen zur griechisch-römischen Musik und ihre Entwicklung bis auf die Schule Guido's von Arezzo*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 31-36.

⁵⁹ On the textual tradition see RAUSCH, *Die Musiktraktate*, p. 24-29, where the author notes that, out of the forty or so surviving sources, seven are abbreviated and six include extra interpolations. On the intellectual tradition see J. WARBURTON, 'Questions of Attribution and Chronology in Three Medieval Texts on Species Theory', *Music Theory Spectrum*, 22 (2000), p. 225-235, revising the conclusions in *Bernonis augiensis Abbatis de Arte musica disputationes traditae* – ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, 2 vol. (*Divitiae musicae artis collectae*, A 6), Buren, 1978-1979.

⁶⁰ *Versteigerung der Musikbibliothek des Herrn Dr. Werner Wolffheim*, II: *Textband* [Catalogue of the auction held at the Hotel Kaiserhof, Berlin on 3rd-8th June 1929], Berlin, 1929, p. 7-8. For further details see H. PARKES, 'Wild Strawberries from Reichenau: Ruminations on Authority and Difference in Eleventh-Century "Gregorian" Chant', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 70 (2017), p. 1-60, at p. 8-9.

ment falls apart as soon as we recognise that the textual discrepancies do not coincide with the discontinuities of argument. (See above for more on Bern's self-advertised tendency towards discontinuity.) Finally, although Blanchard claimed that the dedicatory letter in *B* fails to account for the contents, that claim never had any objective basis, since Bern's overview is relatively open-ended. It is possible that Blanchard had been misled by *PL*'s illogical division of *Modul. Ps.* into thirteen chapters, not preserved here.

What Blanchard's assessment of *Modul. Ps.* did have was a valid precedent, or at least the appearance thereof. When he turned the pages of the *PL* edition to consult Bern's other major piece of liturgical writing, *Off. miss.*, he found a 'heap of quotations and learned discussions' that had been 'stitched together so maladroitly that it is impossible to imagine that Bern had put his hand to it, or that he even knew and tolerated it'.⁶¹ He was undoubtedly right. The *PL* version of the text preserves a strange mixture of original and borrowed material, as Table 2 shows, with two of the chapters fashioned out of a mixture of the three calendrical works attributed to Bern. Many others had made the point before. Noting the awkwardness of the transition between the quoted texts of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Adu. Dom. rat.* in the fourth chapter, the sixteenth-century scholar Melchior Hittorp was forced to supply a sentence of his own invention.⁶² The eighteenth-century monk-historian Antoine Rivet de La Grange later asserted that the seventh chapter could not be Bern's original, for it removes one of the protagonists from an inherently dialogic text.⁶³ And a few years before Blanchard's investigations, Augustin Gatard similarly commented on the 'clumsy' adaptation of both chapters from their corresponding originals.⁶⁴ Gatard might also have added that the fifth chapter of this version of *Off. miss.* directs the reader to learn about Advent from Bern's letter to Aribo, a nonsense given that the central arguments of the latter have just been excerpted in the previous section.

⁶¹ BLANCHARD, 'Notes', p. 102: 'c'est un amas de citations et discussions érudites empruntées à sa correspondance et ailleurs, mais cousues si maladroitement, qu'il est impossible de s'imaginer que Bernon y ait mis la main, ou qu'il l'ait même connu et toléré'.

⁶² M. HITTORP, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis ac ministeriis varii vestustorum aliquot ecclesiae patrum ac scriptorum libri*, Köln, 1568¹, p. 425: 'forte deest hic * qui tria in antiphonario ordinauerunt diurna officia, aut aliquid simile'.

⁶³ RIVET DE LA GRANGE, 'Bernon', p. 579 (*recte* p. 379).

⁶⁴ GATARD, 'Bernon de Reichenau', col. 821 (the word he uses is 'gauche').

Table 2
The contents of *Off. miss.* as found in *PL*

Ch.	Title	Concordance
1	Qualiter priscis Apostolorum	
2	De gloria in excelsis	
3	De Octaua Pentecostes	
4	Quare auctor officiorum in Aduentu Domini	BERNO, <i>Adu. Dom. celeb.</i> (p. 12, 39- 16, 140) <i>Adu. Dom. rat.</i> (p. 160, 33-161, 55)
5	De missa 'Deprecationem nostram'	
6	Quare auctor officiorum ab Octaua Pentecostes	
7	De ieiunio quatuor temporum	BERNO, <i>Obseru. ieiun.</i> (p. 35, 53- 48, 384) without dialogue

This would indeed be strong grounds for discounting *Off. miss.* as an unadulterated work of Bern. However, it is not widely appreciated – and it was certainly not apparent to Blanchard – that all editions of *Off. miss.* to date had been derived from one source, manuscript *W*. These authors would have reached very different conclusions, without doubt, had they known that there is another copy of *Off. miss.* in which these problems disappear. Copied in twelfth-century Admont, and only recently brought to wider attention by Daniel Taylor, manuscript *A* presents a version with the same basic textual substance but without the two anomalous interpolations.⁶⁵ The result is a five-chapter version in which Bern's 'heap of quotations' becomes decidedly coherent. Given what we now know about the aforementioned trio of calendrical works (*Adu. Dom. celeb.*, *Adu. Dom. rat.* and *Obseru. ieiun.*) and their successful transmission as a group, it actually becomes far easier to imagine that the twelfth-century scribe of *W* had inexpertly melded together a selection of related texts, imagining them all to be the work of Bern. There are also palpable structural and rhetorical parallels between the five-chapter *Off. miss.* and the five-chapter *Modul. Ps.*, to be discussed further below. Thus we are in little doubt that *A* is a reliable witness to the shape of an authentic work of Bern.

⁶⁵ TAYLOR, 'A New Inventory', p. 169.

e. Reception history

The ability to distinguish between likely originals and posthumous reworkings opens up interesting questions about the reception history of Bern's liturgical writings. The works themselves set our expectations low. With their framing as personal communications rather than grandiose statements of knowledge, and with their relatively patchy manuscript transmission, they do not suggest a wide field of influence. That perception is compounded historiographically by the relative salience of Bernold of Constance, Bern's near-neighbour and near-contemporary, whose *Micrologus* was far more widely transmitted, and continues to appeal to Catholic audiences for its ability to shed light on the customs of Rome.⁶⁶ However, in this study we can show that Bern's liturgical ideas did indeed reach beyond the abbot's personal orbit. The point is worth making not only because it offers a measure of validation for this edition, but also because it helps us to solidify the nature and extent of Bern's liturgical *œuvre*.

A case in point is the reception of *Obseru. ieiun.* in the diocese of Trier, as already hinted at by manuscript *P*. In the discussion above we encountered a list of Bern's works penned by the Lotharingian monk Sigebert of Gembloux (d. 1112), part of his list of 'great men', excerpted in Table 1. Although serial biographers rarely reveal their sources, in this case we know that Sigebert had first-hand knowledge of Bern, for he was the author of an Ember Day treatise, the *Epistola duplex de differentia quatuor temporum*, which directly engages with Bern and his *Obseru. ieiun.*⁶⁷ As the author later explained in his own biography, he composed the *Epistola* in an attempt to discredit the clergy of Trier, who 'observe elaborate rules according to the allegory of a certain Bern', and who therefore 'differ from the custom of Liège'.⁶⁸ Pope Gregory VII promulgated new Ember Day rules in 1078, and these were renewed in councils at Quedlinburg (1085), Constance

⁶⁶ On the manuscript transmission see TAYLOR, 'A New Inventory'.

⁶⁷ SIGEBERT. GEMBL., *Diff. temp.*, discussed in detail in A. AMIET, 'Die liturgische Gesetzgebung der deutschen Reichskirche in der Zeit der sächsischen Kaiser 922-1023', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 70 (1976), p. 1-106, p. 209-307, at p. 253-254.

⁶⁸ SIGEBERT. GEMBL., *Vir. ill.* 172 (p. 104-105): 'respondi Treverensibus de ieiunio quatuor temporum, qui regulas cuiusdam Bernonis secundum allegoriam, ut sibi bene videtur, concinnatas observant et a consuetudine Leodiensi discordant'.

(1094) and then Piacenza and Clermont (1095) under Pope Urban II.⁶⁹ Yet even after these reforms, as Sigebert's early twelfth-century account reveals, an established 'regula Bernonis' apparently held its own.

Sometimes Bern is not directly named, but the legacy is nonetheless palpable. This is the case for the reception of *Modul. Ps.* We have already seen how this work survives in just two manuscripts and went unacknowledged in lists by Sigebert and others, up to and including *Centuria XI* – a situation which we tentatively attribute to its late composition. However, there are very strong indications that it not only travelled, but was also influential, as one of the means by which Office chant practices were reformed at Klosterneuburg, a twelfth-century community of Augustinian canons.⁷⁰ The reasons cannot be determined, but it may be relevant to note that the monastery's co-founder Agnes was the granddaughter of Henry III, the Salian king to whom Bern sent a copy of *Modul. Ps.* in the late 1040s.

By far the most influential conduit for Bern's ideas, however, was the very text which is thought to have overshadowed them. In a masterful series of studies on Bernold's *Micrologus*, Daniel Taylor demonstrated a clear intellectual connection between the two Bodensee-based authors, on one occasion volunteering the opinion that Bern had 'served as a model' for Bernold's liturgical thought.⁷¹ Given that Bernold spent much of his career within walking distance of Reichenau, and probably had some form of access to the monastery's books, it is not surprising to learn of the relationship.⁷² However, Taylor ultimately reserved judgement on the matter, wary that a critical edition of Bern's works might

⁶⁹ D. S. TAYLOR, 'Bernold of Constance, Canonist and Liturgist of the Gregorian Reform. An analysis of the sources in the *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*', PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1995, p. 143-149; H. E. J. COWDREY, 'Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) and the Liturgy', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 55 (2004), p. 55-83, at p. 66-69.

⁷⁰ PARKES, 'Wild Strawberries', p. 30-33.

⁷¹ TAYLOR, 'Bernold of Constance', p. 49-184, p. 309-311; ID., 'A New Inventory', p. 167; the quotation comes from D. S. TAYLOR, 'Capitula extranea of the *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus* of Bernold of Constance', *Revue Bénédictine*, 108 (1998), p. 245-281, at p. 279, n. 132.

⁷² We know of the arrangement via Reichenau manuscripts that were annotated by canons of Bernold's generation, as surveyed in J. AUTENRIETH, *Die Domschule von Konstanz zur Zeit des Investiturstreits: Die wissenschaftliche Arbeitsweise Bernholds von Konstanz und zweier Kleriker dargestellt auf Grund von Handschriftenstudien*, Stuttgart, 1956.

undermine his argument. Only with the publication of this study, therefore, can his insights be treated as authoritative.

As Taylor showed, each of the three constituent sections of the *Micrologus* can be shown to have been indebted to Bern's work.⁷³ The first section (ch. 1-23) is a brief history of innovations in the Mass, just as we find in the opening chapters of *Off. miss.*; the second section (ch. 24-29) is a treatise on Ember Days, just as we find in *Obseru. ieium.*; and the penultimate chapter of the third section (ch. 61), entitled 'De concordia et ordine officiorum', is an epitome of the fourth chapter of *Off. miss.* Taylor rightly noted that Bernold's first section is more directly reliant upon Walafrid Strabo, that is, Bern's own source for *Off. miss.*⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the connection is there. At one point Bernold declares that the Gloria is to be sung 'by the priest as by the bishop', a comment which flies in the face of the Gregorian Sacramentary but has a unique precedent in the arguments of *Off. miss.*⁷⁵ At another he states that the offertory ought to follow the Gospel (that is, without the Nicene Creed), a comment which can be read as a politicised inversion of Bern's anecdote about the necessity of the Creed, Henry II having supposedly imposed it in 1014 against the will of the pope.⁷⁶ Something similar happens in Ember Day section, when Bernold decries a piece of German council legislation to which Bern refers.⁷⁷ A few chapters later Bernold clarifies details about the June Ember Days by including the full sequence of liturgical texts for those days, echoing the very methodology that Bern pioneers for the June Ember Days in *Obseru. ieium.*⁷⁸

We also have strong evidence that Bern's work was known to the scribes of the *Micrologus*, quite apart from the interests of Bernold. This is apparent from two separate branches of the *Microlo-*

⁷³ In addition the examples which I list below, see the conspectus in TAYLOR, 'Capitula extranea', p. 279, n. 131.

⁷⁴ TAYLOR, 'Bernold of Constance', e.g. p. 52.

⁷⁵ BERNOLD. CONST., *Microl.* 2 (col. 979): 'tam presbyter quam episcopus'; BERNO, *Off. miss.* 2 (p. 67-73). TAYLOR, 'Bernold of Constance', p. 52-53.

⁷⁶ BERNOLD. CONST., *Microl.* 10 (col. 983); BERNO, *Off. miss.* 2 (p. 71, 108-72, 125). TAYLOR, 'Bernold of Constance', p. 83.

⁷⁷ BERNOLD. CONST., *Microl.* 24 (col. 996), 25 (col. 997); BERNO, *Obseru. ieium.* (p. 47, 345-348). The council is described as 'Moguntiacensis' (from Mainz), but is undoubtedly that of Seligenstadt in 1023, as discussed in TAYLOR, 'Bernold of Constance', p. 158-162.

⁷⁸ BERNOLD. CONST., *Microl.* 28 (col. 1000-1001); BERNO, *Obseru. ieium.* (p. 45, 310-46, 329).

gus manuscript tradition which incorporate further elements of the abbot's output. At least seven copies of the *Micrologus* include what Taylor named the 'Capitula extranea Germanica', comprising two loose but unambiguous paraphrases of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Adu. Dom. rat.*⁷⁹ The first paraphrase includes a credit to 'the most reverend lord Bern and [his source] the most learned abbot Heriger' ('domni Bern reuerentissimi et doctissimi abbatis Herigerii'); the second shadows *Adu. Dom. rat.*, including a mention of Hilary of Poitiers and his otherwise lost *Liber Officiorum*.⁸⁰ In a second branch of transmission the *Micrologus* concludes with substantial extracts from *Off. miss.*, all of which contribute to this edition. Taylor identified five such manuscripts (*CEFL D*); I have since found two sources of extracts at one further remove (*RZ*), from a tradition of liturgical *sententia* which appears to have been derived from the same tradition of *Micrologus* transmission.

What therefore emerges from this history, hitherto unpublished, is the extraordinary level of mutual reliance in the reception of these two scholars. Just as Bern's writings were carried on the back of Bernold's, so to speak, so too was Bernold's all-purpose compilation enriched by the addition of Bern's ideas. (It is worth noting here that Taylor investigated the possibility of Bernold's responsibility for the additions, but ultimately concluded against the idea.⁸¹) The relationship is so close, indeed, that there is only one manuscript witness to Bern's *Off. miss.* which does *not* adjoin some portion of Bernold's *Micrologus* (source *W*). And there is only one liturgical work by Bern which does *not* coincide, in one source or another, with the manuscript tradition of the *Micrologus* (that work is *Modul. Ps.*). It is also interesting to note that the same three liturgical writings which were received into the *Micrologus* tradition – namely, *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (plus *Adu. Dom. rat.*),

⁷⁹ TAYLOR, 'Capitula extranea', p. 270-278 (with *Adu. Dom. rat.* misidentified as *Off. miss.* on p. 275).

⁸⁰ The quoted text is text adapted from the edition in KENNEDY, 'For a New Edition', p. 239-241, where the reading on p. 240 is actually 'Bernhardi' – which I have determined was a mistaken expansion of the word 'Bern' as found in the sources. Note that Kennedy also misconstrued the line as referring to a single individual, 'Bernhardi Abbot of Herigeri'; from the context of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* we know that this was Bern's source Heriger of Lobbes.

⁸¹ TAYLOR, 'Capitula extranea', p. 279.

Obseru. ieiun. and *Off. miss.* – were also the liturgical writings for which Bern was remembered by later biographers.

f. Erroneous or doubtful attributions

Having established Bern's *œuvre* in positive terms, let us now turn to those texts which have been misconstrued as the abbot's original works. Besides the examples already considered, above all *Adu. Dom. rat.*, I am aware of four further texts in this category: two are medieval derivatives, and two are early modern misattributions.

1. *Sententia de officiorum concordia*. Attributed to 'B. abbatis' in each of its three twelfth-century manuscripts (BESANÇON, Bibliothèque municipale, Cod. 187, f. 1r-6r; WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1001, f. 69r-74r; ZWETTL, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 304, f. 145v-149r), this text is an artful expansion of the fourth chapter of *Off. miss.*, dealing with the proper texts of the post-Pentecost Sundays. There can be no doubt that this is a later reworking. Whereas Bern's version is characteristically informal – his prose wades through a miscellany of Mass texts for thirteen of the twenty-three post-Pentecost Sundays, complete with asides to the reader and a cross-reference to *Adu. Dom. celeb.* – this version has been tidied up, both visually and textually. Rubricated headings clarify the structure and content, while overlong quotations have been shortened, asides excised, and the missing Sundays provided for. A note to the reader after the first section confirms this last aspect of adaptation. Observing that some of the Sundays are 'missing from the above exemplar' ('a supradicto exemplari ... praetermissas'), the author offers his own observations for those services, and notes that these are to be distinguished as such by asterisks in the margin. Only the Vienna source preserves these asterisks, and only for part of the text, but it is nonetheless telling that the return of Bern's text is signalled by a rubricated 'B'.

2. *Ratio ieiuniorum quatuor temporum*. Transmitted uniquely in the twelfth-century compilation HEILIGENKREUZ, Zisterzienserstift, Cod. 205, f. 86r-86v, this text is a loose paraphrase of part of Bern's *Obseru. ieiun.* (p. 36, 76-39, 145: 'Ex ueterum ac praecipue – in sententiis'). No author is listed in the manuscript, and the text is undoubtedly a derivative.

3. *Bernonis abbatis libellus de officio missae*. Not until the late nineteenth century was Bernold of Constance considered the definitive author of the *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*.⁸² For its inaugural printed edition in 1510, however, the *Micrologus* was considered the work of Bern.⁸³ History does not relate how or why the publisher, Jacques d'Étaples, printed the name of the Reichenau abbot, but we can well imagine that the common interests and backgrounds of Bern and Bernold, not to mention their similar names (names which become identical in abbreviation and can be misconstrued in expansion), contributed to the error. Rivet de La Grange corrected the record in the eighteenth century, but the effects have lingered on. At least three modern inventories of Bern's manuscript sources include references to OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A 365 (also listed under 'Misattributed manuscripts', below), despite the fact that this is no more than a seventeenth-century copy of the 1518 re-edition.⁸⁴

4. A list of popes and their liturgical contributions, found in WINCHESTER, Winchester College Library, Ms. 2, f. 19r-21r (s. xvi). This eccentric and apparently unique text claims the authority of someone named 'Bern'. However, it bears no resemblance to *Off. miss.*, nor to any of Bern's other works. It is hard to know how the abbot's reputation could have reached as far as sixteenth-century England, but the late date of the manuscript allows for the possibility that the scribe was referring to 'Bern' as known from the 1510 edition of Bernold's *Micrologus*.

g. Style and method

A final way of affirming Bern's corpus is to assess some further aspects of his prose style and scholarly method. We have already identified one aspect of this, namely his tendency towards episodic or discontinuous arguments. But there is a little more to say. One of the linguistic consequences of that style of writing is a tendency towards transitional sentences. Bern has no monopoly on the technique, of course, but in the liturgical corpus these transi-

⁸² G. MORIN, 'Que l'auteur du Micrologue est Bernold de Constance', *Revue Bénédictine*, 8 (1891), p. 385-389.

⁸³ *Bernonis abbatis libellus de officio missae* (Paris, 1510; reprinted in 1518).

⁸⁴ RIVET DE LA GRANGE, 'Bernon', p. 578-579 (*recte* p. 378-379). SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen', p. 95; HÜSCHEN, 'Bern von Reichenau', col. 740; BLUME, *Bern von Reichenau*, p. 88.

tions are both numerous and highly consistent. In addition to the exhortations 'let us now look' ('nunc ... uideamus') and 'now my pen turns' ('nunc ... stilus'), Bern also favours the incidental observation that 'now it might be interesting to consider':

<i>Obseru. ieiun.</i> (p. 38, 131)	Nunc de lectionibus uideamus
<i>Obseru. ieiun.</i> (p. 39, 148)	Nunc ad propositum redeamus
<i>Off. miss.</i> 1 (p. 65, 36-37)	Nunc de caeteris quae Dominus dederit uideamus
<i>Off. miss.</i> 2 (p. 67, 2-3)	Nunc stilus ammuendam quaestionem se uertat ad quam totus hactenus sermo habitus intendebat
<i>Off. miss.</i> 3 (p. 73, 2-3)	His ita utcumque digestis, non absimile uidetur si quid de Octauis Pentecostes loquamur
<i>Off. miss.</i> 3 (p. 76, 97-98)	Finito tandem eo quo hactenus utebamur sermone, libet aliam rationem inchoare
<i>Off. miss.</i> 4 (p. 81, 102)	Nunc uideamus de duodecima dominica
<i>Off. miss.</i> 4 (p. 90, 258-259)	Nunc superest tantum ut dicamus de dominica uicesima secunda
<i>Off. miss.</i> 4 (p. 91, 294-92, 297)	De uicesima autem tertia dominica ... nunc aliquid dicere supersedi
<i>Off. miss.</i> 5 (p. 92, 4)	Inter haec non otiose quaerendum puto cur
<i>Modul. Ps.</i> 2 (p. 126, 2)	Nunc manum conabor transmittere ad Isaiaam
<i>Modul. Ps.</i> 2 (p. 127, 16)	Nunc primo uideamus de eo quod scriptum est
<i>Modul. Ps.</i> 3 (p. 132, 3)	Nunc igitur libet animo notare quosdam cantus
<i>Modul. Ps.</i> 3 (p. 136, 105)	Nunc uideamus de caeteris
<i>Modul. Ps.</i> 3 (p. 140, 216)	Nunc licet praepostero ordine illas antiphonas conuenit conspicere
<i>Modul. Ps.</i> 4 (p. 141, 2)	Nunc igitur necessarium uidetur aliquid tractandum de
<i>Modul. Ps.</i> 5 (p. 143, 2)	Igitur nunc placet stilum uertere ad

Similar turns of phrase can also be found his corpus at large, especially in the longer texts:

<i>Epist.</i> 6 (p. 31)	Nunc igitur ad te ... stilus uertatur
<i>Epist.</i> 27 (p. 60)	His ita utcumque digestis ... stilum uertamus iterum

<i>Ton. prol.</i> 2, 3 (p. 34)	Nunc uero ipsos modos prout possumus aperire temptemus
<i>Ton. prol.</i> 4, 1 (p. 38)	His ita breuiter dictis, uel pauca de his proferre temptemus
<i>Ton. prol.</i> 5, 1 (p. 40)	Nunc prout gratia diuina inspirauerit aperire conemur qualiter
<i>Ton. prol.</i> 7, 1 (p. 48)	Animaduertendum nunc est
<i>Ton. prol.</i> 10, 1 (p. 61)	Hoc tamen interim breuiter notandum quod
<i>Ton. prol.</i> 12, 21 (p. 67)	Nunc igitur ut supra promissimus ponamus singulorum diapente
<i>De nigr.</i> (p. 92)	Sed inter haec notandum quod

Sometimes these transitions serve to connect otherwise discontinuous or tangential lines of thought, but sometimes they do the opposite, stringing together pieces of closely related information. Herein lies another distinctive feature of Bern's writing. The two larger works under consideration, *Off. miss.* and *Modul. Ps.*, both incorporate lengthy but not-quite-exhaustive lists. There are three such instances. The first chapter of *Modul. Ps.* concludes with over a hundred individual comparisons of different psalm translations, drawn from seventy-six psalms in numerical order, from Psalm 2 to Psalm 146. The fifth chapter then provides a list of sixty-two related Office responsories with their verses, ordered liturgically but of seemingly arbitrary selection. Likewise, the fourth chapter of *Off. miss.* is built upon thirteen analyses of the twenty-three possible Mass liturgies for post-Pentecost Sundays, proceeding chronologically from the Pentecost Octave to Advent. This places Bern's prose in an idiosyncratic and highly distinctive middle-ground, with enough evidence to risk boring the reader, but not enough to offer any kind of systematic insight. And it is in precisely this context that Bern offers the most direct acknowledgement of his style. In the fourth chapter of *Off. miss.*, following the second example of a harmonious post-Pentecost liturgy, Bern concedes that he may be challenging his reader's attention span: 'lest this multitudinous discussion should irritate the reader,' he says, 'let us omit the majority of examples and consider just a few more below'.⁸⁵ Eleven more examples follow.

⁸⁵ *Off. miss.* 4 (p. 79, 63-64): 'ne multiplex sermo lectori fastidium gignat, praetermissis plurimis, pauca adhuc dicamus sub exemplis'.

If loosely connected lists and blocks of thought represent the first pillar of this author's scholarly method, the second is his serial borrowing from other writers. Again, Bern has no monopoly on the practice, but from reading his texts we learn that deference to existing authorities was one of his most deeply-held convictions. *Adu. Dom. celeb.* concludes with nod to its primary sources, the patristic authors 'who stand fast as if pedestals in the foundations of the holy church, the denial of whose opinions is a transgression of divine law'.⁸⁶ In the second section of *Off. miss.*, echoing sentiments from the beginning of *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, Bern argues for the importance of sifting through a breadth of possible authorities and precedents. And in *Obseru. ieiun.* he notes the intellectual legacy of the church fathers, 'whom it is utterly sinful to ignore'.⁸⁷

The corollary of this deference is Bern's belief in his own objectivity, as when in the prologue to the same work he assures Aribio that 'I have discussed nothing of my own [former conversations with Gerung], but rather that which the ancient fathers have credibly uttered, which I have since been able to find'.⁸⁸ Quite clearly, he saw himself as someone who could clarify ancient wisdom among his colleagues, and not as a source of wisdom in his own right. Thus when he departs from the safety of that position he is quick to say so, as when in *Modul. Ps.* he clarifies that he is offering own gut feeling on a particular matter, 'without prejudice to the wisdom of others whom I know to be studious in praise of God'.⁸⁹ The claim to objectivity is actually disavowed in the conclusion to *Obseru. ieiun.*, when Bern borrows from Augustine to declare that good scholarship is as contingent on method and intent as it is on raw evidence. But by quoting from Augustine he is also abiding by his own rules.

What this means in practice is that Bern's writings are densely layered with quoted or paraphrased materials. This is already known from the extreme example of *De nigr.*, which has significantly more material from existing authors than from his own pen,

⁸⁶ *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (p. 20, 237-239): 'qui uelut bases consistunt in sanctae ecclesiae fundamentis, quorum sententiis nolle quiescere transgressio est legis diuinae'.

⁸⁷ *Obseru. ieiun.* (p. 35, 54): 'quos omnino nefas est transgredi'.

⁸⁸ *Obseru. ieiun.* (p. 33, 10-12): 'Nihil enim ibi ex propriis sum commentatus, sed quod exinde antiquos patres probabiliter elocutos fuisse inuenire potui'.

⁸⁹ *Modul. Ps.* 4 (p. 143, 42-43): 'non praeiudicans aliorum prudentiae quos in laude Dei studiosos cognosco existere'.

including pages-long extracts from Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* and from the *Vitae* of Saints Anthony and Basil. But it is also a consistent feature of the liturgical writings, as can be seen in the following conspectus of his most major borrowings:

<i>Adu. Dom. celeb.</i> (p. 14, 82-17, 144)	AMALAR., <i>Off.</i> 3, 40, 1-8	63 lines
<i>Obseru. ieiun.</i> (p. 36, 78-37, 106)	AMALAR., <i>Off.</i> 2, 2, 3-7	29 lines
<i>Obseru. ieiun.</i> (p. 41, 214-43, 265)	AMALAR., <i>Off.</i> 2, 1, 8-14	52 lines
<i>Obseru. ieiun.</i> (p. 49, 403-50, 419)	AVG., <i>Doctr. christ.</i> 3, 12	17 lines
<i>Off. miss.</i> 1 (p. 64, 20-67, 89)	cfr WALAHFR., <i>De exord.</i> 23	70 lines
<i>Off. miss.</i> 2 (p. 69, 45-70, 61)	Conc. Visig. Conc. Tolet. 4, 13	25 lines
<i>Off. miss.</i> 3 (p. 73, 18-74, 41)	AVG., <i>De serm. Dom.</i> 1	24 lines
<i>Off. miss.</i> 3 (p. 75, 73-76, 91)	AMALAR., <i>Off.</i> 4, 29	19 lines
<i>Modul. Ps.</i> 1 (p. 107, 3-108, 24)	cfr ISID., <i>Orig.</i> 6, 3-4	22 lines
<i>Modul. Ps.</i> 1 (p. 108, 26-109, 41)	HIER., <i>Praef. in Pent.</i>	16 lines
<i>Modul. Ps.</i> 1 (p. 109, 60-110, 79)	HIER., <i>Epist. Sunn. et Fret.</i> 2	20 lines
<i>Modul. Ps.</i> 3 (p. 132, 8-20)	AGOBARD., <i>Corr. antiph.</i> 11-12	13 lines

Not all quotations are acknowledged as such, and the paraphrases are not flagged at all. But when Bern does openly borrow, there are two further common features of note. First, summary sentences may be similarly worded, as in the variations on 'ratio patet manifesta' and in the repeated formulations 'his uerbis satis datur intellegi quod' and 'his ita utcumque digestis'.⁹⁰ Second, in some sources his quotations are articulated visually by means of one or two 's'-shaped marks in the margin, in a manner possibly inspired by the 'signum crucis' system of Amalar.⁹¹ A marginal hand in *He* thus flagged the longer Amalarian quotations in *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Obseru. ieiun.* The same is true of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* in manuscript *V* and, outside of the liturgical texts, *Epist.* 6 in *S* (p. 63-74). The early dates of these manuscripts (the first and third attributable to Reichenau during or shortly after his lifetime, the second associated with his dedicatee Aribio of Mainz) allow for the possibility that marginal notes were an original feature of his scholarship.

Finally, as we might expect when traversing a single authorial corpus, there are many notable instances of textual and topical continuity. The principle is already proven: Blanchard, Barré and

⁹⁰ See, respectively: *Obseru. ieiun.* (p. 41, 197), *Off. miss.* 3 (p. 76, 92), also found in *De nigr.* (ed. Marxreiter, p. 92, 3) and *Epist.* 27 (p. 59); *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (p. 17, 145), *Modul. Ps.* 3 (p. 138, 173-174); *Off. miss.* 3 (p. 73, 2), *Epist.* 27 (p. 60).

⁹¹ Explained in AMALAR., *Off. Praef.*, 6 (p. 21, 29-31).

Schmale have all pointed out Bern's formulaic terms of address across the letters, including *Adu. Dom. celeb.*,⁹² and Berschin has pointed to the thematic overlap between *Epist.* 27 and the *Sermo de sancto Marco*, among other examples.⁹³ In the same spirit I have compiled the following list of overlapping ideas, as found both within the liturgical corpus itself and between the liturgical works and his writings at large:

Adu. Dom. celeb. (p. 19, 211); *Ton. prol.* 12, 27 (p. 67): near-identical turn of phrase ('His ita sese habentibus')

Adu. Dom. celeb. (p. 13, 51-53); *Modul. Ps.* 3 (p. 139, 175-176); *Epist.* 25 (p. 54-55): near-identical wording for a discussion of the virgin birth ('per uterum intactae uirginis nascendo'), plus an accompanying reference to the salvation of the human race ('genus humanum')

Obseru. ieiun. (p. 49, 393-395); *Epist.* 20 (p. 52); *Modul. Ps.* *Epist.* (p. 105, 29-106, 30): the image of an overflowing table ('mensa referta') or trays ('fercula referta'), filled with the metaphorical food of scripture, accompanied in the first two instances by a reference to *Ps.* 22, 5 ('Parasti in conspectu meo mensam')

Off. miss. 1 (p. 66, 60-67, 79); *Off. miss.* 2 (p. 69, 45-70, 69); *Modul. Ps.* 3 (p. 141, 248-254): repeated quotation of Hispanic canons on liturgy, perhaps from the *Collectio Hispana*

Off. miss. 2 (p. 69, 57-58); *Modul. Ps.* 1 (p. 111, 114-126, 526): the juxtaposition of local and foreign textual variants, framed in terms of 'them' and 'us' ('illi canunt', 'nos canimus')

Off. miss. 2 (p. 68, 30-69, 35); *Udalr.* 38 (p. 258, 6-8): discussion of the deacon Paschasius, from GREG. M., *Dial.* 4, 42

Off. miss. 4 (p. 78, 40); *Serm.* 2 (ed. Barré, p. 51); *Serm.* 4 (ed. Barré, p. 57): variations on the phrase 'in hac conuallē lacrimarum', which famously appears in the 'Salve regina', the Marian antiphon sometimes attributed to Bern's contemporary Hermann

⁹² BLANCHARD, 'Notes', p. 100-101; BARRÉ, 'Sermons marials', p. 41-42; SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen', p. 89-90, n. 120.

⁹³ BERSCHIN, *Der Evangelist*, p. 69.

Off. miss. 5 (p. 93, 27); *Modul. Ps. Epist.* (p. 105, 23); *Modul. Ps.* 3 (p. 133, 28): references to the rich or wise of this world ('huius mundi sapienties', 'huius mundi diuites')

Modul. Ps. 1 (p. 108, 14-24); *De nigr.* 1 (ed. Marxreiter, p. 66, 4-14): discussion of Ptolemy and the history of the Septuagint

Modul. Ps. 2 (p. 129, 62-72); *Epist.* 20 (p. 52): Discussion of Is. 40, 31

Modul. Ps. 3 (p. 140, 241-141, 261), *Sermo de natiuitate Christi* [*ineditus sed citatus in Centuria XI, col. 75*]: discussion of Christ's dual nature

Further internal references may be found in the source apparatus, index of citations and commentary.

3. OVERVIEW OF SOURCES

a. Manuscripts

- A ADMONT, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 296: f. 30va-40va *Off. miss.*, f. 40ra-43va *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, f. 43va-44vb *Adu. Dom. rat.* (with epilogue)

Parchment, 70 folios, quarto format. Introduced by its binding as a 'Liber officiorum', this twelfth-century volume comprises a series of complementary resources for the administration and understanding of the liturgy: a detailed *Liber ordinarius*-style account of the church year with interpolated authorities, including Bernold of Constance; a section titled 'Liber sacramentorum' which comprises Bern's *Off. miss.* and *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, with *Adu. Dom. rat.* copied immediately after; and an expanded copy of Bernold of Constance's *Micrologus*, one of four known to have survived from the Admont monastery library.⁹⁴ Among the supplementary texts at the end of the *Micrologus* are three 'Capitula extranea' on Advent, whose paraphrases of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Adu. Dom. rat.* are accompanied by the attribution 'Item in scriptis domni BERN' (f. 67vb).⁹⁵ Also of interest is the presence of a unique epilogue to *Adu. Dom. rat.* (f. 44va-44vb), better

⁹⁴ TAYLOR, 'A New Inventory', p. 168-170.

⁹⁵ On the content and sources of these additions see TAYLOR, 'Capitula extranea', p. 270-278.

known as the epilogue to Bern's *Tonarius*, which is discussed further with the textual tradition below. Pending an authoritative palaeographical assessment, there is no reason to doubt that this book was copied at Admont, the institution which also produced the twelfth-century copy of Bern's *Prologus in tonarium* and *Tonarius* now ROCHESTER, Eastman School of Music, Sibley Musical Libr. Ms. 92 1200 (formerly ADMONT, Ms 494).

Further bibliography: J. WICHNER, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Admontensis* [manuscript], Admont, 1888, p. 147.

T AUSTIN, University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, HRC 29 (olim Phillipps 816): f. 101r-102v *Adu. Dom. rat.*

Parchment, 102 folios, 22.0 × 16.4 cm. Formerly Ms. 816 in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, this early eleventh-century miscellany is better known for its other texts: a glossed version of Bede's *De rerum natura*; Plato's *Timaeus* in the translation of Calcidius; and a series of astrological illustrations. *Adu. Dom. rat.* is the final item in the book, and is followed immediately by a colophon signed by Abbot Ellinger of Tegernsee – or, more specifically, by Ellinger the erstwhile abbot and now 'peccator' in exile at Niederaltaich.⁹⁶ This suggests a completion date in the 1040s, when Ellinger had left Tegernsee, and it suggests that the compilation had at this stage entered his personal possession. The same individual identifies himself in a *Geheimschrift* on f. 32r, and seems to have copied much of the book, though perhaps not the text of *Adu. Dom. rat.*, which is poorly executed.⁹⁷

Further bibliography: *Catalogue of Forty-Two Manuscripts of the 7th to the 17th Century* [*Catalogue of Sotheby's Sale on 28th November 1967*] (*Bibliotheca Phillippica New Series: Medieval Manuscripts*, 3), London, 1967, p. 18-23, plates 3-5 (lot 86); *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften*, I – ed. R. Bergman, S. Stricker, Berlin, 2005, p. 158-159 (no. 18).

⁹⁶ B. SCHMEIDLER, *Abt Ellinger von Tegernsee 1017-1026 und 1031-1041. Untersuchungen zu seinen Briefen und Gedichten im cgm 19412 und zu den von ihm geschriebenen Handschriften* (*Schriftenreihe zur Bayerischen Landesgeschichte*, 32), München, 1938, p. 132-155.

⁹⁷ B. BISCHOFF, *Kalligraphie in Bayern, achtes bis zwölftes Jahrhundert* (*Bayerische Staatsbibliothek-Ausstellungskataloge*, 25), Wiesbaden, 1981, p. 32.

- P* BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek, Handschr. 74 (olim Phillipps 392): f. 152r-157v *Obseru. ieium*.

Parchment, 157 folios, 24.3 × 18.7 cm. Located palaeographically to tenth- and eleventh-century Trier, the main body of this miscellaneous manuscript appears to have been assembled cumulatively by its fifteen or more scribes.⁹⁸ The dedicated quire which contains Bern's *Obseru. ieium*. was the last to be added, and is datable by its script to the middle third of the eleventh century. The copy was left incomplete, however, and was finished only in the twelfth century when an opening rubric (f. 52r) and closing lines (f. 57v) were appended. Hartmut Hoffmann noted that the text's two scribes (O and P) were not locally trained, even though the book remained in Trier until at least the twelfth century (when a noted was added to f. 1r concerning the monastery of St Matthias). Thus it is interesting to note that the Trier abbots Haricho of St Maximin's and Eberwin of St Martin's were both participants at the Council of Seligenstadt in 1023, with which Bern's text is closely associated.⁹⁹ Although Bern may not have written *Obseru. ieium*. for another few years, the aftermath of the meeting provides a possible scenario for the addition of a foreign quire to an otherwise local book. Positive evidence for the local assimilation of Bern's ideas comes from Sigebert of Gembloux, who in the late eleventh or early twelfth century wrote a letter 'to those of Trier, who observe elaborate rules according to the allegory of a certain Bern'.¹⁰⁰

Further bibliography: *Catalogue of Manuscripts on Papyrus, Vellum and Paper of the 7th to the 18th Century* [Catalogue of Sotheby's Sale on 30th November 1971] (*Bibliotheca Phillippica New Series: Medieval Manuscripts*, 6), London, 1971, p. 19-21, plate 4 (lot 487).

- B* BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek, Mus.ms.theor.95: f. 11a-12va *Modul. Ps.*

Paper, 12 folios. Devoted to Bern's *Modul. Ps.*, this single quire was copied by a single, musically-literate scribe of the fifteenth century. The final page preserves the beginning of a second

⁹⁸ H. HOFFMANN, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, 2 vol. (*Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 30), Stuttgart, 1986, vol. 1, p. 505-506.

⁹⁹ *Conc. Selig.*, p. 10, p. 34.

¹⁰⁰ SIGEBERT, GEMBL., *Vir. ill.* 172 (p. 104-105): 'Treverensibus ... qui regulas cuiusdam Bernonis secundum allegoriam ... concinnatas observant'. See the discussion above.

scribe's copy of Voragine's post-Pentecost sermons, implying that further gatherings may have been lost. No scholar has yet been able to transcribe the four lines of near-illegible explanatory text in the bottom margin of the first folio, beginning with the words 'In isto libro continetur'. The text is otherwise of good quality, with the *fontes* underlined in red pen and several corrections in the main hand, who also appears to have provided the neumatic notations in the third and fifth chapters.

An ownership stamp on f. iv reveals that the book belonged to the Benedictine monastery of Petersburg in Erfurt, a fact confirmed by Theele's reconstruction of its early modern library.¹⁰¹ History does not relate what happened after secularisation, but in 1912 (or thereabouts) the book was put up for sale by the Bavarian dealer Ludwig Rosenthal. It was acquired by the collector Werner Wolffheim, but not before Gabriel Beyssac obtained a transcription, enabling Pierre Blanchard to conduct an important study.¹⁰² Wolffheim's copy was sold in 1929 to the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, where it remains today.¹⁰³ According to the list of signatures enclosed within its bindings, the last consultation of the book prior to that of the present author was in 1938.

C BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. Fol. 368: f. 72v-76r *Off. miss.* (exc.)

Parchment, 98 folios, 27.0 × 18.0 cm. This late twelfth-century compilation bears the ownership mark of Liesborn Abbey in Westphalia, for which it was probably made. The manuscript is given over to two texts: Isidore's *Etymologies* and Bernold's *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis obseruationis*. The *Micrologus* concludes with further chapters drawn from Bern's *Off. miss.*, just as we find in manuscript sources *E*, *F*, *L* and *D*. In common with manuscript source *E*, furthermore, Bern's text is directly adjacent to the synodal sermon 'Fratres presbyteri'. By the middle of the nineteenth century the manuscript was in the Royal Library in Berlin.

¹⁰¹ J. THEELE, *Die Handschriften des Benediktinerklosters S. Petri zu Erfurt. Ein bibliotheksgeschichtlicher Rekonstruktionsversuch* (Beihefte zum Zentralblatt fuer Bibliothekswesen, 48), Leipzig, 1920, p. 110 (no. 415).

¹⁰² BLANCHARD, 'Notes'.

¹⁰³ *Versteigerung der Musikbibliothek des Herrn Dr. Werner Wolffheim, II: Textband* [Catalogue of the auction held at the Hotel Kaiserhof, Berlin on 3rd-8th June 1929], Berlin, 1929, p. 7-8. For further details see PARKES, 'Wild Strawberries', p. 8-9.

Further bibliography: V. ROSE, *Die Handschriften der Kurfürstlichen Bibliothek und der Kurfürstlichen Lande, Zweite Abteilung (Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, 13)*, Berlin, 1903, p. 702-706 (no. 702); A. FINGERNAGEL, *Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften deutscher Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin: 8.-12. Jahrhundert (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kataloge der Handschriftenabteilung, 3.1)* Wiesbaden, 1991, p. 41-42.

BOLOGNA, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Ms A.43 (olim Cod. 029): p. 81-118 *Modul. Ps.*

Paper, 582 pages. The property of the Bolognese music theorist and historian Padre Martini, this eighteenth-century manuscript was the direct result of scholarly collaborations between Martini and the German historian Martin Gerbert, abbot of St Blasien. The book brings together copies of a dozen or more medieval music treatises, predominantly of German and North Italian origin, copied in a variety of modern hands. These begin with Bern's *Ton. prol.*, *Ton.* and *Modul. Ps.* Correspondence between Gerbert and Martini reveals that the former took some manuscripts of medieval music to Bologna in 1762 or 1763 in order that the two might discuss and share material.¹⁰⁴ This was almost certainly the context in which Martini became acquainted with Bern. However, given that Gerbert that made his copy of *Modul. Ps.* 'ex MS. Salemitano', Martini's derivative reveals nothing that we do not already know from the extant Salem manuscript *H* or from Gerbert's later edition *g*. It is not collated here.

Further bibliography: O. MISCHIATI, 'Il catalogo originale dei codici manoscritti di padre Martini', *Studi Musicali*, 28 (1999), p. 117-218, at p. 149-150.

- D DÜSSELDORF, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. B 23: f. 127v-128v *Off. miss.* (exc.)

Paper, 297 folios, 21 × 14 cm. This compilation of liturgical commentaries was copied in the early sixteenth century for the Kreuzherrenkonvent in Düsseldorf. The principal contents belong in discrete codicological units: Belet's *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*; Bernold of Constance's *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis*

¹⁰⁴ A. SCHNOEBELN, *Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Civico museo bibliografico musicale in Bologna: An Annotated Index*, New York, 1979, p. 276 (no. 2253).

obseruationibus; and Nicholaus de Blonie's *Tractatus sacerdotalis*. According to their colophons, the first two units were copied by the priest Henricus de Gerresheim in 1502. Echoing an arrangement found in manuscript sources *C*, *E*, *F* and *L*, the final two chapters of Bern's *Off. miss.* appear without attribution at the conclusion of the *Micrologus*. However, in this copy both of Bern's chapters are abbreviated.

Further bibliography: G. GATTERMANN, *Handschriftencensus Rheinland*, 3 vol. (*Schriften der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf*, 18), Wiesbaden, 1993, vol. 1, p. 313-314 (no. 483); E. OVERGAAUW, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Signaturengruppe B in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf, Teil I: Ms. B 1 bis B 100*, Düsseldorf, 2012, p. 108-111.

- F* Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA. 4° 128: f. 25r-27v *Off. miss.* (exc.)

Parchment, 189 folios, 23.0 × 17.0 cm. This miscellaneous manuscript is comprised of six sections from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, with portions of both German and English origin. We are concerned with the first and earliest section (f. 1r-38v), copied in a proto-Gothic script of the latter half of the twelfth century, whose calendar points towards to the diocese of Merseburg. The principal text is a copy of Bernold's *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis obseruationibus* which concludes with two chapters from Bern's *Off. miss.*, an arrangement also found in manuscripts *C*, *E*, *L* and *D*. The twelfth-century section also includes contemporary Old High German glosses, as well as early fifteenth-century annotations that place it in the collection of Amplonius Rating de Bercka, the donor of the present-day *Amploniana* library at Erfurt.¹⁰⁵ The rest of the manuscript, not earlier than the thirteenth century, transmits extracts from works of Augustine plus a variety of sermons and commentaries.¹⁰⁶

Further bibliography: W. SCHUM, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt*, Berlin, 1887, p. 388-391.

¹⁰⁵ *Katalog* – ed. R. Bergman, S. Stricker, p. 387-388 (no. 140).

¹⁰⁶ I. SCHILLER, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*, X.2: *Ostdeutschland und Berlin, Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken* (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der Lateinischen Kirchenväter*, 26), Wien, 2009, p. 247.

- E* ERFURT, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA. 4° 131: f. 22v-25v
Off. miss. (exc.)

Parchment, 114 folios, 22.0 × 16.5 cm. This miscellaneous compilation transmits Bernold's *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus* followed by chapters drawn from Bern's *Off. miss.*, in the arrangement also found in sources *C*, *F*, *L* and *D*. In common with source *C*, Bern's text appears adjacent to a copy of the tenth-century synodal sermon 'Fratres presbyteri'. The book's hands date from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries; the portion containing the works of Bernold and Bern is copied in a proto-Gothic script, perhaps from the later twelfth century. Although Schum identified southern French features in a fourteenth-century section at the end, the book seems most likely to be German in origin.¹⁰⁷ In his survey of *Micrologus* sources Taylor suggested that this manuscript was the exemplar for *F*, which it closely resembles, but the theory relies on his questionably early dating of *E* to the late eleventh century.¹⁰⁸ The textual tradition of *Off. miss.* also argues against such a close relationship, and suggests rather that *E* and *F* derive from a common source.

- H* HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX,20: f. 69r-82r
Modul. Ps.

Parchment, 134 folios, 26.0 × 19.7 cm. This manuscript is comprised of five codicological sections from the tenth and eleventh centuries, of which the second and third were attributed by Hoffmann to eleventh-century Reichenau.¹⁰⁹ (Although the first section begins in a fifteenth-century hand, the addition appears to have compensated for an earlier loss of text.) The second section (f. 59r-68v) preserves the only surviving copy of Bern's *Epistola* 27 to Henry III, internally datable to the 1040s and copied in a Reichenau hand of a similar date. The third (f. 69r-82r) preserves Bern's *Modul. Ps.*, also internally datable to the 1040s, but copied in a hand which Hoffmann dated to the third quarter of the eleventh century. The text of *Modul. Ps.* is partly notated with St Gall neumes, of a similar date, competently executed. The musical theme of *Modul. Ps.* is sustained in the manuscript's fourth section, which concludes with two pages of notated chants, and in

¹⁰⁷ SCHUM, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss*, p. 393-394.

¹⁰⁸ TAYLOR, 'A New Inventory', p. 178.

¹⁰⁹ HOFFMANN, *Buchkunst*, vol. 1, p. 320-321.

the fifth section, which contains the two *Enchiridis* music theory treatises plus a text on the monochord. Wherever the remaining sections were actually copied, all five appear to have been together by the time the book was glossed in late eleventh-century Constance.¹¹⁰

At an unknown point, not before the twelfth century, the manuscript entered the library of the nearby Cistercian monastery at Salem. In the diary of his *Iter Germanicum*, Jean Mabillon reported visiting the Salem library on 18 September 1683, when he had the opportunity to consult 'Bernonis Abbatis Augiensis opuscula inedita'.¹¹¹ This was quite clearly our manuscript. He would later cite his transcriptions in print, demonstrating that he had seen both Bern's *Epistola* 27 and the first two chapters of *Modul. Ps.*¹¹² A century later the music historian Martin Gerbert transcribed the latter from this manuscript, whence it entered *PL*. After secularisation in the early nineteenth century the Salem collection was transferred to Heidelberg, where it resides today.

Further bibliography: *RISM*, B III, 3, p. 60-61; W. WERNER, *Die mittelalterlichen nichtliturgischen Handschriften des Zisterzienserklosters Salem* (*Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, 5), Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 191-196.

Z LEIPZIG, Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. lat. 122: 122b: f. 1ra-1vb *Off. miss.* (fragm., ?exc.)

Parchment, 2 folios, 122a: 28.0 × 19.5 cm; 122b: 27.5 × 22.5 cm. The shelfmark Fragm. lat. 122 comprises two medieval folios which were removed from a later binding. Copied in a clear book script of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, they once belonged to the same manuscript, perhaps even the same bifolium. The second folio (122b) transmits a small portion of Bern's *Off. miss.* However, the best clue as to identity of the original manuscript comes from the first (122a), which transmits part of the *Mystica descriptio*, a liturgical florilegium tradition of the twelfth

¹¹⁰ AUTENRIETH, *Die Domschule*, p. 97-99.

¹¹¹ J. MABILLON, 'Iter Germanicum', in *Veterum analectorum*, IV, Paris, 1685, p. 3-92, at p. 80-81.

¹¹² J. MABILLON, *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti*, IV, Paris, 1707, p. 471; MABILLON, *De liturgia Gallicana libri tres ... accedit Disquisitio de cursu Gallicano*, Paris, 1697², p. 7, p. 23, p. 396-398 (first edition 1685).

century previously identified by Heinzer and Glauche.¹¹³ As the parallel testimony of manuscript *R* reveals, Bern's *Off. miss.* was sometimes transmitted as a chapter within the *Mystica descriptio*. Thus it seems most likely that the two Leipzig folios originally belonged to a copy of that same textual compendium.

Further bibliography: Description and transcription by I. Dobcheva at <https://fragmentarium.ms/description/F-ktls/380> (accessed 21 March 2019).

- L* LEIPZIG, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 668: f. 36v-41v *Off. miss.* (exc.)

Parchment, 72 folios, 18 × 12 cm. Copied in a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century hand, this book combines Bernold of Constance's *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus* with a penitential. In common with manuscript sources *C*, *E*, *F* and *D*, the text of the *Micrologus* concludes with unattributed chapters from Bern's *Off. miss.* Unlike those manuscripts, however, this is followed with a small florilegium of further liturgical extracts, also copied as if continuations of Bernold's text. These comprise a single chapter from Ivo's *Panormia* on liturgical reading, a single chapter from Amalar's *Liber officialis* on the Mass of the Dead, and a small handful of further texts before the penitential proper begins on f. 45r. Besides superficial resemblances to the manuscripts mentioned above, all from twelfth-century Germany, we have been able to ascertain neither the origin nor provenance of this manuscript.

Further bibliography: R. HELSSIG, *Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig*, III: *Die juristischen Handschriften* (*Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig*, 4.1), Leipzig, 1905, p. 37.

- Mb* MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14708: f. 16r-18r *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, f. 18r-v *Adu. Dom. rat.*, f. 19r-23r *Obseru. ieiun.*

Parchment, 81 folios, 18.5 × 14.0 cm. This compact manuscript brings Bern's writings on the liturgical calendar into close proximity with his colleague Hermann's work on computus. The first two sections are the oldest, and their single main scribe appears to

¹¹³ F. HEINZER, *Klosterreform und Mittelalterliche Buchkultur im Deutschen Südwesten*, Leiden, 2008, p. 212-213; G. GLAUCHE, *Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuern: Clm 4501-4663*, Wiesbaden, 1994, p. 293.

date from the early part of the twelfth century. The first section opens with the *Abbreviatio compoti* and *Prognostica de defectu solis et lunae* of Hermann, followed by glosses. Bern's texts occupy the second section. The remaining sections are from later centuries, and they comprise, respectively, Macrobius' *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*, Bernhard of Meung's *Flores dictaminum* and John of Pulchro Rivo's *Compotus manualis*.

Mc MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4622: f. 168r-177v *Obseru. ieiun.*

Parchment, 180 folios (one unnumbered folio between 171 and 172), 19.0 × 12.3 cm. This pocket-sized volume consists of seven distinct codicological units dating from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, each identified on its opening page as the property of the Bavarian abbey of Benediktbeuern.¹¹⁴ Bern's *Obseru. ieiun.* appears as the main component of the seventh unit (f. 168r-179v), datable to the early twelfth century, where it is followed by miscellaneous music theoretical texts. The other sections do not appear to be related, except insofar as there are loose thematic connections between Bern's text and the computistic, calendrical and medicinal materials near the beginning, which include one small work on Ember Days and diet (f. 35r-36r).

Further bibliography: *RISM*, B III, 3, p. 90-91; *RISM*, B III, 6, p. 327-328.

Md MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 27300: f. 61r-66v *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, f. 66v-67v *Adu. Dom. rat.*, f. 67v-74v *Obseru. ieiun.*

Parchment, 77 folios (folios 66 and 69 numbered twice), 23.6 × 18.2 cm. This is a relatively high-quality compilation of music theoretical and liturgical texts from late eleventh- or early twelfth-century Bavaria. The manuscript begins with the pairing of Bern's *Prologus in Tonarium* (beginning incompletely) and *Tonarius*, separated by a small *Tractatus de modis* (with incipit 'Autentus protus cum plage suo'). With a remarkable sense of symmetry, the second half of the manuscript comprises Bern's *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Obseru. ieiun.* (ending incompletely), separated by the small *Adu. Dom. rat.* A very similar arrangement can be found in *Ma*, with which this manuscript is philologically linked. The final half

¹¹⁴ GLAUCHE, *Die Pergamenthandschriften*, p. 219-226.

folio contains a fragmentary, partially notated Old High German text on organ pipes. Haucke suspected that the book was copied in St Emmeram, Regensburg;¹¹⁵ Huglo mooted Tegernsee, although we should note that *Adu. Dom. rat.* in this manuscript is unrelated to that in *T*, which was probably copied at that institution.¹¹⁶ Either way, it was certainly at the Niedermünster in Regensburg by the time of the convent's secularisation, whence it travelled to Munich.

- Q PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms Latin 2265: f. 168r *Adu. Dom. rat.*

Parchment, 168 folios, 35.5 × 24.5 cm. The bulk of this thirteenth-century manuscript is a copy of Gregory's *Dialogues*, located by Bondéelle-Souchier to the Cistercian abbey of Bonport, near Rouen.¹¹⁷ Copied in a formal diplomatic script of a similar period, *Adu. Dom. rat.* is one of a handful of miscellaneous Latin texts added to the manuscript's last folio. Next to the text is a marginal note which appears to refer to the year 1453, although this was not a year when Christmas fell on a Monday. (It did so in 1452.) For reasons which remain to be understood, this is the only surviving copy of *Adu. Dom. rat.* in a non-Germanic book, and the only one which does not belong in the eleventh or twelfth century. The text was identified in print by André Wilmart, who himself thanked Giovanni Mercati for the reference.¹¹⁸

- S ST. GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 898: p. 109-110 *Adu. Dom. celeb.*

Parchment, 110 pages, 21.5 × 16.0 cm. Copied in the Bodensee area in the mid eleventh century, this ordinary-looking manuscript is a critical witness to the concept of Bern's 'complete works'. Although an incomplete document, it mixes together Bern's writings from multiple genres – letters, poetry, notated music, sermons and a partial copy of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* – in a manner which has been interpreted as a near-chronological work list

¹¹⁵ H. HAUCKE, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Clm 27270-27499*, Wiesbaden, 1975, p. 14-17.

¹¹⁶ *RISM*, B III, 3, p. 161-162.

¹¹⁷ A. BONDÉELLE-SOUCHIER, *Bibliothèques cisterciennes dans la France médiévale. Répertoire des abbayes d'hommes*, Paris, 1991, p. 44.

¹¹⁸ WILMART, 'Le prétendu *Liber officiorum*', p. 500-501; G. MERCATI, 'More Spanish Symptoms', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 8 (1907), p. 423-430.

up to the year 1027, the date of the Advent treatise.¹¹⁹ With pseudonymous capitals in place of proper names, and with some small textual variants, this book is not the source of the 'complete works' from which *Centuria XI* was compiled, but certainly a close relation.¹²⁰ Schmale cleverly reasoned that the minor inconsistencies in chronology reflect the process by which Bern's dispersed 'originals' were brought together for recopying.¹²¹ Although he was ultimately satisfied that the manuscript represents the state of the lost *Widmungscodex* up to 1027, this edition's collation opens up the possibility that the text represents a stage prior to the author's formal revision.

There is little consensus about where and for whom the book was made, whether Reichenau or St Gall. Klaper's analysis of the musical notation suggests the former,¹²² yet Blume and others have found it implausible that the Reichenau monks, presumably in possession of Bern's originals, should have needed to make extra copies.¹²³ We are not equipped to resolve these debates definitively here, in large part because this copy of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* is so curtailed. That being said, Blume's point about Reichenau monks avoiding the Latinate spelling 'Berno' is easily countered: the letter 'o' (p. 2) was added at a later date.

Further bibliography: G. SCHERRER, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, Halle, 1875, p. 314-315.

He codex olim Toerring-Gutenzell 58, nunc in bibliotheca priuata Heluatica asservatus: f. 1r-7v *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, f. 7v-10r *Adu. Dom. rat.*, f. 10r-21r *Obseru. ieiun.*

Parchment, 21 folios, 23.0 × 17.5 cm. Formerly Mscr. 58 in the Toerring-Gutenzell Library, this slim, mid-eleventh-century libellus comprises the two shorter liturgical works which Bern dedicated to Archbishop Aribio, plus *Adu. Dom. rat.* in the middle. With its neat appearance, curated contents and formal script, the book has been nominated as a possible Reichenau 'original'.¹²⁴ Indeed, in his detailed catalogue entry for a sale in 1985, Christopher

¹¹⁹ DUCH, 'Eine verlorene Handschrift', p. 431, n. 20; SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen', p. 72-73.

¹²⁰ DUCH, 'Eine verlorene Handschrift', p. 422.

¹²¹ SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen', p. 90-91.

¹²² KLAPER, 'Die musikalische Überlieferung', p. 18-19.

¹²³ BLUME, *Bern von Reichenau*, p. 19-21.

¹²⁴ BERSCHIN, *Eremus et insula*, p. 24.

de Hamel reported that that both this book and its erstwhile companion volume – a copy of Bern's *Prologus in Tonarium*, formerly Mscr. 57 in the Toerring-Gutenzell library – had probably originally resided in the same binding.¹²⁵ (This particular juxtaposition also occurs in the textually related sources *Ma* and *Md*.¹²⁶) Given Bern's track record in compiling his works, the existence of a larger anthology suggests even more strongly that the abbot might have been involved.

However, in a recent study Blume excluded the libellus from his list of 'originals', noting among other features the relatively unadorned script.¹²⁷ He had clearly been swayed by the palaeographic assessment of Hoffmann, who himself struggled to decide between Reichenau or Freising Cathedral, where the book later resided.¹²⁸ But there is more to say than that, because Hoffmann did note a close resemblance to two texts copied at Reichenau in the 1040s: HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX,20, f. 59-68; and MONTPELLIER, Bibliothèque de l'École de Médecine, Ms. H 303, f. 2v-4v.¹²⁹ Both are formal copies of Bern's works. Furthermore, the same copyist completed the text of Jerome's *Epistola ad Sunniam et Fretelam* in a Reichenau psalter, now KARLSRUHE, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. 38, f. 8v-III.¹³⁰ This is interesting because Jerome's letter is absolutely germinal to the first chapter of *Modul. Ps.*, itself datable to the 1040s. Bern's scribal hand has yet to be identified with any confidence, but these interconnections would tend to support a narrative of export from Reichenau to Freising.¹³¹ There is also a valid precedent: the early eleventh-century Reichenau sacramen-

¹²⁵ *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* [Catalogue of Sotheby's Sale on 25th June 1985], London, 1985, n.p. (lot 51).

¹²⁶ If Rausch is right that that Mscr. 57 originally concluded with a copy of Bern's *Tonarius*, this would strengthen the observation even further. See RAUSCH, *Die Musiktraktate*, p. 19-20. I have not yet been able to confirm this with the manuscript, currently in private possession in New York, USA.

¹²⁷ BLUME, *Bern von Reichenau*, p. 82.

¹²⁸ HOFFMANN, *Buchkunst*, vol. 1, p. 340; HOFFMANN, *Schreibschulen*, vol. 1, p. 218; G. GLAUCHE – H. KNAUS, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, IV.2: *Bistum Freising, Bistum Würzburg*, München, 1979, p. 625.

¹²⁹ See HOFFMANN, *Buchkunst*, vol. 1, p. 320-321, p. 332, p. 340; HOFFMANN, *Schreibschulen*, vol. 1, p. 212. These books are both identified as 'originals' in BERSCHIN, *Eremitus et insula*, p. 25.

¹³⁰ HOFFMANN, *Schreibschulen*, vol. 1, p. 212.

¹³¹ On further possible instances of Bern's scribal hand see BLUME, *Bern von Reichenau*, p. 83-84.

tary OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 319 was supplemented by three Freising hands in the second quarter of the eleventh century, suggesting that either books or scribes were being shared between the two institutions in this period.¹³²

The libellus concludes with a half-page addition on the final verso, copied in what looks like a later eleventh-century diplomatic script, with ascenders and descenders of exaggerated height. Now barely visible from a combination of erasure and damage, the text appears to mention a mixture of persons, places and objects including liturgical vestments.¹³³ It may therefore have been copied in an administrative context, functioning perhaps as a record of a donation or a will. The opportunism of the addition further suggests that it was not a product of Reichenau, but of Freising, or of whichever institution possessed the manuscript in the decades following its creation.

Since at least the nineteenth century the book has been in private possession. The name 'Jos. Aug. Comes' (Count Joseph August von Toerring, d. 1826) appears on the first endleaf alongside the shelfmark Mscr. 58, while the stamp of the 'Gräfllich Toerring-Gutenzell Bibliothek' appears on the first folio. Sold on the open market in 1985 and 1990, and at least once more in the years since, the volume remains in private hands today. Digital images are available for consultation under the shelfmark PARIS, Institut du recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT), Collections privées, CP 350.

Further bibliography: *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* [*Catalogue of Sotheby's Sale on 19th June 1990*], London, 1990, p. 86-88 (lot 85).

- R VATICANO, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 256: f. 96v-97r *Off. miss.* (exc.)

Parchment, 115 folios, 23.2 × 16.0 cm. Produced in Germany in or shortly after 1206 (the date of a decree copied therein), this volume is concerned primarily with two works of liturgical commentary: the *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* of Jean Beleth and an anonymous twelfth-century collection of liturgical *sententiae* sometimes known as the *Mystica descriptio*, here introduced as *De*

¹³² HOFFMANN, *Buchkunst*, vol. 1, p. 336.

¹³³ Here I have benefitted greatly from the transcription and description of Jérémy Delmulle (IRHT-CNRS), to whom I am most grateful for sharing his draft catalogue entry.

institutione diuini officii.¹³⁴ One of these sentences, rubricated ‘De missa deprecationem’, is a shortened copy of the fourth chapter of Bern’s *Off. miss.* (The fragmentary manuscript Z also communicates this tradition.) The book was annotated in the fourteenth century with texts concerning Bohemian history, perhaps by a scribe in Prague. By the seventeenth century it must have been in the possession of Queen Christina of Sweden, whose collection formed the basis of the *Codices Reginenses*.

Further bibliography: A. WILMART, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, 2 vol., Vaticano, 1937-1945, vol. 2, p. 19-22; S. FOSCHETTI, ‘Il Reg. lat. 256: un’insolita scoperta in fase di restauro’, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 18 (2011), p. 331-341.

- V WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 701: f. 1r-1v *Adu. Dom. rat.*, f. 138v-140v *Adu. Dom. celeb.*

Parchment, 148 folios, 33.2 × 24 cm. The centrepiece of this large-format early eleventh-century volume is a copy of the so-called ‘Romano-German Pontifical’, a tradition of liturgical compendia which may have been compiled at the behest of Henry II (1004-1024).¹³⁵ This copy can be located the monastery of St Alban, Mainz in the second quarter of the eleventh century.¹³⁶ As well as being one of the oldest sources of *Adu. Dom. rat.* and *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, this is the only copy in which the older text precedes the newer text, and the only copy in which both works are present but not adjacent. For its part, *Adu. Dom. rat.* serves as an ingenious introduction to the synodal liturgy which immediately follows it, and is thus integral to the design of the book. It appears that the lost *codex Werdinensis*, as described below, had the very same design.

The manuscript’s palaeographical dating to the early part of the eleventh century raises the significant possibility that *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, which was appended to the end by a secondary scribe, was added shortly after the letter was received by its addressee,

¹³⁴ HEINZER, *Klosterreform*, p. 212-213; GLAUCHE, *Die Pergamenthandschriften*, p. 293.

¹³⁵ H. PARKES, ‘Henry II, Liturgical Patronage and the Birth of the “Romano-German Pontifical”’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 28 (forthcoming, 2020).

¹³⁶ This suggested by both palaeography and internal details: HOFFMANN, *Buchkunst*, vol. 1, p. 262-263; H. PARKES, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church. Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950-1050* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 100), Cambridge, 2015, p. 185-211.

Aribo of Mainz, in 1027. It is hard to know what kind of relationship Aribo had with the monks at St Alban's, but it may also be relevant to note that in *Obseru. ieiun.*, also dedicated to Aribo (but not present in *V*), Bern quotes a lengthy liturgical passage that is otherwise only known from the 'Romano-German Pontifical'. It is therefore feasible that Bern had sight of this copy, just as it is feasible that Bern supplied Aribo with the exemplar from which this manuscript was copied. Further speculation is beyond the bounds of this study.

Ma WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1836 (olim Theol. 403) [*V*] + MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14477 [*M*]: *V* f. 79r-v and *M* f. 68r-72v *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, *M* f. 72v-74v *Adu. Dom. rat.*, *M* f. 74v-83v *Obseru. ieiun.*

V: Parchment, 79 folios, 23.9 × 17.4 cm; *M*: Parchment, 83 folios, 23.5 × 17.0 cm. Previously thought to be two separate books, the volumes now in Vienna (*V*) and Munich (*M*) can be definitively connected. Together they communicate sections from a single late eleventh- or early twelfth-century compilation of Bern's musical and liturgical works. The latter portion of *V* (f. 58r-79v) comprises Bern's *Tonarius* and two pages of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* The last of these pages (f. 79v) is impossible to read, but it is sufficiently legible for us to see that it is continuous with incomplete text of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* which begins the final section of *M* (f. 68r-83v). The script and ruling are also continuous. Thus we can hypothesise an original manuscript as follows:

Contents	Modern location
1. BERNO, <i>Ton. prol.</i>	<i>M</i> f. 57r-67v
2. <i>Tractatus de modis</i>	<i>M</i> f. 67v
3. BERNO, <i>Ton.</i>	<i>V</i> f. 58r-78v
4. BERNO, <i>Adu. Dom. celeb.</i>	<i>V</i> f. 79r-v, <i>M</i> , f. 68r-72v
5. <i>Adu. Dom. rat.</i>	<i>M</i> f. 72v-74v
6. BERNO, <i>Obseru. ieiun.</i>	<i>M</i> f. 74v-83v

Note that the inclusion of the so-called *Tractatus de modis* (with incipit 'Autentus protus cum plage suo') between the *Pro-*

logus and *Tonarius* precisely reflects the disposition of source *Md*, which is also textually linked to this manuscript.¹³⁷

The remainder of M (f. 1r-56v) is codicologically distinct, comprising an eleventh-century copy of works by Sallust, perhaps copied at Hersfeld.¹³⁸ The remainder of V (f. 1r-57v) is also codicologically distinct, but scribally much closer to the texts which follow. This part of the book begins with a calendar and computational texts, followed by a section which the catalogue describes as 'missal'.¹³⁹ Closer codicological and palaeographical study will doubtless clarify the original arrangement, as well as the history by which V and M were ultimately separated. For now, the only hint of a place of origin comes from provenance: before arriving at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the M portion was at St Emmeram's in Regensburg.

Further bibliography: *RISM*, B III, 1, p. 40 (V); *RISM*, B III, 6, p. 334-335 (M).

- W WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 131 Gud. Lat.: f. 72v-85r *Off. miss.*, incorporating f. 76v-77v *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (exc.), f. 77v-78r *Adu. Dom. rat.* (exc.), f. 83r-85r *Obseru. ieiun.* (exc.)

Parchment, 168 folios, 26.5 × 18.5 cm. This volume brings together six miscellaneous fascicles dating from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, the first four of which bear inscriptions in a twelfth- or thirteenth-century hand to the monastery of St Pantaleon, Cologne. All six fascicles were together by the fifteenth century, the approximate date of the present binding. Evidence of the book's consultation by Melchior Hittorp in the library of Cologne Cathedral (see the discussion of Hittorp under 'Printed editions', below) proves that the manuscript was still in the city in the late sixteenth century. Shortly thereafter it entered the library of Marquard Gude, the seventeenth-century antiquarian and phi-

¹³⁷ On the *Tractatus* text see A. RAUSCH, 'Die Handschrift München, Clm 14477 als musiktheoretische Quelle', *Musik in Bayern*, 49 (1994), p. 19-24.

¹³⁸ F. HELMER – J. KNÖDLER, *Die Handschriften aus St. Emmeram in Regensburg*, IV: *Clm 14401-14540 (Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, IV.2.4)*, Wiesbaden, 2015, p. 257-263.

¹³⁹ R. KLUGSEDER et al., *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Musikhandschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Codices manuscripti et impressi, Supplementum, 10)*, Purkersdorf, 2014, p. 393-397.

lologist whose annotations litter the manuscript.¹⁴⁰ In 1706 it then went with the rest of Gude's library to Wolfenbüttel.

Bern's *Off. miss.* is the second item in the third fascicle (f. 27r-86v), where it is preceded by Williram of Ebersberg's *Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum*. The scribal hands of the two works are different, but not far separated in place and time, perhaps from the early part of the twelfth century. Bern's text is preserved here in an anomalous seven-chapter version, comprising the five 'original' chapters (numbered in the table of contents as 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6) plus two 'extra' chapters which we consider to have been assembled from excerpts: one made of portions of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Adu. Dom. rat.* (numbered 4), and one which communicates a stripped down version of the dialogue *Obseru. ieiun.* (unnumbered, at the end). These 'extra' materials are collated here in the context of the works to which they correspond.

The main copyist of Bern's text was guilty of many misconstruals, misspellings and errors of word division. Fortunately, at some point in the sixteenth century a skilled correcting hand (indicated in the apparatus as *W^r*) reinstated scores of authoritative readings. It is thus very likely that this scribe had access to a lost manuscript. As I explain below, the corrections are most efficiently explained by the evidence that *W* was probably *also* consulted by the editors of the *Centuria XI*, who would have been in a position to correct certain texts against their hypothetical copy of Bern's 'complete works'. If so, the corrector *W^r* may provisionally be identified with one of the participants in that collaboration, perhaps Matthias Flacius or Cornelius Wouters. For more on this history see the discussion below.

Further bibliography: F. KÖHLER – G. MILCHSACK, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, IV: *Die Gudischen Handschriften*, Wolfenbüttel, 1913, p. 153-155 (no. 4435).

¹⁴⁰ P. CARMASSI, *Retter der Antike: Marquard Gude (1635-1689) auf der Suche nach den Klassikern (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 147)*, Wiesbaden, 2016.

b. Lost manuscripts

codex Werdinensis, ex quo unum folium de religatione superest: BONN, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. S 2001 (Nr. 4306): f. 1-? *Adu. Dom. rat.*, f. 227-230 *Adu. Dom. celeb.*

Parchment, approx. 230 folios, 31 × 23 cm. In their *Veterum scriptorum collectio* of 1724, Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand published several texts from an eleventh-century liturgical collection in the library of Werden Abbey.¹⁴¹ Now presumed lost, all that survives from this manuscript is an endleaf, probably a front endleaf, which was purchased by the Universitätsbibliothek Bonn in 1927. Although the provenance of the leaf is unknown, Braubach and Levison demonstrated beyond doubt that it was once part of the Werden book.¹⁴² Among the various annotations found on the leaf, both medieval and modern, is a note from 1725 reporting that Martène and Durand had consulted the book in 1718.

According to the Martène-Durand edition, the greater part of this *codex Werdinensis* transmitted the compilation now known as the 'Romano-German Pontifical'. But there were other texts besides. A contemporary quotation in Bessel's *Chronicon Gotwicense* reveals that the book originally began with *Adu. Dom. rat.*,¹⁴³ while an early modern annotation on the Bonn leaf reports that the final folios originally transmitted a letter to Archbishop Aribio of Mainz. From the transcription printed by Martène and Durand we know that this was none other than Bern's *Adu. Dom. celeb.* Judging by the disposition of the Werden manuscript and its philological variants, there can be little doubt that we are dealing with a sibling of the eleventh-century Mainz compilation *V*.

¹⁴¹ E. MARTÈNE – U. DURAND, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, I, Paris, 1724.

¹⁴² M. BRAUBACH – W. LEVISON, 'Ein Bruchstück einer verschollenen Werdener Handschrift', *Neues Archiv*, 50 (1935), p. 458-474.

¹⁴³ G. BESSEL, *Chronicon Gotwicense, seu annales liberi et exempti monasterii Gotwicensis*, Tegernsee, 1732, p. 37.

codex 'opera omnia' Bernonis continens, adhibitus in: *Undecima centuria ecclesiasticae historiae, continens descriptionem amplissimarum rerum in regno Christi, quae undecimo post eius nativitatem seculo acciderunt* – ed. M. Flacius, J. Wigand, M. Judix and M. Köppe, Basel, 1567

It is widely understood that the Magdeburg-based editors of *Centuria XI* had access to a copy of Bern's 'complete works', now lost, based on the compilation assembled for Henry III in 1043 or 1044.¹⁴⁴ The only surviving witness to such a codex, the incomplete eleventh-century compilation *S*, suggests that the lost manuscript included *Adu. Dom. celeb.*; and we know from the contents of *Centuria XI* that the editors also had access to three of the other liturgical writings edited here: *Adu. Dom. rat.* (which may not have been by Bern, but did circulate in compilations of his works), *Obseru. ieiun.* and *Off. miss.* Because the Centuriators mostly paraphrased Bern's texts, it has proved almost impossible to narrow down the philological identity of their source. What we have been able to establish, however, is that the 'complete works' codex was probably *not* the only source consulted by the Magdeburg scholars.

The identity of this second source does not directly impact our understanding of the lost 'complete works' codex, except insofar as it recommends our caution in interpreting the contents of *Centuria XI*. For that reason we choose to provide the full narrative. Essentially, the version of Bern's *Off. miss.* described in *Centuria XI* shows remarkable affinities to the Cologne manuscript *W*. The fourth chapter (as we consider it here) is always described as if it were a fifth, corresponding to the anomalous seven-chapter version that is uniquely found in *W*;¹⁴⁵ that same fourth (fifth) chapter is referred to as 'De concordia officiorum', using wording that is uniquely found in *W*;¹⁴⁶ and the larger work is referred to as if it has no formal name, as we find in *W* but not in the other primary manuscript *A*. While it is certainly possible that *W* sim-

¹⁴⁴ DUCH, 'Eine verlorene Handschrift'; ERDMANN, 'Bern von Reichenau', p. 112-119; SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen', p. 70-71.

¹⁴⁵ Examples include 'ex eodem cap. 5 de Concordia Officiorum' and 'Liber de. con. off. cap. 5'. For a full list of references to this work see BECKER, *Bern von der Reichenau*, p. 353.

¹⁴⁶ Examples include 'Serm. de concord. off.' and 'Liber de concordia officiorum'. The other source (*A*) opens with the rubric 'Liber sacramentorum', and in place of a title the fourth chapter has its opening words 'De missa' in red ink.

ply reproduces Bern's 'original' as it was known in Magdeburg – thus fundamentally undermining our previous claim that *A* preserves the most authoritative version – there is solid historical evidence to suggest that the Centuriators had themselves encountered codex *W*, which was then held in Cologne.

It is already well known that the Centuriators had close connections with Cologne in the middle of the sixteenth century. On multiple occasions in 1554 and 1555 the project's mastermind, Matthias Flacius, journeyed there to consult with two local antiquarians, Cornelius Wouters (Gualtherus) and Georg Cassander.¹⁴⁷ From his letters we can deduce that Wouters knew his way around the local archives, and often acted as a facilitator for those scholars (both Catholic and Protestant) who wished to access historical texts.¹⁴⁸ We also know, quite specifically, that Wouters had access to manuscript *W*, because in the preface to the inaugural edition of Bern's *Off. miss.*, itself transcribed from *W*, Melchior Hittorp credited Wouters with bringing the copy to his attention.¹⁴⁹ Thus it is unthinkable that in those same years Wouters would not have performed the same service for the Magdeburg scholars working on the very same text. Furthermore, if we consider that *W* was corrected in the sixteenth century by a scribe (*W*^r) who had access to authoritative copies of *Off. miss.* 5 (p. 93, 28-29; p. 93, 42) and *Obseru. ieiun.* (p. 41, 210-211), it is difficult to attribute responsibility to anyone but the Magdeburg Centuriators, armed with their now-lost 'complete works' codex.

But if *W* was so inadequate that it needed correcting, we might well ask: what appeal could it have held for the *Centuria XI* project, given their likely access to a better source? And why is its imprint so clearly visible on their printed text, via its distinctive (mis-) numbering and chapter titles? Pending further research or the discovery of new sources, we suggest that the question reveals the answer. When we compare the disposition of our two primary witnesses to *Off. miss.*, *A* and *W*, the former has the more credible

¹⁴⁷ H. BOLLBUCK, *Wahrheitszeugnis, Gottes Auftrag und Zeitkritik. Die Kirchengeschichte der Magdeburger Zenturien und ihre Arbeitstechniken* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 138), Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 175-180. On Wouters and Cologne see C. LÖFFLER, *Kölnische Bibliotheksgeschichte im Umriß*, 1923, p. 20-21.

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, A. NÜRNBERGER, 'Die Bonifatiuslitteratur der Magdeburger Centuriatoren', *Neues Archiv*, 11 (18), p. 9-41, at p. 25-33.

¹⁴⁹ This is revealed in HITTORP, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiiis*, 'Ad lectorem' (n.p.).

shape, but the latter is the more navigable, with its clear chapter titles and numbered sections. Thus the appeal may have been purely utilitarian, as it is in the present edition, where we adopt that same system of reference.

c. Misattributions

The following manuscripts transmit the Pseudo-Bernonian texts considered under 'Erroneous or doubtful attributions', above, and cannot therefore be considered legitimate witnesses to the abbot's work:

BESANÇON, Bibliothèque municipale, Cod. 187, f. 1r-6r (s. xii):

Sententia de officiorum concordia

HEILIGENKREUZ, Zisterzienserstift, Cod. 205, f. 86r-86v (s. xii):

Ratio ieiuniorum quatuor temporum

OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A 365 (s. xvii): a copy of Jacques d'Etaples' 1518 edition of Bernold's *Micrologus*

WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1001, f. 69r-74r (s. xii): *Sententia de officiorum concordia*

WINCHESTER, Winchester College Library, Ms. 2, f. 19r-21r (s. xvi): eccentric list of popes and their liturgical contributions, attributed to 'Bernò'

ZWETTL, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 304, f. 145v-149r (s. xii): *Sententia de officiorum concordia*

d. Printed editions

1. Editions of individual works

- g* M. GERBERT, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3 vol., St. Blasien, 1784, vol. 2, p. 91-114 *Modul. Ps.* (= *PL*, 142, col. 1131-1154)

Gerbert revealed more than once that his transcription of *Modul. Ps.* had been derived 'ex MS. Salemitano Saec. XI. vel XII'. Both his description and our collation confirm that he was working from manuscript *H*, a Reichenau product which ended up in Heidelberg via the library of Salem. His transcription was later shared with Padre Martini in Bologna, as explained above in connection with Martini's copy, the manuscript BOLOGNA, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Ms A.43.

- b* M. HITTORP, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis ac ministeriis varii vestustorum aliquot ecclesiae patrum ac scriptorum libri*, Köln, 1568¹, p. 419-433 *Off. miss.*

There has never been a consensus about where Hittorp found his copy of *Off. miss.*, but we can confirm that he was using none other than the Cologne manuscript source *W*, which he had consulted in the library of the cathedral.¹⁵⁰ Collation of both texts shows that Hittorp's edition shadows its model faithfully, preserving the anomalous seven-chapter form, the table of contents and the majority of the marginal comments and interlinear corrections, including the identification of *fontes*, suggested readings and occasional commentary. In addition, Hittorp's description of Bern's text residing in a 'libellus' matches the distinctly fascicular construction of *W*. By confirming this relationship, we can also confirm that the now-standard title of this work, *De quibusdam rebus ad missae officium pertinentibus libellus*, was not derived from a credible manuscript witness, but was Hittorp's own creation. The title is preserved here in the absence of an obvious medieval identifier. After the publication of Hittorp's edition many other compilers reproduced his work, including Philippe Despont in his re-edition of Marguerin de La Bigne's *Sacrae bibliothecae* (1677). Despont's publication was the source of the *PL* edition.

- p* B. PEZ, *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus seu veterum monumentorum, praecipue ecclesiasticorum, ex Germanicis potissimum bibliothecis adornata collectio recentissima*, IV.2, Augsburg, 1721: col. 41-50 *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, col. 49-52 *Adu. Dom. rat.*, col. 55-68 *Obseru. ieiun.* (= *PL*, 142, col. 1079-1098)

Pez was the first modern scholar to edit the trio of calendrical works on Advent and Ember Days, as well as the first to attribute all three to Bern. There is no evidence that he had privileged information about the authorship of *Adu. Dom. rat.*, and it seems more likely that he inferred the continuity of authorship from the rubrics beginning 'Item'. Collation reveals that he established his texts from the Bavarian trio of manuscripts *Ma*, *Mb* and *Mc*.

¹⁵⁰ HITTORP, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis*, 'Ad lectorem' (n.p.). The connection had been mooted long before, in fact, in VAN DE VYVER, 'Les œuvres inédites', p. 143, n. 2 (p. 144).

Further bibliography: C. GLASSNER, *Neuzeitliche Handschriften aus dem Nachlass der Brüder Bernhard und Hieronymus Pez in der Bibliothek des Benediktinerstiftes Melk* (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters*, IV.7), Wien, 2008, p. 46-51

- 5 F.-J. SCHMALE, *Die Briefe des Abtes Bern von Reichenau* (*Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg*, A 6), Stuttgart, 1961: p. 39-46 (no. 13) *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, p. 49-50 (no. 16) *Obseru. ieiun.* (epistle only), p. 64-65 (no. 29) *Modul. Ps.* (epistle only)

Defined by genre rather than by topic, Schmale's edition recorded only those elements of Bern's writings which he deemed 'epistolary'. Thus we find *Adu. Dom. celeb.* minus Aribo's response, plus the individual epistles which precede *Obseru. ieiun.* and *Modul. Ps.* Since Schmale had no access to *B*, as discussed above, he had no choice but to reprint Blanchard's transcription

Table 3
A concordance of the manuscript sigla
employed in *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Obseru. ieiun.*

	CCCM 297	Schmale
ADMONT, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 296	<i>A</i>	
BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek, Handschr. 74 (olim Phillipps 392)	<i>P</i>	<i>Ch</i>
codex olim Toerring-Gurenzell 58, nunc in bibliotheca priuata Heluetica asservatus	<i>He</i>	
codex Werdinensis, ex quo unum folium de religatione superest: BONN, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. S 2001 (Nr. 4306)	<i>m, c</i>	<i>W</i>
MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4622	<i>Mc</i>	
MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14708	<i>Mb</i>	<i>E₃</i>
MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 27300	<i>Md</i>	<i>N</i>
ST. GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 898	<i>S</i>	<i>S</i>
WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1836 (olim Theol. 403) + MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14477	<i>Ma</i>	<i>W₅ + E₂</i>
WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 701	<i>V</i>	<i>W_I</i>
WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 131 Gud. Lat.	<i>W</i>	

(siglum *b*), to which he offered his own silent corrections. Note that Schmale also employed different sigla, which do not realistically transfer to the present study. A concordance is provided in Table 3.

2. Partial editions

- b* P. BLANCHARD, 'Notes sur les œuvres attribuées à Bernon de Reichenau', *Revue Bénédictine*, 29 (1912), p. 98-107: p. 100-101 *Modul. Ps.* (epistle only)

As part of a brief exploration of Bern's liturgical works, Blanchard printed a transcription of the opening epistle of *Modul. Ps.* from *B*.

- c* G. BESSEL, *Chronicon Gotwicense, seu annales liberi et exempti monasterii Gotwicensis*, Tegernsee, 1732: p. 37 *Adu. Dom. rat.* (incipit only)

- m* E. MARTÈNE – U. DURAND, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, I, Paris, 1724: col. 383-389 *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (incompl.)

As discussed under 'Lost manuscripts' above, Martène, Durand and Bessel all had access to a now-lost manuscript from Werden.

4. PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

This edition establishes Bern's works eclectically, with readings chosen using a mixture of textual and contextual evidence. Since Bern had a propensity to prepare his works for formal dissemination, there are instances where the editor is faced with evidence of multiple recensions. In principle, this edition sets out to communicate the 'published' versions and not their drafts or precursors, so far as this can be determined. Since each work has its own distinct history of transmission, the reader is directed to the corresponding introductions for specific details. However, all texts are subject to the general principles set out below.

a. Normalisation of orthography

With a few exceptions, the orthography has been standardised without comment according to the following principles: prefixes

are assimilated (*attestatio* for *adtestatio*, *ammoneo* for *admoneo*); the diphthongs *ae* and *oe* are reinstated wherever abbreviated or missing (*aedibus* for *ēdibus* or *edibus*, *coepi* for *cēpi* or *cepi*), but are removed wherever non-standard (*ecclesia* for *ēcclesia* or *aecclesia*); the syllable *ti-* is preferred over *ci-* before vowels (*initium* for *inicium*); and aspirated consonants are reinstated as meaning demands (*hortum* for *ortum*, *hostium* for *ostium*). Other categories of variant spelling include: *nihil* for *nichil*, *quatenus* for *quatinus*, *numquam* for *nunquam*, *reperitur* for *repperitur*, *presbyter* for *presbiter*, *solemnia* for *solempnia*, *adicere* for *adiicere*, *abundere* for *habundere*.

On account of their liturgical currency, however, the variant spellings *ebdomada*, *gradalis* and *epistola* are all respected in preference to the more 'classical' *hebdomada*, *gradualis* and *epistula*. (For the sake of consistency, *spiritalis* is also retained without emendation.) Similarly, because Greek loan words are generally consistent in their spelling across the transmission of Bern's works, even where not technically correct, these are also preserved in their majority readings (e.g. *tesseresdecades* for *tessarescedecdeas*, *sinedochae* for *synecdoche*). Conversely, words copied in Greek letterforms are rendered in their correct Greek form, with individual readings noted in the apparatus.

Variant spellings of proper names are always recorded, except for the aforementioned distinction between *ae* and *e*, where the diphthong is silently preferred (*Iudaea* for *Iudea*, *Caecilia* for *Cecilia*). Preferred readings for proper names derive from the Vulgate, where applicable, with the Hebraic *Isaias* preferred over the Greek *Esaias*. The abbreviation *Isrl'* is accordingly rendered as *Israhel*. Jerome is always *Hieronymus*.

b. Numbers and dates

Cardinal and ordinal numbers are rendered in their corresponding verbal forms (*octo*, *octauus*), except in the apparatus, where Roman numeral forms are preserved if relevant to the textual history. By contrast, dates are always presented abbreviated (e.g. IV. Kal. Mar.), a policy which helps to bring clarity to Bern's more dense calendrical arguments.

c. Punctuation

The punctuation has been standardised editorially, with assistance from the manuscripts wherever there is ambiguity over a syntactic division. Semicolons are used only in specific cases: either when two or more complete sentences are set up as a list or comparison, or when a short quotation or paraphrase extends beyond a single sentence. In a few instances a *punctus interrogatiuus* has been inserted where the meaning demands, or has been adopted from a minority manuscript reading.

Proper nouns and *nomina sacra* are capitalised according to established convention. Capitals are additionally applied to major liturgical feasts (e.g. *Pascha*, *Natalis Domini*, *Pentecosten*), thus helping to distinguish between a reported event (*aduentus Domini*) and its liturgical commemoration (*Aduentus Domini*). Liturgical genres (e.g. *oratio*, *antiphona*, *lectio*) are not differentiated visually, except in certain instances where Bern is clearly quoting from a liturgical book or presenting liturgical material in the manner of a liturgical book. These are discussed below.

d. Expansion of abbreviations

Ambiguous abbreviations are normally discussed in the critical apparatus. However, there are some frequent exceptions which are here expanded as a matter of policy. As per the proper name policy above, the abbreviations *IHS* and *XPS* are always rendered without comment as *Iesus* and *Christus*. In accordance with the majority readings of written-out abbreviations, the chant genre *Off.* is normally rendered as *Offerenda* (not *Offertorium*); and the liturgical feast *Nat. Dni.* is rendered as *Natalis Domini* (not *Natiuitas Domini*). One exception to this last rule occurs within Bern's many quotations from Amalar of Metz, where the latter's unambiguous preference for *Natiuitas* over *Natalis* is respected. Whenever *Nat.* is preceded by the preposition *ante*, we follow Bern's marked preference for the ablative case (*ante Natale*) over the expected accusative (*ante Natalem*). Many contemporary liturgical books also preserve this custom.

e. Citation of non-liturgical texts

Whereas quotations from the Bible are presented in italics, explicit quotations from secondary literature are presented in dou-

ble quotation marks. All other allusions and unacknowledged quotations are indicated in the source apparatus.

f. Citation of liturgical texts

Since Bern's writings frequently draw upon liturgical texts – texts which are neither fully biblical nor fully secondary – we adopt two special policies for communicating them visually. As a general rule, all explicit quotations from liturgical texts are rendered in single quotation marks. This includes biblical material when mentioned in a liturgical context, i.e. psalmody and lections. There are certain instances, however, where this policy cannot apply. When Bern quotes multiple discrete liturgical texts in *Modul. Ps.*, or when in *Obseru. ieiun.* he provides liturgical texts together with detailed rubrics (i.e. in imitation of the visual language of a liturgical book), a corresponding visual language is adopted. In these instances liturgical texts are presented in italic type, and the names of liturgical genres are replaced with standardised abbreviations. The original musical notations found in the manuscript sources of *Modul. Ps.* are not communicated, but the presence of notation is indicated in the critical apparatus. At the time of writing, digital images of both *B* and *H* are freely available in facsimile online.

g. Apparatus

In addition to purely textual variants, all semblances of correction, erasure or marginal addition are documented in the critical apparatus, so far as that is possible. This applies even in instances where the meaning remains unaffected. As a general rule, printed editions which draw upon known manuscripts are only selectively mentioned in the critical apparatus: either because their readings diverge from the manuscripts, or because collation helps us to understand the patrimony of that printed edition. Cross-references to the corresponding texts in *PL* are provided throughout: in the left margin are the old chapter numbers, which were inserted into early modern editions and are discarded here; in the right margin are the numbers of the corresponding columns. Explicatory comments and brief historical observations are provided at the end.

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BERNONIS AVGIENSIS
TRACTATVS LITVRGICI

QUALITER ADVENTVS DOMINI
CELEBRARI DEBEAT

INTRODUCTION

The full title of *Qualiter Aduentus Domini* (henceforth *Adu. Dom. celeb.*) reveals that this work was, quite specifically, a guide for 'how Advent is to be celebrated this year, when Christmas will fall on a Monday'.¹ Years in which Christmas fell on a Monday were a recurring source of discord at this point in history, because there was still uncertainty about how to fit the Frankish liturgy to this calendrical permutation. While some felt that in this situation Advent Sunday should fall on 26 November (i.e. permitting four full weeks of Advent, but requiring five Sundays), others delayed it until 3 December (i.e. permitting the requisite four Sundays of Advent, but over the curtailed period of three weeks). Bern's text is the longest and, to my knowledge, the last original treatment of this question.

The answer which Bern offered was framed within a letter to Archbishop Aribio of Mainz, during whose tenure Christmas fell on a Monday on two occasions: once in the year of his consecration in 1021, and again in 1027. Bern was almost certainly writing in connection with the latter. His text refers to the recently departed Adalbold of Utrecht, who died in 1026, and on two occasions he also describes his experience of non-standard Advent customs in Italy, first in connection with Piacenza and then more generally 'in the Italian regions'.² As Arno Borst noted, such experiences can only really have taken place in 1021, when Henry II and his court embarked upon an expedition to southern Italy.³ Charters reveal that the imperial retinue set out over the Alps in late November, before passing close to Piacenza during the first or second week of Advent, with stops in nearby Verona (6 December) and Mantua (10 December) en route to Ravenna for Christmas.⁴ The future tense of the work's title, combined with an earnest request that Aribio amplify and disseminate his message,

¹ *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (p. 11, Tit.): 'qualiter Aduentus Domini hoc anno celebrari debeat quando Natalis Domini secunda feria euenerit'.

² *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (p. 18, 176): 'in Italiae regionibus'.

³ BORST, 'Ein Forschungsbericht', p. 390-391.

⁴ *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduins* – ed. H Bresslau et al. (MGH, *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, 3), Hannover, 1900-1903, p. 583-589 (no. 461-463).

strongly implies that Bern was writing in anticipation of further disagreement in 1027.⁵

1. TEXTUAL TRADITION

a. Filiation of sources

Out of the nine available sources of *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, the seven complete or near-complete witnesses divide cleanly into two families:

p. 11, 13	superna <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] Dei <i>add. S Vm</i>
p. 11, 15	seu <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] sed <i>Vm</i>
p. 11, 16-17	uerum – perduceret <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] <i>om. ob homoioteleuton Vm</i>
p. 12, 40	Dominica tertia <i>He Ma Mb Md A W</i>] tertia <i>Vm</i>
p. 12, 40	quae <i>He Ma Mb Md A W</i>] et <i>add. Vm</i>
p. 13, 61	diurno <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] quia <i>add. Vm</i>
p. 13, 72	eius <i>He Ma Mb Md A W</i>] qui <i>Vm</i>
p. 15, 109	saltem <i>He Ma Mb Md A W</i>] saltim <i>Vm (ut Amalar.)</i>
p. 16, 127	saltem <i>He Ma Mb Md A W</i>] saltim <i>Vm (ut Amalar.)</i>
p. 18, 193	in Aduentum <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] ad Aduentum <i>Vm</i>
p. 19, 212	dominico Aduentui <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] dominico Aduentu <i>Vm</i>
p. 20, 226	non <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] <i>om. Vm</i>
p. 20, 226	possint <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] possunt <i>Vm</i>
p. 20, 235	dicimus <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] didicimus <i>Vm</i>
p. 21, 260	eius <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] <i>om. Vm</i>

This division is reinforced by the proximity of *Vm* to the standard text of Amalar's *De officiis*. However, *A* occasionally shows allegiance to the other family:

p. 13, 59	iustum <i>He Ma Mb Md</i>] et regnabit rex et sapiens erit et faciet iudicium et iustitiam in terra <i>add. Vm A W</i>
p. 16, 124	hortatur nos ut dixi <i>He Ma Mb Md</i>] ut dixi hortatur nos <i>Vm A W (ut Amalar.)</i>
p. 21, 260-261	inponimus eis <i>He Ma Mb Md</i>] eis imponimus <i>Vm A</i>

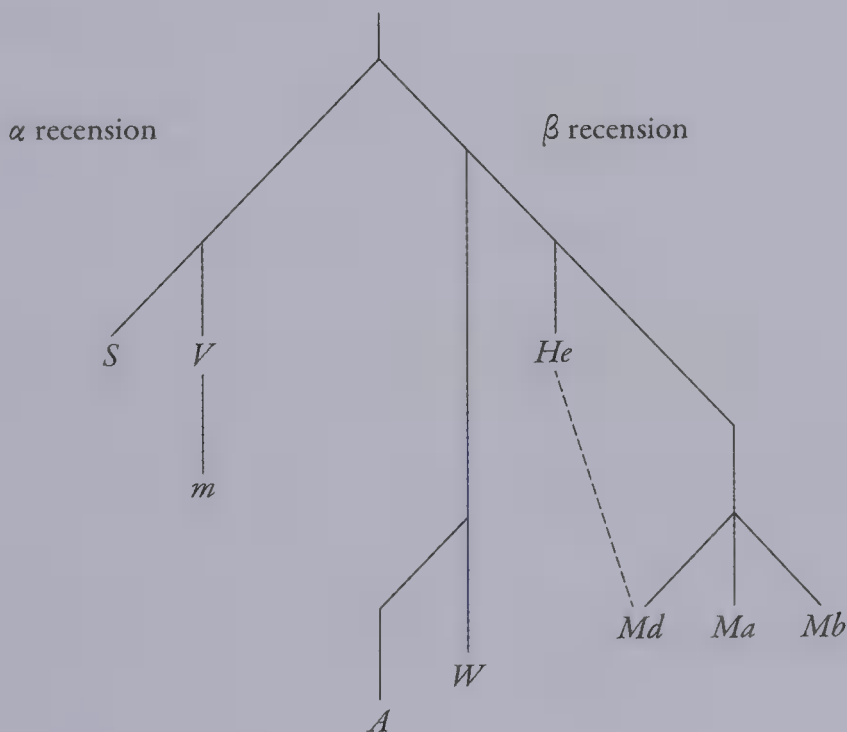
⁵ *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (p. 6, 240): 'Haec etsi ita esse credimus, haud facile tamen aliis persuadebimus'.

Within the *He Ma Mb Md* family there is one salient subdivision, namely the tendency of *Md* either to follow unique readings in *He* or be corrected back to readings in *He*:

p. 14, 89	recolendum <i>Ma Mb Vm AW</i>] recolendam <i>He Md</i>
p. 17, 154	inchoet <i>Ma Mb Vm A</i>] inchoat <i>He Md</i>
p. 19, 214	euenerint <i>He Md^{p.c.} Vm A</i>] euenerit <i>Ma Mb Md^{a.c.}</i>
p. 21, 257	gratulamur <i>Ma Mb Vm</i>] gratulemur <i>He Md</i> , congratulamur <i>A</i>

On the assumption that *He* was once bound together with a copy of Bern's *Prologus in tonarium*, as described above, it is worth noting the equivalent relationship in that text: Rausch detected an intimate relationship between G and M⁶ (corresponding to our *He* and *Md*), and he indicated that the former probably had precedence over the latter.⁶

b. Stemma codicum



⁶ RAUSCH, *Die Musiktraktate*, p. 27.

2. EXISTING EDITIONS

In the early eighteenth century Bernhard Pez edited *Adu. Dom. celeb.* from a single manuscript which we can identify as *Mb*, elsewhere described as a 'Codex Emmerammensis'. This edition was later reproduced in *PL*. Only a few years after Pez, Martène and Durand published a near-complete copy of Bern's text in their *Veterum scriptorum collectio* (1724), which they had found in a now-lost manuscript (*m*) from eleventh-century Werden. (The text ends three words before the end, but is almost identical to the copy in *V*, which survives in full.) When Jaffé edited the text in 1866 he consulted both *Md* (also the source of his edition of *Obseru. ieiun.*) and the largely incomplete text of *S*, but he abbreviated the quotations from Amalar.⁷ Finally, in 1961 Schmale offered the most substantial edition to date, prepared from *Ma Mb Md S Vm*, which excluded Aribio's response to Bern at the end, despite the fact that this text is included in all complete (or near-complete) copies that survive. In the edition which follows we record selected variants from the Schmale and Pez editions, either when those texts diverge from my own edition or when they diverge from their nominal manuscript sources.

3. PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

The edition is established principally from the Reichenau-affiliated manuscript *He*, which is here considered to represent Bern's 'published' version from the 1030s or 1040s, as discussed in the General Introduction above. This text is supplemented by readings from other manuscripts wherever it appears to be deficient. The readings from the manuscripts *Vm* are correspondingly understood to represent the version originally sent to Archbishop Aribio in 1027. The apparatus also records the concordant passages found in the *W* copy of Bern's *Off. miss.*, whose third chapter was fashioned out of extracts from *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Adu. Dom. rat.*

⁷ P. JAFFÉ, *Monumenta Moguntina* (*Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, 3), Berlin, 1866, p. 365-372 (no. 28-29)

QUALITER ADVENTVS DOMINI
CELEBRARI DEBEAT

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

codices

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Ma WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1836, f. 79r-v + MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14477, f. 68r-72v (s. XI/XII)
Mb MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14708, f. 16r-18r (s. XII¹)
Md MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 27300, f. 61r-66v (s. XI/XII)
S ST. GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 898, p. 109-110 (s. XI^{2/3})
V WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 701, f. 138v-140v (s. XI^{2/4})
W WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 131 Gud. Lat., f. 76v-77r (s. XIIⁱⁿ)

editiones

- m* E. MARTÈNE – U. DURAND, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, I, Paris, 1724, col. 383-389 (e codice Werdinense nunc perduto, s. XI)
p B. PEZ, *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus seu veterum monumentorum, praecipue ecclesiasticorum, ex Germanicis potissimum bibliothecis adornata collectio recentissima*, IV.2, Augsburg, 1721, col. 41-50 (= PL, 142, col. 1079-1086)
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INCIPIT EPISTOLA BERN AVGIENSIS MONASTERII ABBATIS AD
ARIBONEM MOGONTINVM ARCHIEPISCOPVM DE EO QVALITER
ADVENTVS DOMINI HOC ANNO CELEBRARI DEBEAT QVANDO
NATALIS DOMINI SECVNDA FERIA EVENERIT.

Summae dignitatis apice sublimato Ariboni archiepiscopo, per quem in area Domini bona conseruis fideliter amministratur tritici mensura, Bern, etsi uile Dei matris mancipium, illud serui boni euge optat in praemium. PL 1079

5 Quotiens in ecclesiastici ordinis ritu minus concordamus, oportet ut ad consilium magistrorum recurramus, per quos, ut Scriptura testatur, sapientia diuina *profunda fluuiorum scrutata est et abscondita produxit in lucem*, legislatore id etiam praecipiente: *Interroga patrem tuum et annuntiabit tibi maiores tuos et dicent*
10 *tibi.*

Huius rei gratia te potissimum, piissime pater, de his quae in dubium de dominici Aduentus celebratione uenerunt consulendum censuimus, cui superna prouidentia tantam scientiae plenitudinem donauit, ut te per aquam diuinarum Scripturarum non
15 solum usque ad talos uel ad genua, seu etiam usque ad renes transduceret, uerum etiam ad ipsum torrentem quem non possis transire perduceret. *Quoniam*, inquit, *intumuerant aquae profundae*

2/3 area – mensura] cfr Matth. 3, 12; Luc. 3, 17; Luc. 12, 42 (uide adnot.) 3/4 serui boni euge] cfr Luc. 19, 17; Matth. 25, 23 7/8 Iob 28, 11 9/10 Deut. 32, 7 14/17 ut – perduceret] cfr Ez. 47, 3-5 17/18 Ez. 47, 5

3 uile ... mancipium] cfr HIER., *In Matth.* 4 (p. 248, 1064)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md S Vm Ap s*

Inc., 1/4 *rubr. del. cum ras. S, om. V s*, De Aduentu Domini celebrando *A*, Epistola Bernonis abbatis Augiensis ad Aribonem Moguntinum archiepiscopum *m* 1 Augiensis] Augensis *Ma Md^{a.c.}* 2 Aribonem Mogontinum] Arbionem Magontium *Ma* 4 Natalis] Natiuitas *p*

1 Ariboni] Arboni *S, A A* per] *ins sup. l. A* 2 amministratur] amministrentur *m* 3 Bern] *NA* uile] *iter. S* matris] *ins. sup. l. He* 5 Quoties] *ex Quoties corr. Md* 8 et] *ins. sup. l. Md* produxit] *perduxit m, ex produxi corr. Md* legislatore] legislatori *S* 11 piissime] *ex piissime corr. Md* 13 superna] Dei *add. S Vm* 15 genua] gentia *ut uid. Ma* seu] *sed Vm* transduceret] *transducere Ma, traduceret A* 16/17 uerum – perduceret] *om. ob homoioteleuton Vm* 17 intumuerant] *intumerunt m*

torrentis qui non potest transuadari. Qui etsi non pertransiri ad illum, tamen ipsa Dei sapientia adiuuante quae per torrentem designatur potest perueniri. Igitur huius aquam torrentis quam nullus mortalium transire potest aliquatenus tange, ac aliquem intelligentiae gustum sitibundis pectoribus nostris praebe.

PL cap. 1

Vt enim apertius unde quaeramus agnoscas, intimamus quod tamen iamdudum te latere minime credimus: quotienscumque Natalis Domini in secunda feria (uelut in praesenti anno) euenerit, magnus error per ecclesias Dei se infundit, aliis dicentibus non [debere] plus quam quatuor dominicos dies cum ipsa sacratissima Dominicae Natiuitatis uigilia celebrari debere, aliis uero e regione contententibus magis oportere quatuor plenas ebdomadas Aduentum Domini habere, quantum diem dominicum specialiter Vigiliae Domini dedicantes, nullum aliud, ut inuestigare potuimus, defensionis suae argumentum uel rationem habentes nisi ut illa quatuor officia quae in nocturnalibus antiphonariis inueniuntur uel lectiones sanctorum Euangeliorum necnon et Apostoli plenius adimpleantur.

Ad haec alii pleniorum ueritatis ratione subnixam antiquorum, beati uidelicet Gregorii papae ac presbyteri Hieronymi, proferunt sententiam, quorum alter in libro sacramentorum, id est missali, ita praetitulauit 'Dominica prima de Aduentu Domini', 'Dominica secunda', 'Dominica tertia', 'Dominica quarta' quae proxima est ante Natale Domini, alter uero in lectionario quem 'librum comitis' appellauit sic 'Dominica quinta ante Natale Domini', quam Amalarius 'praeparationem' dominici Aduentus nominauit, deinde 'Dominica quarta ante Natale Domini', 'Dominica tertia ante Natale Domini', 'Dominica secunda ante Natale Domini', 'Dominica prima ante Natale Domini' – ut conuerso modo quae apud Hieronymum dicitur 'Prima' uel 'Proxima ante Natale Domini' apud Gregorium dicatur 'Dominica quarta de Aduentu Do-

36/60 Ad – terra] cfr AMALAR., *Off.* 3, 40, 1-8 (p. 374, 23-376, 42) 43 praeparationem] AMALAR., *Off.* 4, 30, 1 (p. 500, 11)

Trad. text.: *He Ma*(*lac. hab. in ras.* 25/51 anno – in) *Mb Md S*(*expl. post 23* intimus) *Vm AW*(*inc. ab 39* Dominica') *p s*

21 potest] ualet *A* 22 nostris] *om. s* 23 Vt] Et *A* unde] ut *m* 27 debere] *deleui, sed in omnibus codicibus* 37 beati uidelicet] uidelicet beati *m* Hieronymi] Hieronimi *He Mb Md V s*, Iheronimi *A* 40 Dominica'] *om. Vm* quae] et *add. Vm* 43 praeparationem] papa rationem *A* 47 Hieronymum] Hieronimum *He Mb Md V s*, Iheronimum *AW* dicitur] *om. m*

mini'. Non inconuenienter, ut reor, propter quinque huius saeculi 1081
 50 aetates in quibus hominum genus sub iugo diaboli captiuum tene-
 batur (quousque per intactae Virginis uterum nascendo in carne
 appareret qui carnis peccata per sui corporis hostiam aboleret et
 initium sextae sequentis aetatis sanctificaret), uel quia interior
 55 noster homo per quinque sensus corporis corrumpitur ita ut in
 nobis mors operetur, sicut Propheta dicit *Introiuit mors per fenestras uestras*,
 quatenus in his quinque ebdomadibus hospitium
 mentis illi regi nostro praeparetur, quem Prophetica lectio in ipsa
 ebdomada quinta his uerbis pronuntiat uenturum: 'Ecce dies ue-
 niunt, dicit Dominus, et suscitabo Dauid germen iustum et reg-
 60 nabit rex et sapiens erit et faciet iudicium et iustitiam in terra'.

Item in antiphonario diurno post tria officia statim sequitur ie-
 iunium, deinde 'Dominica uacat', ut ex hoc liquido comprobetur
 quantum etiam in hoc delinquant qui in praesenti anno ieiunium
 quod praecedere debuit post dominicam quae uacat ponunt, Ad-
 65 uentum Domini inchoantes VI Kal. Dec. Quod si hoc cauentes
 prius ieiunant, nihilominus contra patrum instituta agunt qui
 ieiunium decimi mensis semper in proximo sabbato ante Natale
 Domini celebrandum statuerunt.

70 Quaternarium uero numerum quem, ut supra notauimus, sanc-
 tus Gregorius in quatuor dominicis de Aduentu Domini diebus
 posuit, tali celebrant sacramento ut homo qui quatuor consistit
 elementis per quatuor ebdomadas eius expectet Aduentum, quem
 per tres ordines librorum, Legis scilicet, Prophetarum, Psalmo-
 rum olim promissum, et per quartum, id est principium Euangelii,

55/56 Ier. 9, 21 58/60 Ecce – terra] Ier. 23, 5

58/60 Ecce – terra] *Com. Murb.* 147 (ed. Wilmart, p. 52; Epist., Dom. 5 ante Nat. Dom.); *Com. Würz.* 171 (ed. Morin, p. 64, Epist., In Adu.) 61/62 Item – uacat] cfr *AMS* 9 65/68 Quod – stauerunt] cfr *BERNO, Obseru. ieiun.* (p. 41, 200-202; p. 44, 289-45, 299; p. 48, 382-384)

Trad. text.: *He Ma(denuo inc. ab 51 carne) Mb Md Vm A W p s*

51 per] pro *W* in] *om. Mb* 52 appareret ex apparet corr. *Md^{a.m.}* corporis] ex coporis corr. *Ma* 53 sextae sequentis] sequentis sextae *A* 54 corporis] *om. Ma Md, sed ins. sup. l. Md^{a.m.}* corrumpitur] corrumpitur *A* in] *om. Ma* 58 quinta] quinque *Ma* uenturum] uerbis *V, om. m* 59/60 et² – terra] *des. He Ma Mb Md* 61/68 Item – statuerunt] *om. W* 61 Item] *om. A* diurno] quia add. *Vm* 63 delinquant] *in ras. Md^{a.m.}*, delinquat *A* 65 VI] *IVs* 69 notauimus] notauit *W* 70 in] *om. A* dominicis] domicis *A* 72 eius] qui *Vm* expectet] expociet *W* 74 per] *om. A*

- 75 angelo sanctae Mariae semper Virgini conceptum ac natiuitatis
eius ordinem narrante ad salutem humani generis certissime sci-
unt huic mundo presentatum. Et ne tantilla paruitalis meae atte-
statio, quam ex aliorum magis quam ex propria protuli sententia,
uideatur paruipendenda, maiorum dicta ponantur in medio ut uel
80 ex his liquido comprobetur quorum usus rector habeatur.
- cap. 2 Ait nempe Amalarius, diuinorum officiorum scrutator non
contemnendus: "In antiquis libris missalium et lectionariorum re-
peritur scriptum 'Ebdomada quinta ante Natale Domini'. Toti-
dem enim lectiones habentur in lectionario et totidem Euangelia
85 a tempore memorato per dies dominicos usque ad Natiuitatem
Domini. Antiphonarius habet tria officia diurna et quartum in die
dominico qui uacat post lectiones duodecim, nocturna uero qua-
tuor, ut superius dixi, per dies dominicos. Auctor lectionarii exci-
tat fidem nostram ad recolendum Domini nostri Iesu Christi
90 uenturi in mundum praeconium per quinque aetates mundi. Auc-
tor missalis qui nominatur 'Gregorialis' et antiphonarii nos tangit
ut recolamus Natiuitatem Domini celebratam per tres ordines li-
brorum, scilicet Legis, Prophetarum et Psalmorum, necnon et per
quartum, id est principium Euangelii, in quo narratur Gabriel
95 archangelus missus ad Zachariam, uidelicet nuntius natiuitatis
praecursoris Domini, uerum etiam et Prophetia Zachariae de Ad-
uentu Domini et Gabriel missus ad Mariam Virginem narrans ei

1082

75/76 angelo – narrante] cfr Luc. 1, 26-38 94/98 narratur – natiuitatem] cfr
Luc. 1, 5-38

82/144 In antiquis libris – solet implere] AMALAR., *Off.* 3, 40, 1-8 (p. 374, 23-376, 42)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md Vm AW p s*

75/76 angelo sanctae ... ordinem] sanctae ... ordinem angelo *Ma* 75 angelo] *om. A*
Mariae] *iter. tum del. Md* 77 huic mundo presentatum] presentatum huic mundo *A*
paruitalis meae] meae paruitalis *m* paruitalis] *ex puitatis corr. A*, prauitalis *W*
78 propria] proprio *W* 80 habeatur] uideatur *Ma* 81 nempe] enim *A* 81/
82 scrutator non contemnendus] egregius scrutator *A* 82 lectionariorum] lectiona-
rium *Md V A^{a.c.} W*, lectionarii *A^{p.c.}* 84 Euangelia] *ex Euangelium corr. Md^{a.m.}*,
Euangelio *W* 87 qui] quae *Ma Mb Md Vm* 89 recolendum] recolendam *He Md*
92 librorum] *ex librorum corr. Md^{a.m.}* 93 Legis Prophetarum et Psalmorum] Prophe-
tarum et Psalmorum Legis *Ma* 94 quo] qua *fortasse Mb* Gabriel] Gabriel
Ma Vm AW p 95 Zachariam] Tachariam *Ma* 95/96 natiuitas praecursoris Do-
mini] praecursoris natiuitas Domini *W* 96 praecursoris] *ins. in marg. Ma* 96/
97 uerum – Domini] *om. ob homoioteleuton A* 96 Zachariae] Tachariae *Ma*
97 Gabriel] Gabriel *Ma Vm A p*

conceptionem saluatoris nostri et caetera talia usque ad ipsam natiuitatem. Nempe et ipsa quarta ebdomada, hoc est quae proxima
 100 est ante Natiuitatem Domini siue in qua celebratur, singularis est. Habet in matutinali officio per unamquamque feriam antiphonas proprias in Psalmis."

"Et alio modo auctor lectionarii docet nos quam fortis sit Dominus qui uenturus est ad nos et intraturus domum nostram ut in
 105 ea habitet, quam solemus sordidare quinque sensibus nostris: illicies formae intrant per oculos, suspicio mala de fratre per aures, odor libidinosus per nares, per os ingluuies polluit, per tactum crudelitas. In sordibus non uult habitare rex uenturus nisi ita purgetur hospitium, ut nec saltem puluis talium phantasmatum remaneat, non dignabitur hospes uenturus intrare in illud."

"Ideo scribit auctor quinque lectiones quinque ebdomadarum, ut nos hortetur circumcidere quinque sensus nostros ab omni uitio et parare mansionem dignam regi et Domino atque uero Prophetarum. De ipso rege dicit prima lectio: 'Ecce dies ueniunt, dicit Dominus, et suscitabo Dauid germen iustum, et regnabit rex et sapiens erit'. Et iterum de Domino: 'Et hoc est nomen quod uocabunt eum, Dominus iustus noster'. Et iterum in Euangelio de Propheta: 'Quia hic est uere Propheta qui uenturus est in mundum'."

120 "Auctor missalis siue antiphonarii eandem praeparationem hortatur nos facere per quatuor ebdomadas. Sicut enim homo internuntiis quinque sensibus ad animam bene aut male operatur,

114/116 Ecce – erit] Ier. 23, 5 116/117 Et² – noster] Ier. 23, 6 118 Quia – mundum] Ioh. 6, 14

114/117 Ecce – noster] *Com. Murb.* 147 (ed. Wilmart, p. 52; Epist., Dom. 5 ante Nat. Dom.); *Com. Würz.* 171 (ed. Morin, p. 64; Epist., In Adu.) 118 Quia – mundum] *Capit. Euang.* D307 (p. 167; Euang., In Adu.)

Trad. text.: He Ma Mb Md Vm AWps

98 ad ipsam natiuitatem] ad natiuitatem ipsam *V^{a.c.}*, ipsam ad natiuitatem *V^{p.c.}*
 99 quarta ebdomada] ebdomada quarta Ma 101 unamquamque] unum quamque W
 antiphonas] ex antiphanas corr. W 103 auctor] ex actor corr. A 104/105 ut – habitet] om. A in ea] mea W 105 illicies] scilicet m 107 os] notam add. sup. l. He, ins. sup. l. A 108 crudelitas] credulitas m sordibus] sodibus W 108 purgetur] purgeretur W 109 nec] om. Ma saltem] saltim Vm (ut Amalar.) 110 in] om. A 111 auctor] lectionarii add. A ebdomadarum] ebdomarum Mb 115 Dauid] om. m regnabit] regnauit MaMd 116 iterum] uerum W 121 hortatur nos] nos hortatur m internuntiis] internuntius A 122 animam] ex animan corr. Md^{a.m.}

ita per quatuor elementa aut ruit ad mala corporalia aut surgit ad bona. Quapropter hortatur nos, ut dixi, auctor memoratus ut si
 125 usque modo torpuimus negligentia, dehinc surgamus ad munda-
 dandam domum nostram ut qui non excitatus est in quinta ebdo-
 mada saltem surgat in quarta. Ipsum enim sonat lectio quae legitur
 in quarta ebdomada: 'Scimus quia hora est iam nos de somno sur-
 130 gere', et reliqua. Non dubito propterea cantorem in memorata eb-
 domada cum tuba sua exaltare uocem 'Ad te leuau animam
 meam', ut excitet eos qui in quinta ebdomada sopore negligentiae
 oppressi sunt. Quomodo nostram domum praeparare debeamus
 in sequentibus memorata lectio monstrat: 'Non in commessa-
 tionibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudiciis, non in
 135 contentione et aemulatione, sed induimini Dominum Iesum
 Christum'."

"Eandem praeparationem inculcat in aras cordis nostri sacra-
 mentarium: 'Suscipiamus,' inquit, 'Domine, misericordiam
 tuam in medio templi tui, ut reparationis nostrae uentura solem-
 140 nia congruis honoribus praecedamus'. Si quis uoluerit nostra
 dicta infringere, quasi non sint quatuor ebdomadae plenae a me-
 morata dominica usque in Natiuitatem Domini, uidetur mihi

128 Scimus – surgere] Rom. 13, 11 130/131 Ad – meam] Ps. 24, 1 133/
 136 Non – Christum] Rom. 13, 13-14

128 Scimus – surgere] *Com. Murb.* 150 (ed. Wilmart, p. 52; Epist., Dom. 4 ante Nat. Dom.); *Com. Würz.* 170 (ed. Morin, p. 64; Epist., In Adu.) 130/131 Ad – meam] *AMS* 2 (Int., Dom. 1 Adu.) 133/136 Non – Christum] *Com. Murb.* 150 (ed. Wilmart, p. 52; Epist., Dom. 4 ante Nat. Dom.); *Com. Würz.* 170 (ed. Morin, p. 64; Epist., In Adu.) 138/140 Suscipiamus – praecedamus] *Corp. orat.* 5845; *Sacram. Greg.* 780 (p. 295; Post-comm., Dom. 1 Adu.)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md Vm AW* (expl. post 140 praecedamus) p s

123 aut ruit] *ex auruit corr. Md^{a.m.}* corporalia] *opera litt. prima sup. ras. W* ad] *ins. sup. l. Md^{a.m.}* 124 hortatur nos ut dixi] *ut dixi hortatur nos Vm AW* (ut Amalar.) 125 torpuimus] *turpuimus Ma, torpemus A* surgamus] *surgimus m* mundandam] *-und- sup. ras. et -andam ex -indam corr. He* 126 non] *ins. sup. l. V* 127 saltem] *sal- tim Vm* (ut Amalar.) surgat in quarta] *in quarta surgat W surgat] surgit Vm* lectio] *lex eius Ma, leccio Mb^{in ras.} Md* 128 nos] *om. Ma* 129 dubito] *dubitamus m* propterea cantorem] *cantorem propterea A* in memorata] *immemorata Ma* 131 in] *om. m* negligentiae] *desidia A* 133 commessionibus] *commissationibus ut uid. Md* 134 impudiciis] *ex impudiciis corr. W* 137 sacramentarium] *sacramentum A* 138 inquit] *om. Ma A, ins. in marg. Mb* 140 praecedamus] *sic expl. et statim inc. textus ex 'Ratio Generalis' W* 141 sint] *fuit Ma*

ignarus esse regulae sacrae Scripturae quae a parte totum solet im- 1083
plere.”

145 His uerbis satis datur intellegi quod hanc sacrae Scripturae re-
gulam, quae non solum a parte totum sed etiam aliquando ex toto
partem significat, hi transcendunt qui in Aduentu Domini non
quatuor sed quinque dominicos dies annumerant. Astipulatur
150 huic narrationi illud famosissimi ac sapientissimi calculatoris
domni uidelicet Bedae argumentum, si tamen ipsius et non alte-
rius esse conceditur, toto paene orbi ut puto notissimum: “Notum
sit,” inquit, “omnibus hominibus ut quicumque Aduentum Do-
mini diligenter uoluerit celebrare uideat ut nec ante V Kal. Dec.
inchoet nec III Non. ipsius mensis transeat, sed in his septem die-
155 bus ubicumque dies dominicus aduenerit, ibi sine dubio celebrare
ualebit.”

Hunc morem tota paene ut fertur obseruat Gallia ac ipsa ciuitas
Romana, quondam mundi Domina, ut per ueracissimos relatores
(ac praecipue sanctae recordationis Adalboldum episcopum qui
160 scriptis nostris pulsatus Romae positus hoc requisiiuit) didicimus,
quamquam postea (nescio qua de causa) aliter agerent Placentina
tamen, ut ipse ego eodem in tempore et audiendo et uidendo cog-
nouit, aliisque Italiae ciuitatibus antiquae institutionis regulam se-
ruantibus. Sed et abbas Herigerus, uir non paruae auctoritatis
165 nostris temporibus, proprium super hac re libellum composuit in
quo, ut asserunt qui illum legerunt, probabilibus argumentis eos
conuincit contra patrum instituta agere qui plus quam quatuor
dominicos dies Aduentus Domini celebrare contendunt.

146/147 quae – significat] cfr BERNO, *Adu. Dom. rat.* (p. 160, 23-24; p. 160, 39-161, 41) 151/156 Notum – ualebit] Ps. BEDA, *Arg. lun.* (col. 717) (*uide adnot.*)

Trad. text.: He Ma Mb Md Vm A p s

143 esse regulae] regulae esse Ma parte] patre Md 143/146 solet – totum] om. ob homoioteleuton Ma 146 a parte] ex aperte corr. Md^{a.m.} 146/147 ex toto partem] partem ex toto Ma^{in ras.} 147 in Aduentu] inuentu V 149 narrationi] rationi A 152 sit inquit] inquit sit Mb 154 inchoet] inchoat He Md, fortasse ad inchoit corr. He 157 tota paene ut fertur] ut fertur paene tota A, ut fertur tota paene m obseruat] seruat m Gallia] callia Ma 158 Domina] Domna Mb 159 Adalboldum] A A 161/162 Placentina tamen ut ipse ego] in Placentina ut ipse tamen ego m 162 ui-
dendo] ex uiuendo corr. Md^{a.m.}, in uidendo m 164 Herigerus] R A 166/167 il-
lum – qui] om. ob homoioteleuton, ins. in marg. Md

cap. 3

170 Quod uero ex aduerso obiciunt, ideo, quatuor dominicos dies
 excepta Vigilia Domini debere celebrari ut illa quatuor nocturna-
 lia officia uel sancti Euangelii seu Apostoli lectio in illa dominica
 quae uacat possint impleri, facili responsione potest eneruari.
 Quis enim non uideat incongruum ualde esse – propter tria uel
 175 quatuor responsoria, quae retroactis ebdomadae diebus si tamen
 ita uisum fuerit decantari, uel sancti Euangelii seu Apostoli lectio,
 quae feria tertia ante ieiunium (sicut in Italiae regionibus nos ipsi
 agere audiuius ac uidimus) uel potius in ipsa dominica quando
 uigilia celebratur cum hymnis matutinalibus primo mane possint
 adimpleri – tam mysticas rationes quatuor ebdomadatum eua-
 180 cuari debere?

Non utique quarta dominica Aduentus Domini uacaret si pro-
 prium officium haberet. Introitus 'Memento' in nullo authentico
 inuenitur antiphonario, sed ipsum officium a quodam pro libitu
 est superadditum, ideoque nec summopere est curandum si pro
 185 rationabili causa aliquando fuerit intermissum. Vacat enim ista,
 quemadmodum et caeteri tres dominici dies qui simili modo po-
 nuntur post duodecim lectiones, quibus tamen minime desunt
 lectiones epistolarum atque Euangeliorum ad implendum nume-
 rum quinquaginta duarum anni dominicarum. Habentur enim
 190 inter Natalem Domini et Septuagesimam officia quatuor per dies
 dominicos, a Septuagesima usque in Pascha octo (nam nona in
 medio uacat), a Pascha uero usque in Octauas Pentecostes octo,
 deinde sequuntur uiginti tria usque in Aduentum Domini. In Ad-
 uentu Domini tria tantum ponuntur, quarta ut supradiximus ua-
 195 cante. Quatuor enim et octo, itemque octo atque uiginti tria et tria

1084

182 Memento] AMS 9 (Int., Dom. 4 Adu.) 182/183 authentico ... antiphonario]
 cfr IOH. DIAC., *V. Greg.* 2, 6 (col. 90)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md Vm Ap s*

169 ideo] illos *A* 170 excepta] -cepta *in ras. Md^{a.m.}* Domini] ideo *add. A*
 172 facili] *ex facile corr. V* 173 uel] *ill cum signo abbrev. Md* 174 retroactis] *reto-*
ractis V 175 Euangelii seu Apostoli lectio] *Euangelii lectio seu Apostoli A* 176 Ita-
liae] ins. sup. l. Mb 177 agere] *om. Ma* ipsa] *ebdomada add. tum del. A*
 179 quatuor] *om. m* 181 proprium] *perproium V* 182 nullo] *ex ullo corr. Md^{a.m.}*
 185 rationabili] *rationabili Ma, rationabili m* enim] *om. A* 187/188 quibus –
 lectiones] *om. ob homoioteleuton Ma* 188 atque] *et m* 189 quinquaginta duarum]
dierum A anni] *ex ani corr. Md* 190 dies] *tres praem. A* 192 Octauas] *Octauam m*
 Pentecostes] *Pentescostes V* 193 in] *ad Vm* 193/194 in² Aduentu Domini] *ins.*
sup. l. Md 195 atque] *septem add. tum del. A* tria²] *scripsi, tres A, III rell. codd.*

fiunt simul quadraginta sex. His adde quatuor dominicas uacantes et unam quae est praeparatio dominici Aduentus, necnon de sancta Trinitate summam, quinquaginta duarum dominicarum uidebis adimpletam esse.

200 At uero missae in libro sacramentorum plures inueniuntur appositae, utpote post Theophaniam abundant tres, post Octauas Pentecostes una, et una in septimo mense quando ieiunium est celebrandum, non incongruo (ut puto) ordine, ut quinarium qui quinquaginta duarum numerum hic supergreditur, quintae nihilominus dominicae ante Natale Domini, per uerba deprecationis
205 adunetur. Sic enim orat sacerdos 'Excita Domine quaesumus tuorum fidelium uoluntates' et caetera, quamquam et in quibusdam missalium libris etiam altera (nescio a quo) inueniatur composita. Quod si in aliquibus plures inueniuntur libris non tamen authenticis.
210

His ita sese habentibus, eos, qui tanto annisu hoc anno unam ebdomadam dominico Aduentui conantur adicere, libet percontari quidnam agendum censeant, cum primum Pascha in XI Kal. Apr., Septuagesima uero XV Kal. Feb. euenerint, et ob hoc duo
215 officia quae sunt 'Omnis terra', 'Adorate', uelut minus necessaria remanebunt – nisi forte priori, id est 'Omnis terra', tali modo locum dent ut ante Epiphaniam 'In excelso throno' contra morem canant, cum in omnibus authenticis antiphonariis id ipsum ita praetitletur 'Dominica prima post Epiphaniam Domini'. Non

206/207 Excita – uoluntates] *Corp. orat.* 2555; *Sacram. Greg.* 1198 (p. 407; Coll., Dom. 24 p. Pent.) 215 Omnis terra] *AMS* 24 (Int. 'Omnis terra adoret te', Dom. 2 p. Epiph.) 216 Adorate] *AMS* 30 (Int. 'Adorate Deum omnes angeli', Dom. 3 p. Epiph.) 217 In excelso throno] *AMS* 19 (Int., Dom. 1 p. Epiph.) 218 authenticis antiphonariis] cfr IOH. DIAC., *V. Greg.* 2, 6 (col. 90)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md Vm Ap s*

196 quatuor] tres *A* 197 dominicas] *ex* dominicis *corr.* *V* 198 summam] et *add.* *sup.* *l.* *V*, *om.* *m* 199 uidebis] *om.* *Ma* adimpletam esse] adimpletum esse numerum *m* 200 At] *Ad Ma*, *Et A* 201 Theophaniam] Epiphaniam *A* post] per *s* 202 Octauas] Octauam *p* 203 qui] hic *add.* *A* 204 hic] his *V*, *om.* *A* 205 per] *om.* *Vm* uerba] uerbo *V^{p.c.}* 211 sese] se *m* 212 Aduentui] Aduentu *Vm* adicere] *ex* adiecere *corr.* *V* 213 percontari] perconctari *A* 214 euenerint] euenerit *Ma Mb Md^{a.c.}* et ob hoc] nisi forte *m* 215 Adorate] Deum *add.* *V*, Dominum *add.* *m* 216 priori] *om.* *A* 216/217 locum dent] dent locum *m* 217 throno] *ex* trono *corr.* *He* 219 praetitletur] praetuletur *V* Dominica] Nominica *A*

220 solum hoc, sed et responsorium 'Domine ne in ira' nullum diem dominicum poterit attingere, Octaua Epiphaniae proxima tertia feria ante Septuagesima occurrente.

Quod si ita est, immo quia ita est, unum horum necesse est ut eligant: aut ut haec omnia, id est officia duo, responsorium 'Domine ne in ira', lectiones quatuor, missas quinque, omnino quasi non necessaria praetermittant; aut, ubi locorum possint, interserant et concedant nobis id una tantum missa et una lectione Apostolica seu Euangelica agere, quod sibi putant in plurimis licere. Alioquin terminum paschalem eotenus transferant, quotenus illa duo officia ne dicam lectiones et missas inter Epiphaniam et Septuagesimam locum inueniant, et nos illis concedimus Aduentum Domini anticipare ut dominica quae uacat cum integritate ebdomadae possit uigiliam Natalis Domini hoc anno praeire.

Quod si respondebunt hoc canonica auctoritate esse prohibitum, et nos ueraciter dicimus quia ritum quo Aduentum Domini hoc anno celebramus a sanctis patribus Gelasio, Gregorio, Hieronymo atque Hilario indubitanter accepimus, qui uelut bases consistunt in sanctae ecclesiae fundamentis, quorum sententiis nolle quiescere transgressio est legis diuinae.

cap. 4 240 Haec etsi ita esse credimus, haud facile tamen aliis persuadebimus. Quapropter ex sanctae sedis tuae auctoritate sententia prodeat, sanctorum patrum instituta seruare decernat, ne sanctae matris ecclesiae filii in scisma diuisi minus unanimes possint habi-

1085

220 Domine ne in ira] CAO 6501 (Resp., Dom. per annum/p. Epiph.) 235/239 ritum – diuinae] cfr CASSIOD., *In Ps. Praef.* 15 (p. 20, 88-91): dixerunt hoc apud nos et alii doctissimi patres, id est Hieronymus, Ambrosius, Hilarius, ut nequaquam praesumptores huius rei, sed pedissequi esse uideamur (*uide adnot.*)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md Vm A p s*

220 sed] hoc *A* ira] tua *add. Vm* nullum] ullum *A* 220/221 diem dominicum] *ex* dominicum diem *corr. V* 223 immo – est] *om. A* 224 ut] *ins. sup. l. V* duo] *ins. sup. l. Mb* 225 in] *om. Mb* 226 non] *om. Vm* praetermittant] praetermittant *Ma* possint] possunt *Vm* 227 id] *om. A*, in *add. Vm* 228 putant in plurimis licere] licere putant in plurimis *A* 229 quotenus] quatenus *A m* 230 missas] mismas *Ma* 231 concedimus] concedamus *A* 233 hoc] *ins. sup. l. Md* 234 respondebunt] re- *ins. sup. l. V* 235 dicimus] didicimus *Vm* 236 Hieronymo] Hieronymo *He Ma Mb Md V s*, Iheronymo *A* 237 atque Hilario] *om. Vm s* atque] *om. A* Hilario] Hylario *He Ma Mb Md* qui] quae *Ma* 238 sententiis] sententiae *m* 239 quiescere] acquiescere *Ma m* 241 prodeat] quae *add. Ma Mb* 242 seruare decernat] decernat seruare *A* 243 scisma] cisma *A*

245 tare in domo Dei. Nam ex dulcifluo sacri pectoris tui fonte purum
 huius scientiae potum tandem haurire cupimus, ne per uarios er-
 rorum riuulos diutius a uero nos aberremus, ut illa ualeas mercede
 donari quam Dominus per Prophetam talibus uerbis dignatus est
 polliceri: *Beati qui seminatis super omnes aquas*. Dilectus ecclesiae
 250 sponsus, qui cotidie descendit in hortum suum ad areolam aroma-
 tum, te pascentem in hortis uirtutum inter lilia castitatis conual-
 lium, post huius uitae terminum colligat in horreum suum. 1086
 Salutat te humilis Augiensium fratrum cateruula, semper tui me-
 mor inter sacra orationum libamina.

RESRIPTVM ARIBONIS ARCHIEPISCOPI

255 Sanctitatem uestram aeuo sempiterno intemeratam conseruari
 optantes, circumspectae uestrae in his quae ad Deum sunt solli-
 citudini gratulamur. Tandem etiam uestris bene et artificiose in-
 uentis, optime dispositis, facunde elocutis, et postremo firma
 memoria pronuntiatis, ex animo fauemus tractatibus. Et si qua illa
 260 est pontificatus tantilli auctoritas eius, sicut rogastis, manum im-
 ponimus eis. Fecundet Dominus et amplificet tantam gratiam in
 uobis ut, si quod adhuc etiam in quo ecclesia offendat obstaculum
 restare senseritis, eadem cautela propellere uelitis et industria.

265 De caetero orationibus uestris et sancti examinis sub uestro re-
 gimine mellificantis recreari optamus. Et qui nunc sub crucis ha-
 bitu assi piscis parte cibamini ut quandoque fauo mellis digni
 habeamini, me quoque a longe haud strenue certantem et inter-
 dum statione relictam loco cedentem, precibus uestris reuocare ue-
 litis sollicite rogamus.

248 Is. 32, 20 248/250 Dilectus – conuallium] cfr Cant. 6, 1-2 251 in horreum
 suum] cfr Matth. 3, 12; Matth. 13, 30; Luc. 3, 17 (uide adnot.) 265/267 Et – habea-
 mini] cfr Luc. 24, 42

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md Vm(expl. post 268 reuocare) A p s(expl. post 253 liba-
 mina)*

244 in domo] *om. V Dei] Domini Ma* 245 haurire] *ex harire corr. A*
 246 nos aberremus] *deuiemus A* 250 inter] *ex in corr. Md^{a.m.}* 252 Augiensium]
 Augensium *m* 254 Aribonis] *Arbonis Ma, A A* 256 Deum] *Dominum Ma* sol-
 licitudini] *ex solitudini corr. A* 257 gratulamur] *gratulemur He Md, congratulamur A*
 259/260 illa est] *est illa Vm^{a.c.}* 260 tantilli] *tantilla m eius] om. Vm* 260/
 261 imponimus eis] *eis imponimus Vm A* 261/262 gratiam in uobis] *in uobis gra-
 tiam in uobis Ma in uobis] ins. sup. l. He* 262 quod] *quid Mb* offendat] *ofendat*
He 268 loco] *-co ins. sup. l. Md* uestris] *nostris Ma*

DE OBSERVATIONE
IEIVNII QVATVOR TEMPORVM

INTRODUCTION

As we learn from its introduction, *De observatione ieiunii* (henceforth *Obseru. ieiun.*) is a formally written-out version of an oral dialogue on the quarterly Ember Days. Bern's original interlocutor was a certain Gerung, of unknown identity, but perhaps identical to the Kerung who was the recipient of his so-called *Epistola de tonis*.¹ It has always seemed likely that the original conversation took place in or around 1023, the year in which the work's dedicatee Archbishop Aribio convened a provincial church council at Seligenstadt to discuss the very matter at stake in the text: how to schedule the quarterly Ember Days in a manner which reconciles patristic precedent with calendrical permutations and liturgical practicalities.² But there are several reasons to believe that Bern's text came later. Schmale argued this point via the chronological ordering of works in *S*, which implies that *Obseru. ieiun.* postdates the composition of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* in 1027.³ There are also two significant and very informative pieces of internal evidence, both of which demand a full account.

First, when Bern explains that it is not customary to let the Ember Saturday in June coincide with the eve of Pentecost – a matter which the Seligenstadt council affirmed – he is nonetheless pressed by his interlocutor Gerung to explain how that conjunction could work. Reluctantly, he goes on to provide the liturgical details of a practice which 'already began to be unlearned so long ago'.⁴ The conjunction had last occurred in 1014, which certainly qualifies as 'long ago', but the concept of 'unlearning' ('dediscere') is surely more likely to refer to the formal suppression at Seligenstadt in 1023.⁵ Second, later in his text Bern recommends that graduals be sung at Mass during the June Ember Days, not allelu-

¹ *Epist.* 1 (p. 17-19); see also RAUSCH, *Die Musiktraktate*, p. 12-13.

² *Conc. Selig.*, p. 36-37, p. 44-45, discussed in AMIET, 'Die liturgische Gesetzgebung', p. 249-257.

³ SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen', p. 81-82.

⁴ *Obseru. ieiun.* (p. 45, 307-308): 'quod tam longo tempore iam coepit dedisci'.

⁵ In 1014 Easter Sunday fell on its latest possible date (25 April) and thus the Pentecost Vigil and the Ember Saturday fell on the same day (12 June). Before that, the conjunction had last occurred in 987.

ias, even when these days fall during the festal octave of Pentecost. He is insistent on the point, but expresses due deference to 'those who, when convened in the Holy Spirit long ago, I heard had declared in their synodal decrees that alleluias should be sung instead'.⁶ Once again, this detail concurs with the proclamations of Seligenstadt in 1023. Coupled with the dedication to Aribio, the combination of 'so long ago' ('tam longo tempore') and 'long ago' ('iamdudum') suggests that *Obseru. ieiun.* was written not long before the archbishop's death in 1031.

1. TEXTUAL TRADITION

a. *Filiation of sources*

The transmission of *Obseru. ieiun.* is distinguished, above all, by the fact that six of the seven manuscripts omit a key clause towards the end:

p. 48, 374-376 quatuordecim – ebdomadas *W*] quatuordecim
ebdomadas *He Ma Mb Mc Md P*

From the wider context we can be relatively confident that *W* is correct. At this point in his text Bern is leading the reader through each of the Ember Day seasons in the year, from the first in March, to the second in June, to the third and fourth in September and December. Only *W* addresses the June celebration, and we can tell from the nature of the omission that the cause was probably eyeskip.

W cannot be a primary source, however, for it is a highly selective copy that omits large sections and removes all traces of the work's fundamentally dialogic structure. The closest relative is *P*, insofar as it agrees to disagree:

p. 36, 83 in sua natura sunt *He Ma Mb Mc Md*] sunt in sua
natura *P (ut Amalar.)*, sunt *W*
p. 37, 105 tempus quadragesimale *He Ma Mb Mc Md*] qua-
dragesimale tempus *P W (ut Amalar.)*
p. 37, 112 habuerant *He Ma Mb Mc Md*] habebant *P*, habu-
erunt *W*

⁶ *Obseru. ieiun.* (p. 47, 346-348): 'quos in Spiritu sancto congregatos iamdudum audiui in synodalibus suis decretis statuuisse ut magis debeant alleluia decantari'.

Otherwise, *P* is itself at odds from the remaining sources. This is apparent not only from the variants listed below, but also from *P*'s absolute fidelity, both above and below, to the standard text of Amalar's *De officiis*, one of the central sources for Bern's work. (In this respect *P* closely resembles *Vm* in *Adu. Dom. celeb.*)

p. 34, 4	precibus tamen <i>HeMaMbMcMd</i>] tamen precibus <i>P</i>
p. 34, 13	sarcina saecularis curae <i>HeMaMbMcMd</i>] saecularis curae sarcina <i>P</i>
p. 34, 24	commendet <i>HeMaMbMcMd</i>] commendat <i>P</i>
p. 35, 43-44	magis sint <i>HeMaMbMcMd</i>] sint magis <i>P</i>
p. 36, 74-75	sabbata sint <i>HeMaMbMcMd</i>] sint sabbata <i>P</i>
p. 38, 117	ac <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] uerum <i>praem. P</i>
p. 38, 135	Prophetia <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] Prophetiae <i>P</i>
p. 40, 175	tres <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] duae <i>P</i>
p. 40, 193	quinta <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] septima <i>P</i>
p. 41, 202	euenerit <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] euenit <i>P</i>
p. 41, 219	corpori <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] corpore <i>P</i>
p. 42, 234	primo sabbato <i>MaMbMcW</i>] primo sabbati <i>HeMd</i> , prima sabbati <i>P</i> (<i>ut Amalar.</i>)
p. 42, 238	Deum <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] Dominum <i>P</i> (<i>ut Amalar.</i>)
p. 43, 245	secundo sabbato <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] secunda sabbati <i>P</i> (<i>ut Amalar.</i>)
p. 43, 254	tertio sabbato <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] tertia sabbati <i>P</i> (<i>ut Amalar.</i>)
p. 43, 259	aliquando <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] consecratio <i>P</i>
p. 47, 351	in his diebus ut (et <i>Ma</i>) <i>HeMaMbMcMd</i>] ut in his diebus <i>P</i>
p. 47, 361	Deo <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] Domino <i>P</i>
p. 48, 363	propter <i>HeMaMbMcMdW</i>] malum <i>add. P</i>
p. 49, 394	petenti omni <i>HeMaMbMcMd</i>] omni petenti <i>P</i>

Within the *HeMaMbMcMd* family we can observe several further subdivisions, beginning with the grouping *MaMbMcMd*:

p. 34, 26	statui <i>P</i>] <i>ex</i> stutui <i>corr. He</i> , studui <i>MaMbMcMd</i>
p. 34, 29	ordinatim <i>He P</i>] ordinatum <i>MaMbMcMd</i>
p. 35, 35	etiam <i>He P</i>] enim <i>MaMbMcMd</i>
p. 36, 76	ac <i>He P</i>] <i>om. MaMbMcMd</i>

Within that grouping is the close affiliation of *MaMbMc*:

p. 37, 96	ad amorem <i>HeMdPW</i>] ab amore <i>MaMbMc</i>
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- p. 40, 186 at *He Md P W*] aut *Ma Mb Mc*
 p. 42, 221 Christus natus est *He Md P W*] natus est Christus
Ma Mb Mc
 p. 45, 312 quaesumus Domine *He Md P W*] *des. Ma Mb Mc*

Related to this grouping is the tendency of *Md* to follow unique readings in *He*, or to be corrected back to the readings found in *He*:

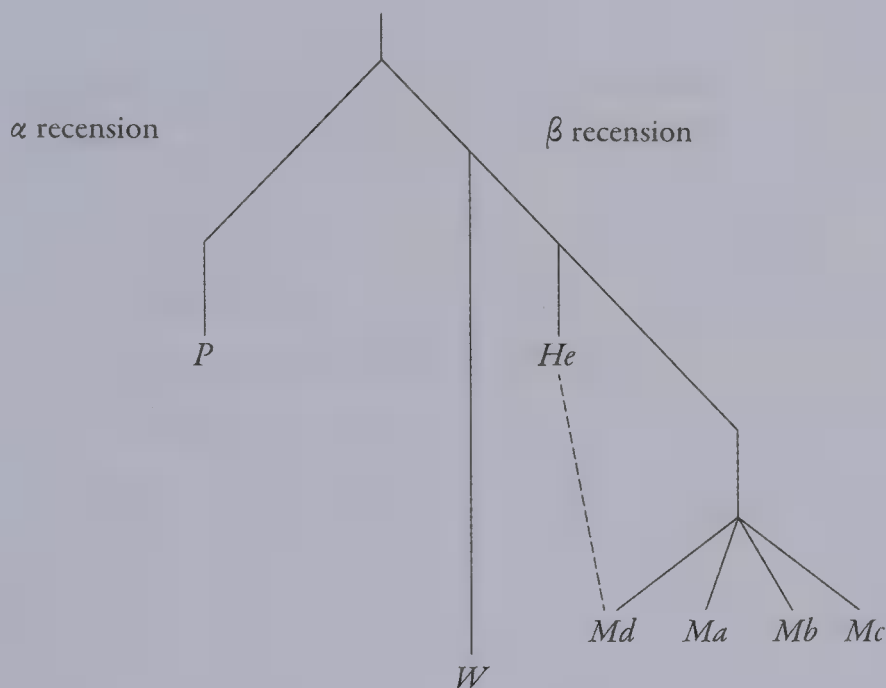
- p. 37, 93 frigida et humida *He Md^{p.c.} P W*] humida et frigida
Ma Mb Mc Md^{a.c.}
 p. 39, 154 refragatione *Ma Mb Mc Md P W*] refratatione *He Md*
 p. 41, 219 ministerium *He Md^{p.c.} P*] mysterium *Ma Mb Mc Md^{a.c.} W*

Finally, it appears that *Mb* may have been subject to some informed correction:

- p. 34, 1 pater uenerande *He Md P*] *om. Ma Mc, ins. sup. l. Mb*
 p. 38, 127 ergo *He Md P W*] *om. Ma Mc, ins. sup. l. Mb*
 p. 39, 153 pro maxima *He Md P W*] proxima *Ma, ins. sup. l. Mb, proxime Mc*

In respect of these last two groupings, we may note that only three sources (*He Md Mb*) preserve the extract from Augustine which concludes the work. This postscript has been omitted from all previous editions, yet it is undoubtedly integral to Bern's text. The quotation is foreshadowed carefully in the abbot's own closing lines, culminating with the declaration that, lest he otherwise come across as a 'cruel usurer' in this transaction of knowledge, the author wishes to offer the words of St Augustine as his 'guarantor'.⁷ The idea of a postscript also has its own precedent in *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, which concludes with the appendix-like text of *Adu. Dom. rat.*

⁷ *Obseru. ieiun.* (p. 49, 397-399): 'durus faenerator ... uadem'.

b. Stemma codicum

2. EXISTING EDITIONS

Obseru. ieiun. was first edited by Pez in 1721 from a 'Codex Benedictoburanus' (*Mc*), supplemented a 'Codex Emmerammen-sis' (*Mb*), but without the Augustinian postscript found in the latter. This edition was later reproduced in *PL*. Although he apparently knew Pez's edition, Jaffé transcribed a version of the opening epistle to Archbishop Aribio from a 'codex quondam inferioris monasterii Ratisbonensis, hodie tabularii regii Monacensis' (*Md*).⁸ Schmale also edited this epistle in his 1961 edition, this time drawing from manuscripts *Ma*, *Mb* and *Md*. In what follows we record selected variants from the Schmale and Pez editions, either when those texts diverge from my own edition or when they diverge from their nominal manuscript sources.

⁸ JAFFÉ, *Monumenta Moguntina*, p. 372 (no. 29).

3. PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

As with *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, this text has been established principally from the Reichenau-affiliated manuscript *He*, which we consider to transmit Bern's 'published' version from the 1030s or 1040s. Readings are drawn from other manuscripts wherever that text appears to be deficient. Manuscript *P* is considered to be the best witness to an earlier version, as hypothetically sent to Archbishop Aribio in the late 1020s or early 1030s. The apparatus also records the corresponding passages found in *W*'s copy of *Off. miss.*, whose seventh chapter was fashioned out of extracts from *Obseru. ieiun.*

DE OBSERVATIONE
IEIVNII QVATVOR TEMPORVM

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

codices

<i>He</i>	codex olim Toerring-Gutenzell 58, nunc in bibliotheca priuata Heluetica asseruatus, f. 10r-21r (s. XI ^{2/3})
<i>Ma</i>	MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14477, f. 74v-83v (s. XI/XII)
<i>Mb</i>	MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14708, f. 19r-23r (s. XII ¹)
<i>Mc</i>	MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4622, f. 168r-177v (s. XII ¹)
<i>Md</i>	MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 27300, f. 67v-74v (s. XI/XII)
<i>P</i>	BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek, Handschr. 74 (Phillipps 392), f. 152r-157v (s. XI ^{2/3})
<i>W</i>	WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 131 Gud. Lat., f. 83r-85v (s. XII ⁱⁿ) (<i>W</i> ^r = <i>man. saec. XVI</i>)

editiones

<i>p</i>	B. PEZ, <i>Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus seu veterum monumentorum, praecipue ecclesiasticorum, ex Germanicis potissimum bibliothecis adornata collectio recentissima</i> , IV.2, Augsburg, 1721, col. 55-68 (= <i>PL</i> , 142, col. 1087-1098)
<i>s</i>	F.-J. SCHMALE, <i>Die Briefe des Abtes Bern von Reichenau</i> (<i>Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg</i> , A 6), Stuttgart, 1961, p. 49-50 (no. 16)

PROLOGVS EIVSDEM ABBATIS AD SVPRADICTVM ARCHIEPISCOPVM
DE OBSERVATIONE IEIVNII QVATVOR TEMPORVM

Amantissimo Domini Ariboni, odorifero pontificum flori, PL 1087
Bern, Dei matris seruorum extremus, indiscretæ fidei pignus, si-
mulque pensum debiti famulatus. Doctrina et ueritas quæ in ra-
tionali pectoris tui decoris sui speciem præmonstrant, ad id
meum inducebant animum, quo te præ caeteris dignum ducerem,
cuius examinationi illius narrationis seriem, quam nuper sub in-
terrogatione et responsione de ieiuniis quatuor temporum edidi, 1088
commendarem. Nihil enim ibi ex propriis sum commentatus, sed
quod exinde antiquos patres probabiliter elocutos fuisse inuenire
potui, diligenti dispositione scribendo memoriae commendauit.
Tu uero nunc opusculum decus æqui libraminis lance quaeso per-
pende utrumnam sit dignum pronuntiatione, quia satis erit ratum
si tanti pontificis auctoritate fuerit roboratum.

INCIPIT DIALOGVS INTER BERN AVGIENSIS COENOBII AB-
BATEM ET MONACHVM GERVNGVM HABITVS, QVALITER QVA-
TVOR TEMPORVM IEIVNIA PER SVA SABBATA SINT OBSERVANDA.

PL cap. 1 G. Licet, pater uenerande, in his sacris ieiuniorum diebus, ex- 1087
poliata mundanae actionis tunica, in lectulo dulcissimæ quietis 1088
otio frui modis omnibus te uelle non ambigam, ita ut delecteris

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Mc* (inc. ab 1 Licet) *Md P p s* (expl. post Prol., 15 roboratum)

Prol., 1/2 *om. P s*, Incipit prologus Bern abbatis ad Aribonem archiepiscopum Mo-
gunt. in dialogum de obseruatione ieiunii quatuor temporum *p* 1 Prologus] Item
praem. He Ma Mb Md sed deleui 3 Domini] Domino *p* 4 Bern] -o *add. P^{m.rec.}*
5 pensum debiti] debiti pensum *Ma p* rationali] rationabili *Ma*, rationalibus *p* (*uide*
adnot.) 6 pectoris] peccatoris *p* decoris sui] *ins. sup. l. He* 8 examinationi] exa-
minationibus *Ma p* interrogatione] *ex* interrotatione *corr. P* 10 ibi] *om. Ma, ins. sup. l.*
Mb 11 exinde] inde *Ma Mb* 13 nunc] *ins. sup. l. He* lance] *lanee Ma*

Tit., 1/3 *P^{a.m.}* 1 Bern] -o *add. P^{m.rec.}* Augiensis coenobii abbatem] abbatem Au-
giensis coenobii (coenobii *om. Mc*) *Ma Mb Mc* Augiensis] Augensis *Md*

1 G] *om. Ma Mb Mc* pater uenerande] *om. Ma Mc, ins. sup. l. Mb*

dicere *Ego dormio et cor meum uigilat*, quibuscumque precibus ta-
 5 men excitandum putavi, quatenus pessulum ostii dilecto tuo 1089
 sponso uidelicet Christo in nobis aperias, dataque manu in cubi-
 culum sacrae doctrinae introducas, ubi et panem intelligentiae pa-
 ruulis petentibus frangas, quia tunc salubriter a contemplationis
 somno ad tempus excitaris, si proximorum necessitati compa-
 10 tiendo condescendis.

B. Satis, egregie fili, hoc diffinisti. Sed ego inde magis dolorem
 capio, quod in me nihil huiusmodi sentio, utputa quem nulla uir-
 tutum penna ad alta sustollit, sed grauis sarcina saecularis curae ad
 ima demergit, dissolutae mentis pigredo ad noxiae quietis sopor-
 15 rem pertrahit, ita ut in illorum numero inueniri pertimescam, de
 quibus dicitur per Psalmistam: *Dormierunt somnum suum et nihil
 inuenerunt*. Verum quia Salomon dicit *Stilio manibus nititur et
 moratur in aedibus regum*, et si tardus ingenio, confisus tamen in
 eo qui omni petenti se fideliter tribuit ac nulli improperat, nisu
 20 quo ualeo per ipsum ad ipsum me leuare conabor, qui etiam *gallo
 dedit intelligentiam*. Tu tandem propone quid tantopere uelis in-
 uestigare.

G. Hoc scilicet ut, cum una fides sanctae catholicae matris ec-
 25 clesiae unitatem commendat, quare ipsa in filiis suis quibusdam
 consuetudinum diuersitate aliquando discordet. Vt enim unum
 quoddam ad medium ducam, de ieiuniis quatuor temporum sta-
 tui nunc interrogandum in quorum obseruatione nonnulli uidentur
 discordare.

Nam cum in libris sacramentorum ita ordinatim praetituatur
 30 ut in primo sabbato primi mensis duodecim lectiones cum ieiunio

4 Cant. 5, 2 5/6 quatenus – aperias] cfr Cant. 5, 6 14/15 dissolutae – pertrahit]
 cfr Prou. 19, 15 16/17 Ps. 75, 6 17/18 Prou. 30, 28 20/21 Iob 38, 36

29/33 Nam – Domini] cfr *Ord. Rom.* 37A, 1-4 (vol. 4, p. 235, 3-15); *Ord. Rom.* 37B, 1-4
 (vol. 4, p. 249, 6-250, 6); *Conc. Mogunt.* 34 (p. 269, 11-17); HRABAN., *Inst. cler.* 2, 24
 (p. 366, 3-8)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Mc Md P p*

4 precibus tamen] tamen precibus *P* 9 compatiendo] patiando *Mc* 12 utputa]
 utpute *Mb* 13 sarcina saecularis curae] saecularis curae sarcina *P* 17 Salomon]
 Salemon *Ma*, Solemon *Mc* Stilio] Stello *He Md*, Stelio *Ma Mb p*, Stillio *P* 20 per
 ipsum ad ipsum] ad ipsum per ipsum *Ma* 21 quid] quod *Ma Md^{a.c.} p* 24 commen-
 det] commendat *P* 26 statui] ex stutui *corr.* *He*, studui *Ma Mb Mc Md p* 29 ordi-
 natim] ordinatum *Ma Mb Mc Md p*

sint celebrandae; in quarto mense secundo <sabbato>; in septimo
 <mense> tertio <sabbato>; in decimo <mense> proximo sabbato
 ante Natale Domini. Alii sic intelligendum putant ut si Martius
 quinta, sexta, uel ipsa septima feria incipiat, mox cum praecedente
 35 Februarii mensis quarta feria seu etiam aliquando sexta <feria>, ie-
 iunium in sabbato celebrent, eademque consequentia secundum
 sabbatum in Iunio, tertium <sabbatum> obseruent in Septembre,
 absque aliqua consideratione quartae seu sextae feriae. Alii uero e
 diuerso nolunt in Martio primum sabbatum ieiuniis deputare, nisi
 40 eiusdem quarta feria antecedit, eodem utentes ordine per suas
 quartas ferias in Iunio et Septembre. Quocirca ratio exigit, uti ape-
 rias si quod argumentum uel regulam hac de re statuerit anterior
 aetas, cuius auctoritate instructi discernamus qui horum magis
 sint sequendi.

cap. 2 45 B. Recte priorum qui aetate et sapientia nos praecesserunt sta-
 tuta delectant quae mentis intellectum intra legitimi cursus me-
 tam cohibeant. Quam qui transgreditur, obnoxius culpa tenetur.
 Vnde Scriptura pulchre ammonet dicens: *Ne transgrediaris termi-
 nos antiquos quos posuerunt patres tui.*

50 G. Hic paululum, quaeso, siste gradum, mihi que propositi tes-
 timonii pande sensum.

B. Libenti animo id ago, quando quidem te tam intentum ad- 1090
 esse conspicio. Terminos rectae fidei sanaeque doctrinae posuerunt
 ab initio patres catholici, quos omnino nefas est transgredi. Sed et
 55 multae consuetudines ecclesiasticae inueniuntur a sanctis patribus
 infra canonicae regulae terminos constitutae, sicut sunt: Aduen-
 tus Domini, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, Letania

48/49 Prou. 22, 28

Trad. text.: He Ma Mb Mc Md P W(inc. ab 53 Terminos) p

31 sabbato] *addidi* (et sic deinceps), *add. sup. l. Mb* septimo] id est septembri *add. sup. l. Mb* 32 mense] *addidi* (et sic deinceps) 34 praecedente] *ex* praecedente *corr. Ma* 35 Februarii] Frebruarii *Ma Mc* etiam] enim *Ma Mb Mc Md p* sexta] *om. Ma* feria²] *addidi* 37 in Iunio] in ieiunio *Mc*, *ex* in ieiunio *ut uid. corr. P* Septembre] *semp. cum signo abbrev. Ma* 40 antecedit – ferias] *ins. in marg. Md* 41 Septem-
 bre] Septembri *Mc* ratio] *ex* oratio *corr. Mc* 43 qui horum] *ex* quorum *corr. Md* 43/44 magis sint] sint magis *P* 45 B] *deest Ma* 46 delectant] *ex* delectent *corr. P* 48 Scriptura pulchre] Scriptura pulche *He*, Scriptura pulchrae *Mb Mc*, pulchrae Scrip-
 tura *P* 50 G] *deest Ma* propositi testimonii] proposui testimonii propositi *Ma* 52 B] *deest Ma* intentum] *ex* intellectum *corr. Md* 53 posuerunt] *ins. sup. l. Md*

maior, dies Rogationum ante Ascensionem Domini, uigiliae
 quorundam sanctorum, necnon et haec ipsa quatuor temporum
 60 ieiunia quae prae manibus habentur, aliaque perplura quae omnia
 iure perpetuo absque ulla transgressione nobis sunt obseruanda ac
 pro lege tenenda, dicente sancto Augustino ad Casulanum pres-
 byterum de ieiunio sabbati: "In his enim rebus de quibus nihil
 certi statuit Scriptura diuina, mos populi Dei uel instituta maio-
 65 rum pro lege sunt tenenda." Accedit etiam hoc, quod nihil sine
 ratione in ecclesiasticis consuetudinibus a sanctis patribus consti-
 tutum reperitur, si causa diligenter inquiritur.

G. Ita esse ut asseris indubitanter creditur, ideoque magis con-
 sequens uidetur ut edisseras: qua ratione haec quatuor temporum
 70 ieiunia sint constituta; cur his potissimum tribus septimanae die-
 bus; cur feria quarta duae lectiones, in sexta feria tantum una lega-
 tur, sabbatum autem praetitletur 'in duodecim lectionibus' cum
 non plus quam sex legantur. Deinde quod quaerere institui, uide-
 licet quo ordine saepius memorata ac memoranda per sua sabbata
 75 sint celebranda ieiunia.

cap. 3

B. Vt ex ueterum ac praecipue sancti Augustini sermonibus in-
 telligi potest, necessarium est nostrae religioni annuatim quatuor
 ieiunia celebrare. Nam quatuor temporibus uoluitur annus: uere,
 aestate, autumno, hieme. Haec quatuor tempora solent nos per
 80 delectamenta sua reuocare ab amore creatoris. Qua de re ieiunan-
 dum est in unoquoque tempore, ut castigentur nostra quatuor
 elementa, ne surripiantur a delectatione mundi. Ipsa quatuor ele-
 menta coniuncta in sua natura sunt quatuor temporibus anni.

Ver est calidum et humidum, et in eo facimus unum ieiunium,
 85 ut elementum humoris in nobis castigetur, ne consentiat falsae
 pulchritudini ueris. Ex humore enim et calore nascitur pul-

63/65 In – tenenda] AVG., *Epist.* 36 (vol. 2, p. 32, 10-12) 76/78 Vt – celebrare] cfr
 AMALAR., *Off.* 2, 2, 1 (p. 201, 30-36) *sed serm. Aug. non inueni* 78/106 Nam – affligan-
 tur] AMALAR., *Off.* 2, 2, 3-7 (p. 202, 7-203, 34)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p*

58 uigiliae] uigileae *Ma Mc* 59 temporum] tempora *Ma* 63 de¹] *ins. sup. l. W*
 64 instituta] in- *ins. sup. l. P* 65 sunt tenenda] tenenda sunt *W* tenenda] retinenda
Ma 68/75 Ita – ieiunia] *om. W* 74/75 sabbata sint] sint sabbata *P* 76 ac]
om. Ma Mb Mc Md p 78 uere] *ex uerne corr. Md* 80 Qua de re] *ex Quare corr. Md*
 83 in sua natura sunt] sunt in sua natura *P (ut Amalar.)*, sunt *W* sua] *om. cum*
spatio Ma 84 calidum et humidum] humidum et calidum *W*

chritudo terrae. Aestas sicca et calida, in qua alterum ieiunium facimus, ut castigetur elementum caloris in nobis, ne consentiat incendio carnali. Tertium ieiunium fit in autumno, qui est frigidus
 90 et siccus, ne aliquo languore animi arescamus ac defluamus et inueniamur sine pinguedine olei in aeterno tabernaculo. Etenim illo tempore congregamus, quo fruamur in futuro. Quartum ieiunium fit in hieme, quae est et frigida et humida, ne membra nostra fluxu atque luxu soluantur in commensationibus et potationibus, ac per
 95 hoc neglegatur amor Dei. 1091

At quia quatuor tempora annorum nos impediunt ad amorem Dei, quatuor ieiunia facimus. Per singula quoque tempora suum ieiunium, unumquodque pro suo tempore. Simili modo diurna curricula quatuor nos impediunt ab amore caelestium, scilicet matutinum, meridianum, uespertinum, nocturnum. Per haec etiam
 100 cotidie ab amore aeternorum retrahimur. In unoquoque tres dies sunt, quia unumquodque tempus tres menses habet, pro unoquoque mense singuli dies ieiunio consecrantur. At uero quia cotidiana peccata aggrauant, non sufficit unum ieiunium per
 105 unumquodque tempus, ac per hoc tempus quadragesimale inducimus, quo cotidiana peccata affligantur.

Eadem uero quatuor temporum ieiunia his diebus solent celebrari, scilicet quarta feria, sexta, septima. Ideo quarta quia Iudaei in ea fecerunt consilium ut occiderent Christum; sexta quoniam
 110 occiderunt eum; septima ex auctoritate sanctae Romanae ecclesiae concluditur ieiunium propter tristitiam Apostolorum, quam de morte nostri redemptoris habuerant, sicut Innocentius papa in

107/130 Eadem – commendatur] cfr AMALAR., *Off.* 2, 2, 12-13 (p. 204, 27-205, 7)

Trad. text.: He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p

87 calida] est *add.* W in qua alterum] *ex* alterum in qua *corr.* Mb alterum] calidum *sed* alterum *ins. sup. l.* Md 88 ne] *ex nec corr.* W consentiat] -sentiat *sup. ras.* W 89 ieiunium fit] fit ieiunium W autumno] *ex autemno corr.* W 92 Quartum] *ex Quarto corr.* P 93 et] *om.* W frigida et humida] humida et frigida Ma Mb Mc Md^{a.c.} 96/97 annorum – tempora] *om. ob homoioteleuton* Ma 96 ad amorem] ab amore Ma Mb Mc 97 singula] -la *ins. in marg.* W 99 nos] *ins. sup. l.* W caelestium scilicet] scilicet caelestium W 100 meridianum] medianum Mc etiam] enim Ma p 101 retrahimur] -mur *sup. ras.* W 105 ac per hoc tempus] *om. ob homoioteleuton* Mc tempus quadragesimale] quadragesimale tempus P W 107 celebrari] *ex* celebrare *corr.* W 109 fecerunt consilium] consilium fecerunt Ma 110 occiderunt] *ex* occiderent *corr.* Mc sanctae] *om.* Ma 111 tristitiam] sanctae *add. tum del.* Md 112 habuerant] habebant P, habuerunt W

suis decretalibus narrat: "Sabbato," inquit, "ieiunandum esse ratio
eidentissima demonstrat. Nam si diem dominicum ob uenera-
115 bilem resurrectionem Domini nostri Iesu Christi non solum in
Pascha celebramus, uerum etiam per singulos circulos ebdomada-
rum ipsius diei imaginem frequentamus, ac si sexta feria propter
passionem Domini ieiunamus, sabbatum praetermittere non de-
bemus, qui inter tristitiam atque laetitiam temporis illius uidetur
120 inclusus."

In quo etiam sabbato consecratio ordinum ecclesiasticorum ce-
lebratur, causam etiam eiusdem consecrationis sancto Augustino
dicente ad Ianuarium: "Sabbatum," inquit, "commendatum est
priori populo in otio corporaliter celebrandum, ut figura esset
125 sanctificationis in requie Spiritus sancti. Nusquam enim legimus
in Genesi sanctificationem per omnes priores dies, sed de solo sab-
bato dictum est: *Sanctificauit Deus diem septimum. Quia ergo ca-
ritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui
datus est nobis*, ideo sanctificatio in septimo die commemorata est,
130 ubi requies commendatur."

Nunc de lectionibus uideamus.

In quarta feria duae lectiones leguntur, ut hi qui in Sabbato sunt
consecrandi ammoneantur ut notitiam legis et Prophetarum ha-
beant, quae maxime in quarta aetate uigebant. Sexta feria una tan-
135 tum legitur, quia lex et Prophetia in uno Euangelio recapitulantur,
quod nunc in sexta mundi aetate praedicatur et legitur.

De 'duodecim lectionibus' quae praetitulatur in sacramenta-
rio die sabbati sic in litteris patrum reperitur scriptum: "Sex lec-

127 Sanctificauit – septimum] Gen. 2, 3 127/129 Quia – nobis] Rom. 5, 5

113/120 Sabbato – inclusus] INNOC., *Epist. Decent.* (p. 24, 66-72), *cit. in* AMALAR., *Off.* 2, 2, 12 (p. 204, 32-205, 38) 123/130 Sabbatum – commendatur] AMALAR., *Off.* 2, 2, 13 (p. 205, 40-7) 123/127 Sabbatum – septimum] AVG., *Epist.* 55, 18 (vol. 2, p. 188, 18-189, 3) 127/130 Quia – commendatur] AVG., *Epist.* 55, 19 (vol. 2, p. 190, 3-6) 138/147 Sex – unam] AMALAR., *Off.* 2, 1, 1 (p. 197, 2-10)

Trad. text.: He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p

113/114 Sabbato – demonstrat] *om. fortasse ob homoioteleuton* Ma 114 diem do-
minicum] die dominico Mc p uenerabilem] *ultim. quartae litterae sup. ras.* P 115 in]
sup. l. W, om. rel. codd. 117 ac] *uerum praem.* P 121 etiam] *om. Ma* 122 etiam]
om. Ma 123 Ianuarium] Ianurium W 127 Deus diem] diem Deus Ma Mc
ergo] *om. Ma Mc, ins. sup. l. Mb* 133 consecrandi] consecratidi W 135 legitur] le-
gatur Ma Prophetia] Prophetiae P recapitulantur] recapitul (*sic*) Ma 137 sacra-
mentario] libro sacramentorum W

140 tiones ab antiquis Romanis Graece ac Latine legebantur. Qui mos
apud Constantinopolim hodieque seruatur, propter duas causas:
unam quia aderant Graeci quibus incognita erat Latina lingua, 1092
aderantque Latini quibus incognita erat Graeca: alteram propter
unanimitatem utriusque populi. Duodecim lectiones dicuntur
propter duodecim lectores, non propter duodecim sententiarum
145 uarietates. Sex lectiones sunt tantummodo in sententiis. Neque
enim si dixerimus: amen, uerum, propterea duas uarietates intel-
legere debemus, sed unam."

Sed de his hactenus. Nunc ad proposita redeamus.

cap. 4 Quaestio tua si rite recordor talis erat: ut scire optares utrum-
150 nam statim in primo sabbato Martii sit ieiunandum, etiamsi idem
mensis quinta, sexta aut septima feria incipiat, an in aliud sabbat-
um propter quartam feriam sit differendum. Ad quod tibi ex con-
suetudine sanctae ecclesiae, quae pro maxima auctoritate tenenda
est, respondeo quod absque ulla refragatione semper eiusdem
155 mensis quarta feria debeat expectari, quoniam idem ieiunium
quod quarta feria incipitur sabbato finitur, nequaquam Februario
sed Martio totum deputatur, ea uidelicet ratione ut in eo mense
primum ieiunium nostrum Domino consecratur, in quo princi-
pium anni ac ipsa creatio coepit mundi.

160 Vnde iste terminus firmiter est obseruandus ut nec ante
IV Non. Mar. nec post VI Id. eiusdem mensis aliquis statuatur sab-
batum ieiunandum, sed in his septem diebus ubicumque primum
euenerit ieiunare licite ualebit.

Ex quo uelut intellectuali quodam filo rectissimae regulae linea,
165 per quatuordecim ebdomadas usque in secundum Iunii mensis
sabbatum ducatur, indeque per alias quatuordecim ad tertium
Septembris sabbatum, itemque siue per tredecim siue per quatuor-

Trad. text.: He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p

139 Graece] ex Graeci corr. P 141 quibus] quia Ma 141/142 Latina – erat] om.
ob homoioteleuton, ins. in marg. Md 142 Graeca] creca Mc 145 uarietates] uarieta-
tis W 147 debemus] non debemus Mb 149 Quaestio] Quesitio Mb 151 inci-
piat] incipiant W an in] anni W 152 quartam] quarta W Ad] At He 153 pro
maxima] proxima Ma, ins. sup. l. Mb, proxime Mc 154 refragatione] refratatione
He Md 157 ut] et W 159 coepit mundi] mundi coepit W 161 sabbatum] om. W
164 filo] ex fili corr. W 166 sabbatum ducatur] ex sabatum ducantur corr. Md du-
catur] om. W indeque] itemque indeque W 166/167 ad – quatuordecim] om. ob
homoioteleuton p

ordecim ad illud proximum ante Natale Domini sabbatum, ut absque errore eorundem sabbatorum termini possint inueniri.

170 G. Videris quidem de primo mense sufficienter dixisse. Sed est adhuc quod moueat de quarto et septimo, quia, cum diceres a sabbato usque in sabbatum semper quatuordecim ebdomadas enumerandas, non addidisti utrum, finita decima quarta ebdomada, secundum sabbatum Iunii mensis quartae feriae duae (et) tertium
175 Septembris sabbatum praecedere deberent tres, cum id sit maxime quod uideatur quaestionem gignere. Quod qualiter euenire soleat per te opto ut manifestum fiat.

B. Ad hoc demonstrandum constituentur feriae septem cum diebus totidem mensis Martii, id est a IV Non. usque in VI Id., per
180 quos primi sabbati termini solent uariari, ut in his inspectis res ipsa aperiatur se nobis. Vt enim ab ultimo incipiamus: Martius aut quinta feria incipit, et sabbatum illud in quo est ieiunandum VI Id. occurrit; aut mensis sexta feria, sabbatum uero VII Id.; aut ille feria septima, istud VIII Id.; aut mensis (feria) prima quae est
185 dominica, sabbatum Non.; aut si ille feria secunda, istud Pridie Non.; si uero ille (feria) tertia, istud III Non.; at si Martius feria quarta, sabbatum IV Non.

1093

Si ex his singulis terminis adhibita computatione ad terminos Iunii mensis, et iterum ab illis ad terminos Septembris per quatuordecim ebdomadas aciem recte dirigis, liquido peruidebis in
190 quarto seu septimo mense quartas ferias iuxta sui quantitatem suis sabbatis minus deesse, excepto Septembri quando ipse incipit feria quinta, Iunius (feria) quarta, Martius (feria) tertia, simul autem

Trad. text.: He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p

168 Natale] Natalem W, Natiuitatem p 170/401 G] nomina 'G' ac 'B' desunt usque in finem Ma 170/177 Videris – fiat] om. W 171 septimo] mense ins. sup. l. Mb 173 addidisti] ex addisti corr. Md decima quarta] scripsi, quarta decima P, xiiii rell. codd. 174 et] conieci (uide adnot.) 175 tres] duae P 178 Ad hoc] Adhuc W 179 diebus totidem] totidem diebus Ma VI] VII W 180 in] om. W 181 Vt enim ab ultimo] Ab (Vt ins. in marg. Mb^{p.c.}, om. Mc^{a.c.}) ultimo enim Ma Mb Mc 183 Id. 1] Idus ex idem corr. He^{m.rec.} 184 ille] id est mensis add. sup. l. Mb feria septima] septima feria Ma septima] id est sabbato add. sup. l. Mb istud] uero add. W mensis] id est prima feria add. sup. l. Mb feria²] scripsi et sic deinceps 185 dominica] et add. W ille] illae Ma, id est mensis add. sup. l. Mb 186 ille] illae Ma, id est mensis add. sup. l. Mb, om. W at] aut Ma Mb Mc 189 Iunii – terminos] om. ob homoioteuton Md W, ins. in marg. Md illis] ex illos corr. P 191 quarto] ex quarta corr. Md 193 quinta] septima P Iunius] ex Iuniis corr. Md feria] scripsi et sic deinceps

Septembri et Iunio cum idem September feria sexta, Iunius <feria>
 195 quinta, Martius <feria> quarta. Qua ex re sic eueniat prudenti cal-
 culatori ad indagandum nequaquam erit difficile.

Ex his omnibus ratio manifesta docet firmitus ac stabilius illud
 esse argumentum quod ex ebdomadarum numero collectum
 numquam nutat, quam quod ex feriarum consideratione compila-
 200 tum aliquando uacillat. De mense uero decimo nihil aliud dicen-
 dum est, nisi ut proximum ante Natale Domini semper obseruetur
 sabbatum, excepto quando uigilia euenerit in feria septima.

cap. 5

G. Quamuis oratio tua mihi persuaserit nihil uerius esse quam
 quod asseris, uellem tamen perdoceri qua auctoritate hoc argu-
 205 mentum ex numero quatuordecim ebdomadarum inuentum ma-
 gis debeat esse ratum, praecipue cum te superius dixisse recorder,
 nihil in ecclesiasticis consuetudinibus a sanctis patribus esse con-
 stitutum quod non aliqua ratione sit roboratum.

B. Scio me pro certo ita dixisse, et quam uerum sit etiam in hac
 210 re, de qua praesens tractatus habetur, qua potero breuitate ex dictis
 maiorum curabo demonstrare. Igitur Amalarius, diuinorum offi-
 ciorum indagator solertissimus, cuius dicta catholicorum uirorum
 sentiis fulgent munita, cum de eisdem disputaret ieiuniis, sic
 inter alia dicit: "Primi Apostolici semper in Decembrio mense, in
 215 quo Natiuitas Domini nostri Iesu Christi celebratur, consecratio-
 nes ministrabant usque ad Simplicium, qui fuit a beato Petro qua-
 dragesimus nonus. Ipse primus consecrauit in Febuario, ni fallor,
 nullam ob aliam causam nisi intimando coniungendos propin-
 quius Christi corpori, qui per sacrum ministerium prouehuntur."

214/265 Primi – inueniuntur] AMALAR., *Off.* 2, I, 8-14 (p. 199, 21-201, 28) 215/
 217 consecrationes – nonus] cfr *Lib. pont.* 49 (vol. I, p. 249, 16)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p*

195 sic] si *Ma Mb*, om. *Mc p* 197 his omnibus] omnibus his *Ma* manifesta] ma-
 nifeste *p* ac stabilius] om. *Ma* 199 compilatum] capitulum *Ma Mb Mc p*
 200 uacillat] facillat *W* 201 Natale] Natiuitatem *p* 202 euenerit] euenit *P* feria
 septima] sexta feria *W* 203/208 Quamuis – roboratum] om. *W* 210 breuitate]
 breuitatem *W* 210/211 ex – demonstrare] ins. in marg. *W* 212 indagator] dagator
Ma, indagatur ex ingatur corr. *Md* catholicorum] chatholicorum *Mb Mc* 214 dicit]
 dixit *Ma* 216 Simplicium] Simpiciu *W* a beato] ex babeato corr. *W* 217 no-
 nus] nouus *Mc* 218 nullam] ex millam ut uid. corr. *W* 219 corpori] corpore *P*
 ministerium] mysterium *Ma Mb Mc Md*^{a.c.} *W* prouehuntur] ex prouebuntur corr. *W*

220 “Quod nullo modo satius fieri potest quam si per eos Patriarchas ex quibus Christus natus est generentur. Quod impossibile est secundum carnem, secundum Spiritum dignum et habile, hoc est ut per interpretationes nominum Patriarcharum nascentur mente, qui genealogiae Christi dentur familiarius adscisci. Et, quia
225 incongruum est, sicut unicuique generationi singularis ebdomada deputatur, ita per unamquamque ebdomadam consecrationem celebrari, causa congruenti per singula tempora quae conueniri possunt uirtutibus et interpretationibus Patriarcharum, qui in articulis genealogiae positi sunt, consecratio celebratur.”

230 “Per tres tesserescedecades annuales fiunt ebdomadae quadragesima duae. Tot generationes secundum Matthaeum Christi sunt cum ipso. Tot enim ebdomadae inueniuntur a prima sabbati primi mensis usque ad quartam sabbati decimi mensis.”

1094

235 “Consecratio prima celebratur primo sabbato primi mensis, quae quasi in loco Abrahae generat Christum. Abraham interpretatur ‘pater multarum gentium’, cui dictum est: *In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes*. Si quis consecratus stat in semine multorum conuertentium per sua exempla ad Deum, est primo patriarcha Abraham genitus. Est ipsum semen Christus, in quo
240 semine promissum est Abrahae benedici omnes gentes. Ipsa consecratio tempore uerni celebratur, quod tempus habile est procreationibus. Nam et Abraham tertia aetate fuit huius mundi, quae aetas comparatur adolescentiae, quae habilis est generationi filiorum.”

236 pater multarum gentium] Gen. 17, 4 236/237 Gen. 22, 18

235/237 Abraham – gentes] cfr HIER., *In Is.* 17, 62 (p. 715, 18-19); BERNO, *Modul. Ps.* 2 (p. 131, 135-137)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p*

221 Christus natus est] natus est Christus *Ma Mb Mc* 222 secundum²] uero *add. p*
225 incongruum] *ex ingruum corr. W* 226 deputatur] *ex deputare corr. Md*
227 conueniri] *ex conuert ut uid. corr. Md, conuenire p* 230 tesserescedecades] *sic codd. et Amalar. (et sic deinceps), sed uide adnot.* 231 Matthaeum] *scripsi (iam p), Mattheum He Ma Mb Mc Md P W* 232 enim] *etiam p* prima sabbati] primo sabbato *p*
233 quartam sabbati] *ex quarti sabbati corr. Ma, quartum sabbatum p* 234 primo sabbato] primo sabbati *He Md, prima sabbati P (ut Amalar.)* primi mensis] *ex primensis corr. Md* 235 Abrahae] *Habrahae W* 238 Deum] *Dominum P* 240 gentes] *ins. sup. l. Md* 241 uerni] *uerno p* 242/243 quae aetas] *ex quae aetas corr. Md*

245 "Secunda consecratio est in quarto mense, secundo sabbato, quod est initium secundi catalogi quatuordecim ebdomadarum. Haec deputatur in loco filiorum Daud. Daud interpretatur 'manu fortis', ipse prostravit Goliam, id est humilitas superbiam. Qui consecrantur, propterea consecrantur ut fortes sint et per hu-
250 militatem deiciant superbiam. Ipsa celebratur in Iunio mense, quando feruor magnus solis est super terram. Omnibus notum est Daud bellicosum fuisse, et ualde arsisse in Marte. Tempus Iunii aptum est bellis."

"Tertia consecratio celebratur in Septembrio, tertio sabbato,
255 quod est initium tertii catalogi. Haec deputatur generationi Iechoniae. Iechonias interpretatur 'praeparatio Domini'. Nulli-que dubium, si omnes oportet praeparari in Aduentu Christi, quin potissimum eos qui consecrantur. Quae consecratio habet finem in ipsa Natiuitate Christi, quae aliquando in tertia ebdo-
260 mada finitur propter anticipationem dierum Natiuitatis Domini, et habet tredecim ebdomadas. Neque hoc sine ratione est, quia si computetur catalogus nouissimae tesserescedecadis, et semel computetur Iechonias, non amplius inueniuntur cum ipso Christo quam tredecim generationes. Si ipse bis computetur,
265 quatuordecim inueniuntur." En habes quod scire cupiebas, quauidelicet causa argumentum quatuor ieiuniorum ex ratione quatuordecim ebdomadarum sit colligendum.

G. Gratias Deo ac tibi ago quia sic habeo, sed non infructuose adhuc quaerendum arbitror quid hoc uelit quod dicitur: si semel
270 computetur Iechonias, non amplius inueniuntur cum ipso

247/248 Daud – fortis] cfr HIER., *In Is.* 7, 22 (p. 302, 41-42); HIER., *Nom. Hebr.* (p. 145, 13) 256 Iechonias – Domini] cfr HIER., *Nom. Hebr.* (p. 104, 29-1; p. 127, 18-19)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p*

245 secundo sabbato] secunda sabbati *P* (ut *Amalar.*) 250 celebratur] ex cebratur *corr. P* 252 bellicosum] ex beilicosum *corr. W* fuisse] esse *Ma* et – Marte] *om. W* 254 Tertia] *sup. ras. P* tertio sabbato] tertia sabbati *P* (ut *Amalar.*) 257 praeparari] ex praeparara *corr. W* Aduentu Christi] Aduentu Domini *Ma W* 258 consecran-] secrantur *Mc* consecratio] ex secratio *corr. Mc* 259 Christi] Domini *Ma* ali-] quando] consecratio *P* 261 et – ebdomadas] *om. W* ebdomadas] aliquando in] quarta propter tarditatem et habet quatuordecim *add. (ex textu Amalar.) p* quia] *om. W* 265/272 En – inueniuntur] *om. W* 269 quid] quidam *Mc Md* quod] quidam *Mb*

Christo quam tredecim generationes; si autem bis, quatuordecim inueniuntur.

B. Sanctus Augustinus causa mysterii perhibet factum esse ut Iechonias, qui interpretatur 'praeparatio Dei', bis numeratus in fine prioris et in capite sequentis catalogi poneretur, lapidem angularem id est Christum significans, in quo praeparauit Deus Pater duos populos quasi parietes in unam iungere domum. Quamquam beatus Hieronymus uitio scriptorum et longitudine temporum inter Graecos et Latinos confusum esse narret, et patrem qui in Hebraeo Ioachim nominatus est non in Chaldaeam ductum, sed defunctum in terra sua, et filium Ioachim de captiuitate redeuntem Salathiel genuisse affirmet. Igitur hoc supradictus doctor uoluit intelligi ut tredecim et quatuordecim ebdomadae praefigurent in mysterio quod Iechonias semel aut bis poneretur in catalogo.

cap. 6 G. Vtinam modo non graueris dicere quando tredecim uel quando quatuordecim ebdomadae soleant euenire.

B. Nequaquam tui amoris causa grauabor intimare quod uerum exinde potui cognoscere. Enimuero omnibus annis tredecim eueniunt exceptis his, hoc est quando Martius feria tertia uel quarta, Natiuitas uero Domini nostri Iesu Christi dominica aut secunda feria acciderint. De hoc ieiunio, quod in ipsa uigilia solebant antiquiores celebrare, supra nominatus dixit Amalarius "Quae consecratio habet finem in ipsa Natiuitate Christi", sicut quorundam

273/282 Sanctus – affirmet] PS. BEDA, *In Matth.* 1, 1 (col. 10) 273/277 Sanctus – domum] cfr AVG., *Cons.* 2, 4, 10 (p. 92, 4-10) 278/282 Quamquam – affirmet] cfr HIER., *In Matth.* 1 (p. 9, 44-45) 293/294 Quae – Christi] AMALAR., *Off.* 2, 1, 13 (p. 201, 21-22)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p*

274 Dei] Domini *W* numeratus] numeratur *W* 278 Hieronymus] *scripsi* (*iam p*), Ieronimus *He Md P*, Hieronimus *Ma Mb Mc*, Iheronimus *W* uitio] incio *W* 279 Latinos] *ex Latinis corr. P* 280 in'] *ins. sup. l. Md* Ioachim] *ex Iouchim ut uid. corr. W* non] *ins. sup. l. Md* 281 defunctum] *ex defuntum corr. Md*, de fructum *W* 282 Salathiel] Salathiel *Ma Mb Mc P W* 283 doctor] hoc *add. W* 284 mysterio] *ex ministerio corr. Md* quod] *ins. sup. l. W* poneretur] *ex ponetur corr. Md* 286/289 Vtinam – cognoscere] *om. W* 286/287 tredecim uel quando] *ins. sup. l. et in marg. Md* 288 uerum] *sit add. tum del. P* 289 eueniunt] *euenitur ex iuenitur corr. W* 291 uero] *om. Ma* 292 uigilia solebant] *solebant uigilia W* 293 Quae] Quod *p*

295 Italarum (nescio an omnium) adhuc mos est agere, ut ego ipse ibidem positus cognoui.

Sed usus in nostris excreuit ecclesiis ut in anteriori ebdomada anticipetur, quia illa duo officia ieiunii et Natalis Domini non conueniunt simul celebrari. Nam sicut praeueniendo istud anticipamus, ita secundum sabbatum Iunii mensis, cum in uigilia Pentecostes prouenerit, prolongando in proximum differimus, licet nostri antecessores utrumque in ipsa uigilia sancta simul celebrarent, sicut ex praetitulacione librorum euident habemus testimonium.

305 G. Nosse desidero qua conuenientia haec duo simul possint celebrari officia.

B. Quid adeo opus est nunc inquiri, quod tam longo tempore iam coepit dedisci? At tamen ne huiusmodi scientia frauderis, talis inscriptio super hac re habetur in libris nostris:

310 Si euenerint duodecim lectiones in sabbato sancto Pentecostes, tunc in quarta feria cantetur et legatur: A. *Exaudi Domine*. Missa *Preces nostras quaesumus Domine*. Require in prima ebdomada Quadragesimae. Lect. libri Sapientiae *Dixit Salomon*. Item or. *Deuotionem populi*. Lect. Isaiae Prophetiae *Audi Iacob*. All. *Domine Deus salutis*. Eu. secundum Lucam *Accedentes discipuli*. Off. *Viri Galilaei*. Co. *Pater cum essem*.

315 Feria sexta. A. *Exaudi Domine*. Missa *Esto Domine propitius*. Lect. Iohel Prophetiae *Exultate filiae Sion*. All. *Domine refugium*.

313 *Dixit Salomon*] Sap. 1, 1 314 *Audi Iacob*] Is. 44, 1 315 *Accedentes discipuli*] Luc. 9, 12 318 *Exultate filiae Sion*] Ioel 2, 23

310/329 Si – Ultimo] *Pont. rom.-germ.* 99, 451 (vol. 3, p. 136) *sed uide adnot.*

Trad. text.: He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p

295 ipse] *om. Ma* 300 in] *ins. sup. l. Md, om. W* 303 ex] *om. W* librorum] *ex librorum corr. Md* 305/306 Nosse – officia] *om. W* celebrari officia] officia celebrari *Ma* 309 libris nostris] *nostris libris Ma* 310 euenerint] *euenerit W* 311 A.] *om. Ma Mb Mc p* Missa] *Or. Ma Mb Mc p* 312 quaesumus Domine] *des. Ma Mb Mc p* 313 Lect.] *uel et sic deinceps p (uide adnot.)* libri Sapientiae] *om. W* Salomon] *Salomon Ma Mc* 314 Isaiae] *Isaiae He Mc Md W, Aesayae Ma* Iacob] *Israhel Mc* All.] *Off. add. Mb^{a.m.} Mc p, Off. deest in spat. uac. (rubr. desunt deinceps) Ma* 315 *Accedentes discipuli*] *In illo tempore. Accedentes discipuli ad Iesum P* 317 A.] *om. Ma Mb Mc Md p* Missa] *Or. Ma Mb Mc p* 318 Iohel Prophetiae] *om. Ma Mb Mc W p* filiae] *fili W* Sion] *Syon He Ma Mb Mc Md W*

Eu. secundam Lucam *Venit ad Iesum uir cui nomen Iairus*. Off.
 320 *Viri Galilaei*. Co. *Pater cum essem*.

Sabbato omnes parati primitus cantent letaniam *Kyrie eleison*,
Christe eleison. Gloria in excelsis Deo. Postea or. *Mentibus nostris*.
 Alia *Illo nos igne*. Tertia *Deus qui ad animarum*. Quarta *Praesta*
 325 *quaesumus omnipotens Deus ut salutaribus ieiuniis*. Quinta *Praesta*
quaesumus omnipotens Deus sic nos. Subsequuntur lectiones cum
 gradalibus: *Propitius, Protector, Ad Dominum, Dirigatur*, et Bene-
 dicite. Ad missam *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens Deus ut clari-*
tatis. Lect. *Cum Apollo esset*. All. *Confitemini*. Tr. *Laudate*. Eu. 1096
 secundum Iohannem *Si diligitis me*. Off. *Emitte*. Co. *Vltimo*.

cap. 7 330 G. Si ipsum ieiunium fuerit in aliud sabbatum dilatum, ut
 paulo ante dixisti agendum, uel si in ipsa ebdomada sancta Pente-
 costes euenerit, utrum gradalia an alleluia sunt canenda?

B. Vtique secundum consuetudinem antiquam gradalia, sicut
 non solum in nostris libris habetur insertum, sed etiam ut in quo-
 335 dam ordine secundum sancti Gelasii papae auctoritatem reperi
 praetitulatum. Qui mos usque hodie, ut compertum habemus, in
 sancta Romana seruatur ecclesia. Videtur quoque id huic narrati-
 oni assensum praeberere, quod in authenticis antiphonariis duo

319 *Venit – Iairus*] Luc. 8, 41 328 *Cum Apollo esset*] Act. 19, 1 329 *Si diligitis me*] Ioh. 14, 15

334/336 *ut – praetitulatum*] *non inueni, sed fortasse Pont. rom.-germ. ut supra*
 338 *authenticis antiphonariis*] cfr IOH. DIAC., *V. Greg.* 2, 6 (col. 90)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p*

319 *secundam Lucam*] *om. Ma Mb Mc p* *Venit*] *In illo tempore praem. P* 320 *es-*
sem] *cum eis add. P* 321 *letaniam*] *deinde add. W* *Kyrie eleison*] *om. Ma*
 322 *Christe eleison*] *om. Ma Mb Mc W p* *Deo*] *om. Ma* *Or.*] *Missa add. P*
 323 *Alia*] *om. Ma (in quo rubr. desunt)*, *Alia orat. Mb, Or. Mc p, ex Al. corr. W^r* *Tertia*
Or. Mc p ad] *ins. sup. l. Mb* *Quarta*] *Quarta or. Mb, Or. Mc p* 324/325 *ut – Deus*
om. ob homoioteleuton p 324 *ieiuniis*] *om. Ma* *Quinta*] *Or. quinta Mb, Or. Mc Md*
 326 *gradalibus*] *gradalibus W* *Propitius – Dirigatur*] *Gr. ante omnes graduales*
Mb Mc p *et Benedicite*] *Benedicam Ma, et Bened cum signo abbrev. Mb, G. Bened*
Mc p, et Benedictus P (uide adnot.) 327 *Ad missam*] *Or. Ma Mb Mc* 328 *esset*
deest He, Corinthi add. W *Laudate*] *Dominum add. P* 329 *secundum Iohannem*
om. He Ma Mb Mc Md p *Emitte*] *Emittes He, Emitte Spiritum tuum Mc, Emittes Spi-*
ritum W, ex quo Emitte corr. W^r *Vltimo*] *Vltimo festiuitatis Mb, Vltimo festiuitatis*
die Mc, Vltimo ex. cultimo ut uid. corr. W^r 334 *habetur*] *ex hebetur corr. W^r*
 335 *ordine*] *om. Ma* 338 *authenticis*] *autencis ex autenciis corr. W^r*

340 tantum alleluia inueniuntur descripta, hoc est 'Emitte Spiritum',
 'Spiritus Domini'. Caetera uero a modernis sunt composita. Qua-
 propter intuendum est quia si in monasteriis alleluia cantus abun-
 dat, quid simplices uillarum presbyteri agant qui uix duorum
 tantum notitiam habent. Vt enim uulgari prouerbio utar: "Aut
 cantant quod sciunt, aut tacere compelluntur quod nesciunt."

345 Non tamen, haec scribens sanctissimorum sacerdotum auctori-
 tati, praeiudico quos in Spiritu sancto congregatos iamdudum au-
 diui in synodalibus suis decretis statuuisse ut magis debeant alleluia
 decantari. Sed simpliciter quae sentire potui ad interrogata res-
 pondere curauim, consulere uolens etiam, si possim, mei similibus
 350 imperitiis qui tot alleluia non norunt cantare.

G. Cum ecclesiasticae sit consuetudinis in his diebus ut stantes
 oremus, cupio rescire si in hac ebdomada saepe dictum euenerit
 ieiunium, utrum debeamus ad missam genua flectere necne.

B Sic in quodam libello de hoc ordine legi: "Per singulas ora-
 355 tiones debemus mentis humilitatem per genuflexionem osten-
 dere, excepto infra Pentecosten. In sola de camino ignis non
 flectimus genua, quando Nabuchodonosor compellebat populum
 adorare statuam quam fecerat, ut separata sit nostra oratio, quae
 est ad unum Deum, ab errore gentilium." Similem ob causam
 360 etiam in Parasceue genua non flectimus pro perfidis Iudaeis, qui
 illudendo genua flectebant coram Deo, ne uideamur illos imitari
 qui opus bonum studebant male operari, quemadmodum tunc ab

339 Emitte Spiritum] AMS 114 etc. (All., Dom. Pent./Hebd. Pent.) 340 Spiritus Domini] AMS 114 etc. (All., Dom. Pent./Hebd. Pent.) 343/344 Aut – nesciunt] non inueni, sed cfr AVG., *Epist.* 211, 7 (vol. 4, p. 361, 13-14): Nolite cantare, nisi quod legis esse cantandum; quod autem non ita scriptum est, ut cantetur, non cantatur; quoque AGO-BARD., *Corr. antiph.* 17 (p. 349, 8) 345/348 Non – decantari] cfr *Conc. Selig.* 2 (p. 36, 9-10; p. 44, 16-17): propter sollemnitatem Spiritus Sancti ... alleluia cantetur (uide adnot.) 354/359 Per – gentilium] AMALAR., *Off.* 2, 3, 12-13 (p. 209, 10-15)

Trad. text.: He Ma Mb Mc Md P W p

339 Emitte] Emittes He W, ut supra Spiritum] tuum add. Mb 340 Caetera] ex Caetera corr. W 345 sacerdotum auctoritati] auctoritate sacerdotum W 346 Spi-ritu sancto] Sancto spiritu W 351/353 Cum – necne] om. W 351 in his diebus ut] in his diebus et Ma, ut in his diebus P 352 euenerit] euerit Md 355 genuflexionem] genuum flexionem W 356 Pentecosten] Pentecostes P 358 nostra oratio] oratio nostra Mb 359 Similem] tertia littera sup. ras. W 360 non] ins. sup. l. Md 361 Deo] Domino P uideamur] uideamus Md

osculo abstinemus propter Iudae traditoris exemplum, qui per simulatae pacis osculum tradidit Dominum Iesum Christum.

cap. 8 365 G. Quia meae inquisitioni in omnibus satisfacisti, superest tantum quatinus ex connexione colloctionis hactenus inter nos 1097 habitae quoddam breuiloquium in unum uelis colligere, quo huiusmodi queant instrui argumento, quorum aures longa fatigat narratio.

370 B. Si quis ieiunia quatuor temporum legitimo ordine celebrare desiderat, subterscriptum argumentum ex sententiis sanctorum patrum collectum obseruare non neglegat.

Primum sabbatum Martii, cum praecedente eiusdem mensis quarta feria, nota diligenter; et ab ipso quatuordecim ebdomadas 375 usque in secundum Iunii mensis sabbatum computa, iterumque alias quatuordecim ebdomadas abhinc usque in tertium Septembris sabbatum, quod nullo modo te fallit, connumera; indeque proximum sabbatum ante Natale Domini, siue quatuordecim siue tredecim fuerint, semper obserua. Et in his singulis quatuor sab- 380 batorum diebus, absque ullo errore, occurret tibi legitime illud ieiunium quod in sacramentorum libris praetitulatur cum 'duodecim lectionibus' celebrandum. Quod si uigilia Natalis Domini in sabbato euenerit, in ebdomada priori idem ieiunium debet anticipari.

385 G. His ita tandem regulariter a te de ieiunii temporibus deter- 1098 minatis, rogo etiam aliquem abstinentiae modum, nunc uel breuiter describi quo possit praecaueri, ne exterior noster homo aut nimia extenuatus inedia deficiendo tabescat, aut immoderato gulae uictus appetitu insolescat, ne principe cocorum Nabuzardan, 390 hoc est nequissima aedacitatis ingluuiae nos superante corruant

Trad. text.: He Ma Mb Mc Md P W (expl. post 384 anticipari) p

363 propter] malum add. P 365/369 Quia – narratio] om. W 370 legitimo] legitima W 375/376 usque – ebdomadas] solum in cod. W, usque in secundum Iunii sabbatum ins. in marg. He^{m.rec.}, om. ob homoioteleuton He Ma Mb Mc Md P (uide adnot.) 379 fuerint] ex fuerit corr. Md semper] om. P 383 euenerit ex euerit corr. Md 385 tandem] om. Ma determinatis] determinis Md^{a.c.} 386 etiam] om. Ma aliquem abstinentiae] abstinentiae aliquem Mb 388 extenuatus] om. Ma deficiendo] om. Ma 390/391 superante corruant intra nos] ins. sup. l. Md

intra nos muri Hierusalem nostrae, sicut scriptum est: *Princeps eorum destruxit muros Hierusalem.*

B. Cum Sacrae scripturae mensa, de qua ad Dominum loquitur Psalmista *Parasti in conspectu meo mensam*, petenti omni coram sit
 395 posita, uariis cunctarum disciplinarum doctrinis referta, mirum uidetur quod a me quaeris quod per te ipsum inuenire poteris. Verumtamen ne in calce huius opusculi durus faenerator existam, qui hactenus in praestandi officio me tibi promptum exhibebam, unum de pluribus caelestium dapium illatorem pro me uadem
 400 dabo, sanctum Augustinum dico, cuius artis instruaris magisterio, quo utaris modo in abstinendo.

VERBA SANCTI AVGVSTINI

Quisquis autem rebus praetereuntibus restrictius utitur quam sese habent mores eorum cum quibus uiuit, aut temperans aut superstitiosus est. Quisquis uero sic eis utitur ut metas consuetudinis bonorum inter quos uersatur excedat, aut aliquid significat aut flagitiosus est. In omnibus enim talibus non usus rerum sed libido
 405 〈utentis〉 in culpa est.

Quod igitur locis et temporibus et personis conueniat, diligenter attendendum est, ne temere flagitia reprehendamus. Fieri enim
 410 potest ut sine uitio cupiditatis uel uoracitatis pretiosissimo cibo sapiens utatur, insipiens autem foedissima gulae flamma in uilissimum ardescat. Et sanus quisque maluerit more Domini pisce uesci

391/392 Princeps – Hierusalem] cfr. IV Reg. 25, 10; Ier. 52, 14 394 Parasti – mensam] Ps. 22, 5

391/392 Princeps – Hierusalem] GREG. M., *Moral.* 30, 18, 59 (p. 1530, 40-41) 393/395 Cum – referta] cfr. BERNØ, *Epist.* 20 (p. 52) 403/408 Quisquis – est] AVG., *Doctr. Christ.* 3, 12 (p. 89, 5-10) 409/419 Quod – facimus] AVG., *Doctr. Christ.* 3, 12 (p. 89, 22-90, 33)

Trad. text.: HeMa(expl. post 401 abstinendo)MbMc(expl. post 401 abstinendo)Md(expl. post 404 super-)P(expl. post 401 abstinendo)p(expl. post 401 abstinendo)

391 Hierusalem] Ierusalem HeMd P 392 Hierusalem] Ierusalem P 394 petenti omni] omni petenti P 396 uidetur] ex uideretur corr. P 397/401 durus – abstinendo] a.m. usque in finem P 398 praestandi] praestando Ma 399 illatorem pro me] ex pro me illatorem corr. P^{m.rec.} illatorem] illatarum Ma 402/419 Verba – facimus] a.m. usque in fine Mb 403 autem] om. Mb 407 enim] post enim del. duas litteras Mb 408 utentis] scripsi cum textu Aug., om. HeMb 413 uesci] pasci Mb

415 quam lenticula more Esau nepotis Abraham aut hordeo more iu-
mentorū. Non enim propterea continentiores nobis sunt ple-
rique bestiae, quia uilioribus aluntur escis. Nam in omnibus
huiusmodi rebus non ex earum rerum natura quibus utimur, sed
ex causa utendi et modo appetendi uel probandum est uel impro-
bandum est quod facimus.

Trad. text.: *He Mb*

414 quam] *que ut uid. (abbrev. dub.) Mb* Abraham] *Habraham Mb*

DE QVIBVSDAM REBVS
AD MISSAE OFFICIUM PERTINENTIBVS
LIBELLVS

INTRODUCTION

Also known as *De officio missae* or *Libellus de quibusdam rebus* (henceforth *Off. miss.*), Bern's series of observations on the Mass liturgy is sometimes discussed as if a formal liturgical exposition. However, it would be more accurate to speak of a series of related writings on the Mass and its disposition, structured in a manner directly comparable to *Modul. Ps.* The work as edited here is of five sections, which comment successively upon: (1) layers of innovation in the Mass, going back to Late Antiquity; (2) matters of privilege in the performance of the Mass; (3) the celebration of the Octave of Pentecost; (4) the harmonious qualities of post-Pentecost proper texts and their respective liturgical books; and (5) the larger disposition of the Mass liturgy in ordinary time between Pentecost and Advent. It is likely that the opening has been lost. As Rivet de La Grange observed back in 1746, the work as it stands lacks a title and dedicatory letter, and it begins with the implausible conjunction 'Igitur'.¹ In this edition we preserve the editorial title offered by Melchior Hittorp for his inaugural publication of 1568.

A number of internal details suggest a dating in the 1030s, after Bern's communications with Archbishop Aribio in *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Obseru. ieiun.* but before *Modul. Ps.* in the 1040s. The most obvious comes in the fourth section, at the conclusion of the author's survey of post-Pentecost Sunday Masses, where instead of discussing the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost he simply directs the reader to consult a 'certain letter which I composed about Advent for Archbishop Aribio'.² This is an unambiguous reference to *Adu. Dom. celeb.* of 1027. The comment also presupposes that Bern's recipient had access to this letter, which probably pushes us into the period of its formal dissemination, here dated to the 1030s or 1040s. One further *terminus post quem* can be found within in Bern's anecdote about the acceptance of the

¹ RIVET DE LA GRANGE, 'Bernon', p. 578 (*recte* p. 378).

² *Off. Miss.* 4 (p. 91, 295-92, 296): 'quadam epistola quam ad Aribonem archiepiscopum de Aduentu Domini composui'.

Nicene Creed into the Roman Mass liturgy in 1014, where Henry II is described as ‘of blessed memory’.³ The king died in 1024.

Often considered on its own, Bern’s anecdote about Henry II actually belongs to a much larger polemic, which is itself susceptible to dating. The author’s ultimate aim in this section was not to wallow in the German victory over the Creed, as is commonly assumed, but to overturn a rubric in the Gregorian Sacramentary which restricts the singing of the Gloria to bishops – the common theme being the degree to which ‘Roman’ authority over the liturgy should trump all other considerations. According to Hermann’s chronicle, Bern was specifically concerned with matters of episcopal identity in 1031 or 1032, for that year he sought papal confirmation of his own special abbatial privileges, including the right to wear episcopal garments and sandals.⁴ Scandal quickly ensued, for as Hermann described:

Bishop Warmann of Constance was moved to anger and accused him to the emperor as an invader of his office and his honour, so that he was hard pressed by both parties until he surrendered that privilege together with the sandals to the bishop himself publicly in his synod to be burned, namely on Holy Thursday of the following year.⁵

Since the singing of the ‘Gloria in excelsis’ was itself a very visible sign of episcopal status – and, conversely, its absence was a very visible sign of sacerdotal status – it is difficult to believe that Bern’s argument was not motivated on some level by these events. Indeed, there is a palpable sense in this section of *Off. miss.* that we are dealing with excessive protestation. In a move which is otherwise highly uncharacteristic, Bern works hard to circumvent the authority of Pope Gregory’s eponymous sacramentary. He also marshals some unusual patristic texts to make the audacious, if not thoroughly incendiary assertion that bishops and priests are sacramentally equivalent. On this basis we may provisionally place

³ *Off. Miss.* 2 (p. 71, 111–112): ‘diuae memoriae’.

⁴ HERM. AVGIENS., *Chron.* (p. 121). Bern seems to have been requesting confirmation of earlier privileges granted to the monastery in 998. For a detailed edition and study of the privilege text as it survives see POKORNY, *Augiensia*, p. 77–101.

⁵ HERM. AVGIENS., *Chron.* (p. 121, 28–31): ‘Vnde permoto Warmanno Constantiense episcopo, aput imperatorem quasi sui peruasor officii et honoris accusatus, eo usque ab utrisque coartatur, donec idem cum sandaliis priuilegium ipsi episcopo traderet, publice in synodo sua, id est in coena Domini sequentis anni incendendum’. Translation from I. S. ROBINSON, *Eleventh-Century Germany: The Swabian Chronicles*, Manchester, 2008, p. 67.

the work (or at least the chapter in question) in the aftermath of the events of 1031 or 1032. Although it is difficult to know how this might affect the dating, it is also worth noting that his adversary Warmann died in 1034.

1. TEXTUAL TRADITION

a. Structure of the text

Although we establish this text from nine manuscript sources in total, only two manuscripts (*AW*) preserve the text in full. As Table 4 shows, there is considerable disagreement about the structure of this work. For reasons outlined in the General Introduction, this edition considers the seven-part structure in *W* to be inauthentic, and instead it follows the five-part structure in the previously unedited source *A*. The remaining seven manuscripts transmit portions of Bern's work under the auspices of Bernold of Constance's *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis obseruationibus*, which was first compiled in the late eleventh century. Five of these are genuine *Micrologus* sources to which Bern's chapters have been appended (*CEFLD*); the remaining two are copies of a *Micrologus*-derived florilegium tradition known as the *Mystica descriptio* (*RZ*).⁶

Table 4
The manuscript transmission of *Off. miss.*
and its constituent chapters

<i>CCCM</i> 297	Hittorp	<i>A</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>Z</i>
I	1	×	×							
II	2	×	×							
III	3	×	×							
	4		×							
IV	5	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
V	6	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		
	7		×							

⁶ HEINZER, *Klosterreform*, p. 212-213; GLAUCHE, *Die Pergamenthandschriften*, p. 293.

b. Filiation of sources

In the fourth and fifth chapters a clear distinction emerges between the primary witnesses *AW* and the *Micrologus*-based sources:

IV	p. 77, 6	item secundo post duas <i>AW</i>] item (et <i>D</i>) post duas (secundas <i>L</i>) <i>CEFL DR</i>
IV	p. 78, 42	dum dicit <i>AW</i>] cum dicit <i>CEFL D</i>
IV	p. 79, 51	eius adiutorio <i>AW</i>] eo <i>CEFL D</i> , illo <i>R</i>
IV	p. 80, 68	laboriosum inuestigare <i>AW</i>] inuestigare laboriosum <i>CEFL</i>
IV	p. 84, 153	caeteris <i>AW</i>] dominicis <i>add. CEFL Z</i>
IV	p. 84, 159	dominica uacent <i>AW</i>] dominica uacet <i>CFZ</i> , uacet dominica <i>EL</i>
IV	p. 87, 214	mittere <i>AW</i>] mitti <i>CEFL</i>
IV	p. 88, 221	canit <i>AW</i>] incipit <i>CEFL</i>
IV	p. 88, 235	in <i>AW</i>] facie et in <i>add. CEFL</i>
IV	p. 91, 279	fraternae <i>AW</i>] fraternitate (et <i>add. L</i>) <i>CEFL</i>
IV	p. 91, 292	ad nos diuina <i>AW</i>] diuina ad nos <i>CEFL</i>
V	p. 93, 24	lectionarii <i>AW</i>] lectionum <i>CEFL D</i>
V	p. 94, 45	in compagibus <i>AW</i>] compaginibus <i>CEFL</i>

Since neither *A* nor *W* is ever concordant with the *Micrologus* sources on its own, except in instances of error or emendation, we can deduce that these are indeed distinct families, derived from a common source. The existence of that common source is further supported by a handful of shared errors:

IV	p. 80, 76	quatuor milia <i>scripsi</i>] septem milia <i>A CEFL</i> , milia milia <i>W</i>
IV	p. 80, 83	tibi <i>scripsi</i>] sibi <i>A CEFL</i> , si- <i>sup. ras. W</i>
V	p. 93, 41-42	significant – attexuntur <i>scripsi</i>] significant attexuntur (<i>adduntur W</i> , <i>texuntur CEFL</i>) <i>fortasse ob homoioteuton AW CEFL</i>

The first of these is a blatant deviation from Mark's gospel account about feeding the four thousand; the second is a muddled chant quotation; and the third is a likely instance of eyeskip within a quotation from Augustine.

The group *AW* is itself defined by a number of shared errors, some deducible from the context or nature of disagreement, others confirmed by reliable readings among the *Micrologus* sources:

Capit.	p. 63, 10-11	ad Aduentum <i>scripsi</i>] ad Aduentu <i>A</i> , Aduentu <i>W</i>
I	p. 64, 5-6	cum ... tum <i>scripsi</i>] ritum ... cum <i>A</i> , tum ... cum <i>W</i>
IV	p. 83, 132-133	imbre perfusa <i>CEFL Z</i>] perfusa imbre <i>A</i> , imbre per sua <i>W</i>
IV	p. 84, 149	concordabili <i>CEFL Z</i>] concordali <i>A</i> , concordibili <i>W</i>
IV	p. 87, 208-211	dicens – Nolite <i>CEFL</i>] dicens Nolite <i>ob homoioleuton AW</i>
IV	p. 91, 283	scientia et in omni sensu <i>CEFL</i>] omni scientia et sensu <i>A</i> , scientiam et in omni sensu <i>W</i>

Since many of these errors (and many more not listed) result from elementary misspellings and misconstruals, including repeated words and imperfectly expanded abbreviations, it seems likely that *AW* were derived from the same flawed exemplar. This source may also have contributed to the versions of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* found in the same two sources, as in the following example:

p. 14, 77	paruitatis <i>HeMaMbMd Vm</i>] ex puitatis <i>corr. A</i> , prauitatis <i>W</i>
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So numerous are the textual problems in *AW* that we might wish to favour the testimony of the *Micrologus* sources in their stead. However, the latter family of manuscripts reveals little to no textual hierarchy. Unless significantly more sources have been lost, the proliferation of individual variants indicates that the *Micrologus* scribes intervened much more freely in Bern's texts, and thus their readings cannot be favoured.

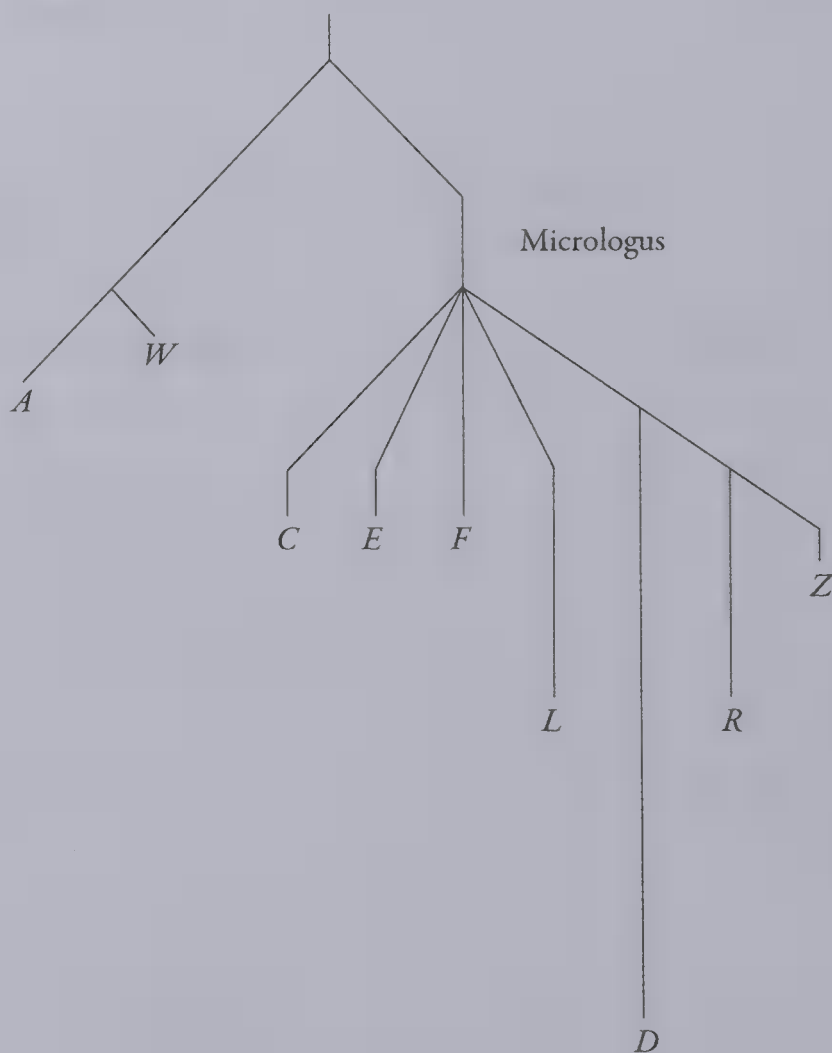
Within the family *AW* it is clear that *W* is the more faithful witness to Bern's own literary sources, whether biblical, legal or exegetical:

I	p. 66, 75	fiat in salutem <i>W (ut Vulg.)</i>] sit ad salutem <i>A</i>
II	p. 70, 67-68	sed ... celebrent <i>W (ut. Conc. Visig.)</i>] si ... celebrant <i>A</i>
II	p. 70, 69	fuerint ausi <i>W (ut. Conc. Visig.)</i>] uoluerint <i>A</i>
III	p. 75, 66-67	uos baptizo <i>W (ut Vulg.)</i>] baptizo uos <i>A</i>
III	p. 75, 73	est <i>W (ut Amalar.)</i>] om. <i>A</i>
III	p. 75, 78	regnum <i>W (ut Amalar.)</i>] ins. in marg. <i>A^{a.m.}</i>
III	p. 76, 79-80	laborauerunt hic <i>W (ut Amalar.)</i>] hic laborauerunt <i>A</i>

III	p. 76, 83	solemus appellare <i>W</i> (<i>ut Amalar.</i>)] appella- mus <i>A</i>
III	p. 76, 88	in Pentecoste <i>W</i> (<i>ut Amalar.</i>)] in Pentecos- ten <i>A</i>
III	p. 76, 89	in Octauis <i>W</i> (<i>ut Amalar.</i>)] Octauis <i>A</i>

The readings of *W* are therefore preferred in this edition, all other factors being equal, even as we adopt the structure of *A*.

c. Stemma codicum



2. EXISTING EDITIONS

This text has been transcribed once before, by the sixteenth-century scholar Melchior Hittorp, who published the seven-chapter version found in *W*. Both his inaugural 1568 edition and a 1610 re-edition were subsequently reproduced in large numbers. Hittorp's work first reappeared in the second, posthumous edition of Johann Cochlaeus' *Speculum missae* (1572), produced by the Carmelite theologian Niccolò Aurifico de Bonfigli; and soon after it appeared in Marguerin de La Bigne's influential *Sacrae bibliothecae* (1575), which ran to many editions over the next century.⁷ The 1677 edition of the latter, augmented by Philippe Despont, was the source of the text now found in *PL*. In order to communicate their own minor deviations from Hittorp's text, which is collated in full, both the Despont and *PL* editions are collated selectively below.

3. PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

Although this edition follows the structural disposition of *A*, the primary text comes from *W*. Owing to the (scribally) poor state of the latter manuscript, these readings are necessarily supplemented by other sources or editorial corrections. Both *A* and *W* include a table of contents, numbered in *W* and reproduced here. The chapter titles themselves are taken from *W*, and the missing title for the first chapter has been inferred editorially from the table of contents. However, because the order of sections follows that in *A*, the chapters have been renumbered accordingly. Since they contribute substantively to the fourth and fifth chapters, all seven 'Micrologus' sources have been collated in full wherever they concord.

⁷ N. AURIFICO DE BONFIGLI (post J. COCHLAEUS), *Speculum missae ex antiquissimis quibusdam ac vetustissimis catholicae ecclesiae patribus*, Venezia, 1572², col. 161-181; M. DE LA BIGNE, *Sacrae bibliothecae sanctorum patrum*, III, Paris, 1575¹, col. 573-592.

DE QVIBVSDAM REBVS
AD MISSAE OFFICIUM PERTINENTIBVS LIBELLVS

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

codices integri

- A* ADMONT, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 296, f. 30va-40va (s. XII¹)
W WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 131 Gud. Lat., f. 72v-85r (s. XIIⁱⁿ) (*W^r* = *man. saec. XVI*)

codices insuper ad cap. IV-V adhibiti

- C* BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Theol. Lat. 2° 368 (olim 702), f. 72v-76r (s. XII)
D DÜSSELDORF, Universitätsbibliothek, B.23, f. 127v-128v (*ca.* 1502)
E ERFURT, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA. 4° 131, f. 22v-25v (s. XII)
F ERFURT, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA. 4° 128, f. 25r-27v (s. XII)
L LEIPZIG, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 668, f. 36v-41v (s. XII/XIII)
R VATICANO, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 256, f. 96v-97r (s. XIIIⁱⁿ)
Z LEIPZIG, Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. lat. 122b, f. 11a-11b (s. XII)

editiones

- h* M. HITTORP, *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis ac ministeriis varii vestustorum aliquot ecclesiae patrum ac scriptorum libri*, Köln, 1568¹, p. 419-433
d P. DESPONT (post M. DE LA BIGNE), *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, XVIII, Lyon, 1677, p. 56-64 (= *PL*, 142, col. 1055-1080)

〈DE QVIBVSDAM REBVS
AD MISSAE OFFICIVM PERTINENTIBVS LIBELLVS〉

〈CAPITVLA〉

I. Qualiter priscis Apostolorum temporibus Missarum celebritas ageretur, donec ad hunc ritum paulatim peruenerit qui nunc in ecclesia celebratur.

5 II. De gloria in excelsis Deo.

III. De Octaua Pentecostes.

IV. De missa 'Deprecationem nostram' et concordia Euangeliorum et Apostolicarum lectionum cum caeteris officiis ac praecipue cum missis, et de officio 'Exultate Deo'.

10 V. Quare auctor officiorum ab Octaua Pentecostes usque ad Aduentum Domini uiginti tria solummodo posuerit officia, cum ordinator lectionarii uiginti quinque lectiones constituerit, exceptis his lectionibus et Euangelis quae leguntur in ebdomada Octauae Pentecostes et in dominica quinta ante Natiuitatem Domini
15 et de sancta Trinitate quae superioribus uiginti quinque coniunctae uidentur uiginti octo numerum implere.

Trad. text.: *AW h d*

Tit. *scripsi* (*iam h*), Liber sacramentorum *A*, Capitula operis Bernonis Augiensis abbatibus *W*, *om. rell. codd.*, cuius haec sunt capita *add. h*

Cap., 1 *scripsi* 2 I] *om. A et sic deinceps omnes numeros capitulorum* 3/4 donec – celebratur] *om. h* 3 ad hunc ritum paulatim] paulatim ad hunc ritum *A* 6 Pentecostes] *postquam add. capit.*: IV. Quare auctor officiorum in Aduentu Domini quatuor tantum hebdomadas numeret cum ordinator lectionarii quinque numeret *W h* (*uide Introd.*) 7 IV] *om. A, V W h* concordia] de *praem. A* 10 V] *om. A, VI W h* 10/11 ad Aduentum] *scripsi* (*iam h*), ad Aduentu *A*, Aduentu *W* 13 Octauae] Octaua *AW^{a.c.}* 16 uiginti octo] *xxviii ex xxiii corr. W*, uigesimum octauum *h* implere] *postquam add. capit.*: VII. De ieiunio quatuor temporum *h* (*uide Introd.*)

I. <QUALITER PRISCIS APOSTOLORVM TEMPORIBVS MISSARVM
CELEBRITAS AGERETVR>

- Igitur in exordio nascentis ecclesiae non eo quo nunc modo uel PL 1055
ordine sacra celebrabantur missarum sollemnia, teste etiam bea-
tissimo Gregorio papa, qui, inter multa quae constituit utilia cum
in celebratione missarum tum etiam in uario ecclesiasticarum re-
rum usu, ad conficiendum corpus et sanguinem Christi orationem 1056
dominica[m] fecit decantari, sicut de eo scriptum est: "Orationem
dominica[m] mox post canonem super hostiam censuit recitari."
De hoc et de aliis cum quosdam murmurare sentiret, piissimus pa-
ter inter alia non dedignatus est huiusmodi rationem reddere, di-
cens: "Orationem dominica[m] idcirco mox post precem dicimus,
quia mos Apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem
oblationis hostiam consecrarent. Et ualde mihi inconueniens
uisum est ut precem, quam scholasticus composuerat, super obla- 1057
tionem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem, quam redemptor noster
composuit, super eius corpus et sanguinem non diceremus." Sed
crescente statu religionis simul accreuit decus ecclesiastici hono-
ris.
- At tamen ipsum canonem non unus solus totum composuit,
sed per tempora aliud alius interposuit uel adiecit, sicut de hoc
sanctissimo papa legimus. In canone apposuit: "Diesque nostros
in tua pace dispone, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi et in
electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari." De Alexandro quoque
papa, qui a beato Petro septimus erat in ordine, ita legimus: "Hic
passionem Domini miscuit in precatione sacerdotum quando

I, 8/9 Orationem – recitari] IOH. DIAC., *V. Greg.* 2, 4 (col. 94); cfr GREG. M., *Regist. epist.* 9, 26 (p. 586, 9-10): orationem Dominicam mox post canonem dici statuistis 12/17 Orationem – diceremus] GREG. M., *Regist. epist.* 9, 26 (p. 587, 29-34); AMALAR., *Off.* 4, 26, 6 (p. 486, 11-17) 20/89 At – addidisse] cfr WALAHFR., *Exord.* 23 (p. 496, 19-503, 17) 22/24 Diesque – numerari] IOH. DIAC., *V. Greg.* 2, 17 (col. 94); cfr *Lib. pont.* 66 (vol. 1, p. 312, 7-8) 25/27 Hic – celebrantur] *Lib. pont.* 7 (vol. 1, p. 127, 2-3)

Trad. text.: *AW h d*

I, 1 I] *om. A* 1/2 Qualiter – ageretur] *scripsi e capitulis ut supra (iam h), om. codd.* 4 celebrabantur] celebrantur *A* 5 Gregorio] *GA* 5/6 cum ... tum] *scripsi (iam h), riturem ... cum A, tum ... cum W (uide adnot.)* 8 Orationem] *litt. primam om. A* 12 dominica[m] *ex domica corr. W* 18 decus] religionis et *add. A* honoris] *ex honore ut uid. corr. A* 20 At] Et *A* solus] *om. A* 26 precatione] praedicatione *A*

missae celebrantur.” Leo papa constituit ut intra actionem sacrificii diceretur ‘sanctum sacrificium’ et caetera. Deinde Gregorius tertius eiusdem nominis papa, faciens oratorium in basilica sancti
 30 Petri Apostoli in honorem omnium sanctorum, cotidiana missarum solennia ibidem celebrare constituit, pariterque in canone a sacerdote dicendum ordinavit: “Quorum sollemnitas hodie in conspectu tuae maiestatis celebratur, Domine Deus noster toto in orbe terrarum.” Quod quia specialiter ad illam pertinet celebri-
 35 tatem, non est canoni qui generaliter dicitur annotatum.

Haec de canone qui et ‘actio’ dicitur dicta sunt. Nunc de caeteris quae Dominus dederit uideamus.

Celestinus papa constituit ut Psalmi Dauid centum quinquaginta ante sacrificium psallerentur, in ordine antiphonarum ex
 40 omnibus quod antea non fiebat, nisi tantum epistola beati Pauli apostoli recitabatur et sanctum Euangelium. Letaniae, id est ‘Kyrie eleison’, ‘Christe eleison’, quae sequuntur, a Graecorum usu sumptae creduntur. Orationes autem quas collectas dicimus a diuersis auctoribus compositae creduntur a Gelasio praesule Romano et beato Gregorio papa. Vnde et in uita ipsius legimus: “Sed et Gelasianum codicem de missarum sollemniis, multa subtrahens,
 45 pauca conuertens, nonnulla superadiciens, in unius libelli uolumine coartauit,” quod uolumen librum sacramentorum praetitulauit. Et fortasse primis temporibus solius Pauli epistolae
 50 legebantur, postmodum intermixtae aliae lectiones sunt, non tantum de Nouo uerum etiam de Veteri, prout sollemnitatum ordo poscebat, testamento.

27/28 Leo – caetera] *Lib. pont.* 47 (vol. I, p. 239, 8) 28/35 Deinde – annotatum] WALAHFR., *Exord.* 23 (p. 502, 3-9) 32/34 Quorum – terrarum] *Lib. pont.* 92 (vol. I, p. 417, 14-15) 38/41 Celestinus – Euangelium] cfr *Lib. pont.* 45 (vol. I, p. 230, 2-3); WALAHFR., *Exord.* 23 (p. 497, 14-16) 41/43 Letaniae – creduntur] WALAHFR., *Exord.* 23 (p. 497, 16-17) 43/44 Orationes – creduntur] cfr WALAHFR., *Exord.* 23 (p. 498, 13-15) 45/48 Sed – coartauit] IOH. DIAC., *V. Greg.* 2, 17 (col. 94) 49/52 Et – testamento] cfr WALAHFR., *Exord.* 23 (p. 499, 16-19)

Trad. text.: *AW h d*

29 sancti] beati *A* 30 honorem] *ex bonorem corr. W^r* 34 ad illam] *om. A* 35 annotatum] annotandum *A* 41 apostoli] *om. h* 42 sequuntur] *ex sequuntur corr. W^r* 44 a Gelasio] praecipue *praem. A* 47 superadiciens] *supadiciens h* 48 coartauit] *coarctauit h* 50 postmodum] *postmodo A*

Vbi notandum ut sicut sanctum Gregorium, quicumque has uel has cantilenas composuisset, libri sacramentorum et antiphonarum, ita et beatum Hieronymum credimus ordinatorem lectionarii, ut ipsius testatur prologus appositus in capite eiusdem 'comitis' (sic eum appellauit).

Postea cum gradalia et alleluia inter Apostolicam et Euangelicam lectionem coeperunt frequentari, Hispani quasi nouitate rei percussi multum restiterunt dicentes: "In quibusdam Hispaniarum ecclesiis laudes post Apostolum decantantur priusquam Euangelium praedicetur, cum canones praecipiant post Apostolum non laudes sed Euangelium annuntiare. Praesumptio enim est ut anteponant ea quae sequi debent, nam laudes ideo Euangelium sequuntur, propter gloriam Christi quae per idem Euangelium praedicatur." Verumtamen ex auctoritate sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae postea est constitutum ut responsoria ac alleluia canantur ante sanctum Euangelium. Id est etiam in Toletano statuerunt concilio ut hymnus trium puerorum omni dominico die et in solemnitatibus martyrum in pulpito decantetur, quod tamen Romani minime faciunt nisi quater in anno his sabbatorum diebus qui praetitulatur 'in duodecim lectionibus'.

Symbolum quoque fidei catholicae post Euangelium recitatur, ut per sanctum Euangelium *corde credatur ad iustitiam*, per symbolum autem *ore confessio fiat in salutem*. Quod tamen non secundum Nicenum concilium, sed secundum Constantinopolitanum canimus translatus. Concilio quoque Toletano statutum est id

I, 74/75 Rom. 10, 10

60/66 In – praedicatur] *Conc. Visig. Conc. Tolet. 4, 12 (p. 196)* 66/68 Verumtamen – Euangelium] cfr WALAHFR., *Exord.* 23 (p. 499, 25-27) 68/72 Id – lectionibus] cfr *Conc. Visig. Conc. Tolet. 4, 14 (p. 197)*; WALAHFR., *Exord.* 23 (p. 500, 6-9) 73/79 Symbolum – decantari] cfr WALAHFR., *Exord.* 23 (p. 499, 32-500, 6)

Trad. text.: *AW h d*

53 Gregorium] *G A* 55 Hieronymum] *scripsi (iam h)*, Iheronimum *A*, Hieronimum *W* 57 comitis] libri *praem. A* 58 gradalia] gradualia *A d* 60 multum restiterunt] interseruerunt *A* In] *litt. primam om. A* 62 cum] dum *W h* praecipiant] praeciant *A* 66 Verumtamen] *litt. primam om. A* 67 postea] potestea *W* ac] et *d* 68 Id est] *Idem W' h* statuerunt] statutum *A* 73 Symbolum] ibolum *A* 74 symbolum] sybolum *W* 75 fiat in] sit ad *A* 76 Constantinopolitanum] concilium *add. A* 77 Concilio] *litt. primam om. A*

omni die dominico secundum morem orientalium ecclesiarum
 decantari. 'Agnus Dei' in confractione corporis Domini a clero et
 80 a populo Sergius papa dici constituit. Offertorium quod inter of-
 ferendum cantatur, quamuis a prioris populi consuetudine in
 usum Christianorum uenisse dicatur, tamen quis specialiter ad-
 diderit, aperte non legimus. Quemadmodum de illo angelico
 hymno 'Sanctus sanctus sanctus', uel de illa antiphona quae 'post-
 85 communionem' dicitur, fateri possumus, cum ueraciter credi
 possit priores sanctos silentio obtulisse uel communicasse, quod
 etiam hactenus in sabbato sancti Paschae solemus obseruare,
 quamquam non desint qui affirmant Xistum papam supradictum
 angelicum hymnum 'Sanctus sanctus sanctus' ad missam addi-
 90 disse.

Verum in his omnibus est attendendum quia sicut sapientissi-
 mus papa Gregorius librum sacramentorum diligentissime ad
 ueritatis lineam correxuit, ita musicae quoque modulationis har-
 moniam satis utiliter composuit ac ordinauit.

cap. 2

II. DE GLORIA IN EXCELSIS

Nunc stilus ammouendam quaestionem se uertat ad quam to-
 tus hactenus sermo habitus intendebat, uidelicet cur non liceat
 omni die dominico uel nataliciis sanctorum presbyteros illum
 5 hymnum canere quem nato in carne Domino angeli cecinere di-
 centes: 'Gloria in excelsis Deo'. Quod si concessum est illum cantare

II, 6 Gloria – Deo] Luc. 19, 38

78/79 secundum – decantari] *Conc. Visig. Conc. Tolet.* 3, 11 (p. 125) 79/80 Ag-
 nus – constiuit] cfr WALAHFR., *Exord.* 23 (p. 502, 19-21); *Lib. pont.* 86 (vol. I, p. 376, 3-4)
 80/83 Offertorium – legimus] WALAHFR., *Exord.* 23 (p. 500, 10-12) 88/89 quam-
 quam – addidissee] cfr *Lib. pont.* 8 (vol. I, p. 128, 8-9); AMALAR., *Off.* 3, 21, 9 (p. 326, 9-
 327, 18)

Trad. text.: *AWb d*

78 morem] *duae ultimae litterae sup. ras. W* 79 decantari] decantare *A*, *ultima litt.*
sup. ras. W 80 a] *ins. sup. l. W* Sergius] *Serius A* offerendum] *ex oferendum*
corr. (ut uid.) sup. ras. W 82 quis] *quid d* 85 ueraciter] *ueratiter W* 87 etiam]
ex etam corr. W^r 88 Xistum] *sup. ras. W, litt. primam om. A* 89 angelicum] *om. b*
Sanctus sanctus sanctus] Sanctus A addidissee] *om. A* 92 Gregorius] *GA*

II, 1 II. De gloria in excelsis] *om. A* 3 sermo] *ex semo corr. A* cur non] *non cur A*

in Pascha secundum praetitutionem missalis, non multo minus
licitum puto in Natiuitate Domini, quando primum coepit audiri
ab hominibus in terris, qualiter ab angelis canebatur in caelis. Pro-
ferant contradictores in medium ubinam sit a sanctis patribus uel
10 ab ipso sanctissimo papa Gregorio interdictum, et si ad haec res-
pondere non ualemus merito manus damus.

Quisquis enim uult ex Sacrae scripturae auctoritate aliquid
confirmare, debet ex Prophetarum oraculis, Apostolorum dictis,
15 antiquorum patrum conciliis necnon et eorum scriptis uel gestis,
et quod omnibus his maius est ex sancti Euangelii ueritate locum
ostendere, unde uelit sententiam suam corroborare. Vnde solemus
dicere: scriptum est in illo et in illo loco, et legimus in decretis
pontificum uel in tali concilio in illo capitulo. Sed cum sanctum 1059
20 Gregorium nusquam legamus ipsum hymnum interdixisse, liceat
nostros quoque testes idoneos introducere, quo eorum testimonio
possit probari utrumnam iure debeat decantari. Nam cum scrip-
tum sit *In ore duorum uel trium testium stat omne uerbum*, prius
proferam duos deinde multos.

25 Denique Thelesphorus papa, a beato Petro octauus, constituit
ut ante sacrificium hymnus diceretur angelicus, hoc est 'Gloria in
excelsis Deo'. Qualiter eius credi debeat testimonio, testatur mar-
tyrium quod sustinuit pro Domino. De Symmacho quoque papa
ita legimus: "Hic constituit ut omni die dominica uel nataliciis
30 martyrum 'Gloria in excelsis' hymnus diceretur." Cuius sanctitatis
uir iste fuerit, de bonis eius operibus quae fecit, ex libro Dialogo-
rum legere uolentibus satis liquebit, ubi beatus papa Gregorius
narrat quod quidam Paschasius, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae diaco-

23 Matth. 18, 16; cfr Deut. 19, 15; II Cor. 13, 1

II, 26/27 ante - Deo] *Lib. pont.* 9 (vol. 1, p. 129, 4-5); cfr AMALAR., *Off.* 3, 8, 1 (p. 286, 16-17) 29/30 Hic - diceretur] *Lib. pont.* 53 (vol. 1, p. 263, 7); cfr AMALAR., *Off.* 3, 8, 1 (p. 286, 18-20) 30/35 Cuius - liberatus] cfr GREG. M., *Dial.* 4, 42 (vol. 3, p. 150-154); BERNO, *Vdalr.* 38 (p. 258, 6-8): Quod quidam Paschasius apostolicae sedis mirae sanctitatis diaconus cuius post mortem dalmaticam feretro eius superpositam demoniacus terigit et sanatus est

Trad. text.: *AWhd*

11 Gregorio] *G A* 17 corroborare] confirmare *A* 18 in decretis] *om. A*
20 Gregorium] *G A* 23 uel] aut *d* 27 credi debeat] debeat credi *d* 29 Hic]
Sic *A*, dominica] dominico *A* 31 de bonis] ex deponis *ut uid. corr. W* 32 Grego-
rius] *G A* 33 Paschasius] Pascasius *A*

nus, cum tanti meriti apud deum esset, ut quidam daemoniacus
 35 tacta eius post mortem dalmatica a daemone sit liberatus. Tamen
 quia tanti pontificis ordinationi restitit, cuidam religioso uiro in
 purgatoriis poenis constitutus, non per somnium sed uisibiliter
 apparuit ac pro qua culpa haec pateretur innotuit. Ecce de hoc
 hymno angelico duo testes inuenti sunt idonei, qui a nemine, ut
 40 puto, possunt refelli.

Quod si adhuc tertius quaeritur, non iam unius sed sexaginta
 episcoporum in medium profero testimonium, qui in quarto To-
 letano concilio in nomine Domini congregati, tam super hoc
 quam super aliis huiusmodi hymnis promulgauerunt decretum,
 45 capitulo decimo tertio: "De hymnis," inquiunt, "etiam canendis
 et saluatoris et Apostolorum habemus exemplum. Nam et ipse
 Dominus hymnum dixisse perhibetur, Matthaeo Euangelista tes-
 tante: *Et hymno dicto exierunt in montem Oliueti*. Et Paulus Aposto-
 tolus ad Ephesios subscripsit dicens: *Implemini Spiritu loquentes*
 50 *uobis in Psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritalibus*." Et quia cerne-
 bant nonnullos in ecclesia eos hymnos spernere qui humano inge-
 nio uidebantur in laude Apostolorum et martyrum triumphos
 compositi esse, uehementer arguebant eos huiusmodi uerbis di-
 centes: "Respuant ergo et illum ab hominibus compositum quem
 55 cotidie publico priuatoque officio in fine omnium Psalmorum di-
 cimus 'Gloria honor Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto, in saecula sae-
 culorum, amen'." Pro quo nos canimus 'Gloria Patri et Filio et
 Spiritui sancto' usque in finem. Et post haec inferunt: "Nam et ille
 hymnus quem nato in carne Christo angeli cecinerunt, 'Gloria in

48 Matth. 26, 30 49/50 Eph. 5, 18-19

45/50 De – spiritalibus] *Conc. Visig.* Conc. Tolet. 4, 13 (p. 196) 50/53 Et³ – dicen-
 tes] cfr *Conc. Visig.* Conc. Tolet. 4, 13 (p. 196) 54/57 Respuant – amen] *Conc. Visig.*
Conc. Tolet. 4, 13 (p. 196-197) 58/65 Nam – ecclesiastica] *Conc. Visig.* Conc. Tolet.
 4, 13 (p. 197)

Trad. text.: *AWhd*

36 religioso] *scripsi (iam h)*, religioso *codd.* 40 puto] *ex put corr. W^r* 42 Tole-
 tano] *Tolitano A* 43 in nomine Domini congregati] *congregati in nomine Domini A*
 45 decimo tertio] *scripsi, XIII AW, sed fortasse corr. ad XII W^r, 12 (lege duodecimo) h*
inquiunt etiam] etiam inquit A 46 exemplum] *exemplis A* 47 Matthaeo] *scripsi*
(iam h), Matheo *AW* 50 uobis] *uobismetipsis d* spiritalibus] *spiritualibus h*
 52 laude] *laudem d* 54 Respuant ergo et illum] *Respuant et illum ergo h* Respuant]
ex Respuunt ut uid. corr. W^r 55 Psalmorum] *Spalmorumque ut uid. A* 56 honor
 Patri] *Patri honor A* 57 amen] *deest A*

- 60 excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae uoluntatis' <et> reli-
qua quae ibi sequuntur, ecclesiastici doctores composuerunt. Ergo
nec ipsi in ecclesiis canendi sunt, quia in sanctarum Scripturarum
locis non inueniuntur. Componuntur missae siue preces uel ora-
65 si nulla decantantur in ecclesia, uacant officia omnia ecclesiastica."
Et paulo post: "Sicut igitur orationes ita et hymnos in laudem Dei 1060
compositos nullus nostrorum ulterius improbet, sed parimodo
Gallia Hispaniaque celebrent, sintque excommunicatione plec-
tendi qui hymnos reicere fuerint ausi." Vnde sanctus pater Bene-
70 dictus iubet nos monachos ad omnes regulares cursus celebrare
hymnos quos ille uocat 'Ambrosianos'.

Ad haec potest aliquis dicere tunc temporis Gallos et Hispanos
in missarum suarum celebritate nondum habuisse usum sanctae
Romanae ecclesiae. Quod et nos non negamus. Testatur hoc ab-
75 bas Hilduinus, uir in diuina lege apprime eruditus, in ea epistola
quam ad Ludeuicum imperatorem direxit pro passione sancto-
rum martyrum Dionysii et sociorum eius, ubi inter alia quae suae
narrationi uidebantur congrua haec adiecit: "Cui astipulari ui-
dentur antiquissimi et nimia uetustate paene consumpti missales
80 libri, continentes missae ordinem more Gallico, qui ab initio re-
ceptae fidei usus in hac occidentali plaga est habitus, usquequo te-
norem quo nunc utitur Romanum suscepit." In nostri quoque
monasterii archiuo habetur missalis longe aliter ordinatus quam
Romanae ecclesiae se habeat usus.

- 85 Et quod his omnibus maius est, cum una sit fides, cur super mis-
sarum celebratione Gallicarum ecclesiae a Romana discordent,
Augustino requirenti Gregorius respondit: "Nouit fraternitas tua

66/69 Sicut – ausi] *Conc. Visig. Conc. Tolet. 4, 13* (p. 197) 69/71 Vnde – Ambro-
sianos] cfr *BENED., Reg. 9* (p. 60) 78/82 Cui – suscepit] *HILDVIN., Epist. Lud 5*
(p. 330, 20-23) (*uide adnot.*) 87/96 Nouit – uertas] *BEDA, Hist. eccl. 1, 27* (p. 80-82);
IOH. DIAC., V. Greg. 2, 37 (col. 101)

Trad. text.: *AW h d*

60 Deo – uoluntatis] *des. A* uoluntatis] angelicus est *add. in marg. W* et] *scripsi*
cum textu concilio, om. codd. 62 nec ipsi] *om. A* 67/68 sed ... celebrent] si ... cele-
brant *A* 68 Gallia] in Galicia *glossa add. in marg. h* 69 hymnos] proicientes me /
Sabaoth, Emmanuel, Sother *glossa in marg. A* (*uide adnot.*) fuerint ausi] uoluerint *A*
Benedictus] *sup. ras. W* 70 nos] *om. A* 72 Ad haec] Adhuc *A* 73 suarum] *om. A*
74/75 abbas Hilduinus] Hilduinus abbas *A*, abbas Hilduuinus (*sic*) *W* 75 diuina
lege] diuina pagina *ex diuinae paginae corr. A* 76 Ludeuicum] Ludeuigum *A*,
Ludouicum *d* 87 Gregorius] *GA*

Romanae ecclesiae consuetudinem in qua se meminit enutritam. Sed mihi placet ut, siue in Romana siue in qualibet ecclesia aliquid
 90 inuenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas et Anglorum ecclesiae, quae adhuc noua est ad fidem institutione praecipua, quae de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quae pia, quae religiosa,
 95 quae recta sunt eligas, et haec quasi uasculo collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem uertas.”

His satis instruimur exemplis nil nos delinquere, si ea quae ex auctoritate pontificum qui illum sanctum uirum tempore praecesserunt instituta suscepimus, uel ex Gallicanarum ecclesiarum aut
 100 Hispaniarum usu mutuauimus, fidei deuotione seruamus imitantes ipsius beatissimi papae praedicandam humilitatem. Qui cum reprehenderetur a quibusdam quod aliarum ecclesiarum morem sequeretur, inter alia fatetur dicens: “Si quid boni uel ipsa (uide-
 licet Constantinopolitana) uel altera ecclesia habet, ego et minores meos quos ab illicitis prohibebo in bono imitari paratus sum.
 105 Stultus est enim qui in eo se primum existimat, ut bona quae uidetur discere contemnat.”

Nam si ideo saepe dictum illum angelicum hymnum prohibemur in festiuis diebus canere, eo quod Romanorum presbyteri
 110 non solent eum canere, possumus simili modo post Euangelium symbolum reticere, quod Romani usque ad haec tempora diuae memoriae Heinrici imperatoris nullo modo cecinerunt. Sed ab
 eodem interrogati cur ita agerent me coram assistente, audiui eos
 1061 huiusmodi responsum reddere, uidelicet quod Romana ecclesia
 115 non fuisset aliquando ulla haeresis faece infecta, sed secundum sancti Petri doctrinam in soliditate catholicae fidei permaneret inconcussa. Et ideo magis his necessarium esse, illud symbolum saepius cantando frequentare, qui aliquando ulla haeresi potuerunt

103/107 Si – contemnat] GREG. M., *Regist. epist.* 9, 26 (p. 587, 46-50)

Trad. text.: *AWb d*

95 recta sunt] sunt recta *A* 99 suscepimus] et *add. W^r h* 100 Hispaniarum] Hispanicarum *b* fidei] fidei *A* 101 praedicandam] precandam *A* 108 ideo] ut *add. d* 110 canere] cantare *A* 111 diuae] diuinae *A* 112 Heinrici] *HA, ex Heinrichi corr. W^r, Henrici b* ab] an *PL (absque h d)* 113 eos] *om. A* 115 haeresis] haereseos *d* 117 magis his] his magis *A*

maculari. At domnus imperator non antea desiit quam omnium
 120 consensu id domno Benedicto apostolico persuasit ut ad publi-
 cam missam illud decantarent. Sed utrum hanc consuetudinem
 seruent adhuc, firmare non possumus quia certum non tenemus.
 Eo etiam modo possunt abici multa quae post sancti Gregorii
 tempora causa decoris uidentur adducta, cum e contrario Psal-
 125 mista dicat: *Adiciam super omnem laudem tuam.*

Et mirum ualde uidetur, cum certa sit ratione discretum quid
 soli liceat episcopo non autem presbytero (uidelicet ut ad episco-
 pum pertineant ordinationes clericorum, dedicationes ecclesia-
 rum, sacri chrismatis confectio, ad dandum Spiritum Paracletum
 130 sacra impositio manuum) quid aliud esse possit in sacramentis di-
 uinis quod non sit presbyteris commune cum episcopis, praecipue
 cum id quod excellentissimum est in omnibus sacramentis, sanc-
 tum uidelicet corpus et sanguinem Christi, cotidie sicut episcopi
 ita et consecrent presbyteri, nec sanctius sit illorum quam isto-
 135 rum. Vnde sanctus Hieronymus dicit de isdem presbyteris: "Hi
 namque in benedictione cum episcopis consortes sunt mysterio-
 rum, ac nulla in conficiendo corpore Christi et sanguine inter eos
 et episcopos credenda distantia est, quia et eucharistiam iam pri-
 dem per presbyteros benedictam, si necessitas exegerit, accipere
 140 debent." Et post pauca: "Nam si quis ad iniuriam reuocat, ut
 putet, non debere se accipere eucharistiam quam presbyter bene-
 dicit is profecto peruersus est, credens Deum duo corpora ha-
 buisse, unum maius, aliud minus, quod episcopus conficit maius,
 quod presbyteri minus. Qui Christum ita diuidit Deo iniuriam
 145 facit."

125 Adiciam – tuam] Ps. 70, 14

135/140 Hi – debent] Ps. HIER., *Ord. eccl.* (p. 45, 3-6) 140/145 Nam – facit]
 Ps. HIER., *Ord. eccl.* (p. 45, 7-46, 2)

Trad. text.: *AW h d*

119 At] Et *A* domnus] dominus *h* antea] a meo *A* 120 domno] domino *h*
 122 seruent] *ex* seruant *corr. W'* firmare] affirmare *ex* firmare *corr. W' h* 123 pos-
 sunt ... multa] multa ... possunt *A* abici] obici *d* 123/124 sancti Gregorii tempora]
 tempora sancti *G A* 124 adducta] addita *A*, adiecta *add. in marg. h* 135 Hierony-
 mus] *scripsi (iam h)*, Iheronimus *AW^{a.c.}*, Hieronimus *W^{p.c.}* 137 nulla] nullo *h* et]
 ac *h* eos] uos *h* 138 iam] *om. h*

Super haec omnia, cum in capite libri missalis quando presbyteri Romani ‘Gloria in excelsis Deo’ canere et non canere soleant legimus solummodo praetitulatum, nusquam autem uel ac beato papa Gregorio uel aliquo sanctorum patrum nobis interdictum
 150 puto, omni die dominica uel in sanctorum nataliciis liceat nobis saepe dictum hymnum canere ad augmentum laudis diuinae.

cap. 3

III. DE OCTAVA PENTECOSTES

His ita utcumque digestis, non absimile uidetur si quid de Octauis Pentecostes loquamur. Nam dum adhuc apud Gallos essem constitutus, non modicam super hac re quaestionem cognoui
 5 exortam in illis regionibus: aliis affirmantibus quod sicut Dominicae Natiuitatis ac Resurrectionis ita oporteret celebrare et Octauas Pentecostes, praecipue cum saepius in nostris officialibus libris scriptum legamus ‘post Octauam Pentecostes’; aliis e regione contendentibus in hac solemnitate qua Spiritus sanctus super
 10 Apostolos in linguis igneis apparuit, non plus quam septem dies debere expendi iuxta dona eiusdem Spiritus sancti. Sed ad hanc litem inter utrasque partes dirimendam, ipso sancto Spiritu adiuvante, ostendamus cui parti merito fauere debeamus.

Nam cum sanctus Augustinus doctor egregius de sermone Domini in monte habito disputaret, et singulas beatitudines septem donis Spiritus sancti compararet – nam prima beatitudo inceptit
 15 *Beati pauperes Spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum* – cum ad octauam perueniret ita intulit: “Octaua tamquam ad caput redit quia consummatum perfectumque ostendit et probat.
 20 Itaque in prima et octaua nominatum est regnum caelorum. Cum

III, 17 Matth. 5, 3 18 octauam] cfr Matth. 5, 10

146/148 cum – praetitulatum] cfr *Sacram. Greg.* 2 (p. 85, 2–4) (*uide adnot.*)

III, 18/27 Octaua – congruere] *AVG., De serm. Dom.* 1, 3–4 (p. 9, 177–190)

Trad. text.: *AWb d*

147 canere²] cantare *A* 149 Gregorio] *GA* 150 puto] quin *add. H*

III, 1 III. De Octaua Pentecostes] *om. A* 5 quod] ut *A* 6 oporteret] oportet *ex opotet corr. A* 9 qua] quia *d* 10 quam] *om. A* 11 ad] *om. A* 12 utrasque partes] utramque partem *A* 13 ostendamus] attendamus *A* 16 inceptit] incipit *A*

dicitur autem: *Quis nos separabit a caritate Christi? tribulatio (I),
 an angustia (II), an persecutio (III), an fames (IV), an nuditas (V),
 an periculum (VI), an gladius (VII)?* Septem sunt ergo quae per-
 25 ficiunt, nam octaua clarificat et quod perfectum est demonstrat, ut
 exordiens. Videtur ergo mihi etiam septiformis operatio Spiritus
 sancti, de qua Isaias loquitur, his gradibus sententiisque congru-
 ere." Et post aliquanta: "Haec octaua sententia, quae ad caput
 30 redit perfectumque hominem declarat, significat fortasse et
 circumcisionem octaua die in Veteri testamento, et Domini resur-
 rectionem post sabbatum qui est utique octauus dies idemque
 primus dies, et celebrationem octauarum feriarum quas in regene-
 ratione noui hominis celebramus, et numero ipso Pentecostes.
 Nam septenario numero septies multiplicato quo fiunt quadra-
 35 ginta nouem, quasi octauus additur ut quinquaginta compleantur
 et tamquam redeatur ad caput. Quo die missus est Spiritus sanc-
 tus, quo in regnum caelorum inducimur (I), et haereditatem
 accipimus (II), et consolamur (III), et pascimur (IV), et miseri-
 cordiam consequimur (V), et mundamur (VI), et pacificamur
 40 (VII), atque ita perfecti omnes extrinsecus illatas molestias pro ue-
 ritate et iustitia sustinemus (VIII)." Ex his sancti Augustini uerbis
 liquido potest colligi quid de Octauis Pentecostes possit sentiri.

Sed interim uel breuiter de sacramento nostri baptismatis ali-
 quid loquamur quod in similitudinem mortis, sepulturae, resur-
 45 rectionis Christi regitur, Apostolo teste qui ait: *Quicumque
 baptizati sumus in Christo Iesu, in morte ipsius baptizati sumus.
 Consepulti enim sumus cum illo per baptismum in mortem, ut quo-
 modo surrexit Christus a mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita et nos in*

21/23 Rom. 8, 35 26/27 septiformis – sancti] cfr Is. 11, 2-3 45/50 Rom. 6, 3-5

28/41 Haec – sustinemus] AVG., *De serm. Dom.* 1, 12 (p. 12, 250-13, 263)

Trad. text.: *AWb d*

21 dicitur autem] autem dicitur *A* Christi] *om. b* 21/23 tribulatio – gladius]
numeri sup. l. in utris codicis AW, sed om. b 22 angustia] agustia *W* nuditas]
 nuclitas *W* 26 Videtur] Videntur *W* 27 Isaias] *scripsi*, Ysaïas *A*, Esaïas *W b*
 30 octaua] octauo *A* 37/41 inducimur – sustinemus] *numeri sup. l. in utris codicis*
AW, sed om. b 39 consequimur] consequamur *W* pacificamur] pascificamur *W*
 40 illatas] *ex iuatas corr. W'* 41 sustinemus] sustineamus *A* 42 colligi] intelligi *b*
 45 regitur] agitur *A* 47 baptismum] *ex baptimum corr. W'* 48 mortuis] *ex mortis*
corr. W'

nouitate uitae ambulemus. Si enim complantati facti sumus simili-
 tudini mortis eius, simul et resurrectionis erimus, et caetera.

Vnde et beatus papa Leo “In baptismatis,” inquit, “regula et
 mors interuenit interfectione peccati, et sepulturam triduanam
 imitatur dimersio, et ab aquis eleuatio resurgentis instar est de se-
 pulcro.” Vnde rectissime sancti patres duo tantum legitima tem-
 55 pora ad baptizandum, si nulla necessitas interuenit, constituerunt,
 sabbatum uidelicet Paschae et sabbatum Pentecostes, quae utra- 1063
 que per octo dies celebrantur. Merito consepeliuntur Christo
 baptizati in sabbato, ut cum ipso ualeant resurgere die dominico.
 Sicut enim sabbatum requiem animarum, sic dominicus dies qui
 60 est primus et octauus significat resurrectionem corporum.

Si enim certi gratia mysterii per octo dies noster baptismus co-
 litur, ita ut octaua die uestimenta mutantur baptizatorum, cur non
 magis celebratur per octo dies baptismus Apostolorum? Quod
 enim Apostoli per aduentum Spiritus sancti qui in igne apparuit,
 65 baptizati sunt in die sancto Pentecostes, testatur in Euangelio Io-
 hannes Baptista qui confluentibus ad se turbis ait: *Ego quidem uos
 baptizo in aqua in paenitentiam. Qui autem post me uenturus est
 fortior me est, cuius non sum dignus calceamenta portare. Ipse bap-
 tizabit in Spiritu sancto et igne.* Et ipse Dominus ad Apostolos ait:
 70 *Iohannes quidem baptizauit aqua, uos autem baptizabimini Spi-
 ritu sancto non post multos hos dies.*

De qua quidem Octauae Pentecostes solemnitate dicit quidam
 doctor egregie: “Octauus dies est qui et primus secundum formam
 octo beatitudinum. Prima beatitudo dicit: *Beati pauperes Spiritu*
 75 *quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.* Octaua ita: *Beati qui per-
 secutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam quoniam ipsorum est reg-
 num caelorum.* Ad regeneratos pertinent hae sententiae, ut qui
 pauperes sunt in hac uita propter regnum caelorum, usque ad fi-

66/69 Matth. 3, 11 70/71 Act. 1, 5 74/75 Matth. 5, 3 75/77 Matth. 5, 10

51/53 In – sepulcro] LEO M., *Epist.* 16, 3 (col. 698) 54/57 Vnde – celebrantur] cfr
 LEO M., *Epist.* 16, 5 (col. 701) (*sed uide adnot.*) 73/83 Octauus – Pentecostes] AMA-
 LAR., *Off.* 4, 29, 6-7 (p. 497, 5-498, 15)

Trad. text.: *AW h d*

52 et] *om. h* 53 dimersio] *trina praem. A* 58 ipso] *Christo A* 61 certi] *uere A*
 65 Pentecostes] *ex Pentecosten corr. W^r* 66/67 uos baptizo] *baptizo uos A*
 68 me] *om. W* Ipse] *uos add. h* 69 sancto] *om. A* 70 baptizabimini] *baptiza-
 bini A* 72 qua] *hac A* 73 est] *om. A* 75 Octaua] *ex Octo corr. W^r* 77 hae] *ex
 haec corr. W^r* 78 regnum] *ins. in marg. A^{a.m.}*

nem uitae perseuerantes sint, ut accipiant regnum pro quo labo-
 80 rauerunt hic. Baptismus uero neophytorum, quamuis in sabbato
 agatur, ad illum baptismum pertinet quem Apostoli acceperunt in
 die sancto Pentecostes, cuius octaua est dies dominica sequens
 quam solemus appellare 'Octauas Pentecostes'." Et iterum post
 aliqua: "Celebratur per septem dies opus septiformis Spiritus, et
 85 octaua die consummatio et declaratio et glorificatio eiusdem ope-
 ris. Quod si ita est, merito eandem glorificationem in nostris of-
 ficiis recolit octaua dies, quae redit ad caput quae et prima dies.
 Itaque sicut celebrauimus maiestatem Spiritus sancti in Pente-
 coste, celebremus et in Octauis eiusdem festiuitatis, quatenus sae-
 90 pissime recolendo eius dona dignetur caritas eius se profusius
 infundere cordibus nostris."

Ex his omnibus manifesta ratio patet quod hi qui Octauam
 Pentecostes celebrant rectius agunt quam qui hoc agere nolunt.
 Igitur iustissime et rectissime a sancta matre catholica ecclesia toto
 95 orbe terrarum diffusa Octauae Pentecostes solemnitas celebratur,
 ueneratur et colitur. Si quis uero huic sanae diffinitioni contradicit
 eiusdem matris ecclesiae unitatem scindit. Finito tandem eo quo
 hactenus utebamur sermone, libet aliam rationem inchoare.

cap. 5

IV. DE CONCORDIA OFFICIORVM DOMINICALIVM

⟨Dominica post Pentecostes⟩ De missa 'Deprecationem nos- 1066
 tram quaesumus Domine benignus exaudi' quae in quibusdam

84/91 Celebratur – nostris] AMALAR., *Off.* 4, 29, 16 (p. 500, 34-41)

IV, 2/3 Deprecationem – exaudi] *Corp. orat.* 1067; *Sacram. Greg.* 1135 (p. 391; Coll., Dom. 3 p. Pent.)

Trad. text.: *AW* C(*inc. ab* IV, 2 De missa) E(*inc. ab* IV, 2 De missa) F(*inc. ab* IV, 2 De missa) L(*inc. ab* IV, 2 De missa) D(*inc. ab* IV, 2 De missa) R(*inc. ab* IV, 2 De missa) *h d*

79 pro quo] *ex proqis (ut uid) corr. W¹* 79/80 laborauerunt hic] hic laborauerunt
A h 80 sabbato] *ex sabbatoa corr. W¹* 82 dies] die *W* 83 solemus appellare] ap-
 pellamus *A* 85 glorificatio] clarificatio *A* 88 maiestatem] maigestatem *A* Pentecoste] Pentecosten *A* 89 in] *om. A* 92 hi qui] *om. A* 94 a] *ex ac corr. W*
 96 ueneratur] ueraciter *A*

IV, 1 IV] *scripsi, om. A, V W* De concordia officiorum dominicalium] De missa (Ad missam *A*) i.e. *prima uerba capituli, quae non iter. sunt A E L, om. C F*, De missa 'Deprecationem' *R*, De missa 'Deprecationem nostram' et concordia officiorum dominicalium *h* 2 Dominica post Pentecostes] *scripsi*, Dominica prima post Octauas Pentecostes *D* De missa] Ad missam *A*, Oratio *D* 3 quaesumus – exaudi] *des. R*

sacramentorum libris bis solet poni: primo uidelicet peracta Pen-
 5 tecostes ebdomada, post officia ieiunii mensis quarti, quae praeti-
 tulatur in missali 'Dominica uacat', item secundo post duas
 dominicas, tertia incipiente, ubi quaerendum, reor, quo loco rec-
 tius dicatur. Nam per singula quatuor tempora peracto ieiunio se-
 quens dominica uacat ab officio, quamuis missae non desint inde
 10 compositae. Et quia officia ieiunii primi mensis in prima Quadra-
 gesimae ebdomada et ieiunii quarti mensis in ebdomada Pentecos-
 tes inueniuntur conscripta (licet non semper), eodem perueniant
 ordine. Tamen, sicut peracta prima Quadragesimae ebdomada ea
 dominica quae ibi posita est dicitur et lectiones Apostoli et sancti
 15 Euangelii leguntur, ita et hic agendum esse recte uidetur, praeci-
 pue cum eadem missa, lectio apocalypsis Iohannis et Euangelium
 quae eodem die leguntur miro inter se concordent modo. Nam
 sacerdos ex sua et sanctae ecclesiae uoce deprecatur sibi praestari
 supplicandi affectum et defensionis auxilium. Et in lectione scrip-
 20 tum est: 'Et prociderunt uiginti quatuor seniores ante sedentem in
 throno, et adorabant uiuentem in saecula saeculorum amen.' Et in
 Euangelio princeps Iudaeorum Nicodemus uenit ad Iesum nocte
 rogans et interrogans de animae suae salute.

Et deinceps finita hac eadem ebdomada usque ad Aduentum
 25 Domini, par numerus inuenitur tam officiorum quam et missarum. 1067
 Nam uiginti tres ebdomadae computantur, ita concordantes ut
 aliquando omnis cantus, uidelicet antiphonarum quae dicuntur

IV, 20/21 Et – amen] Apoc. 4, 10 22/23 princeps – salute] cfr Ioh. 3, 1-15

Trad. text.: *AWCEFLDRh d*

4 libris] libris *A* primo] *om. R* 5 officia] officiam *D* ieiunii] iunii *CEFL*
 quae] dominica *praem. R* 6 uacat] uacante *L* item secundo post duas] item (et *D*)
 post duas (secundas *L*) *CEFLDR* 7 ubi] *om. CFR* quaerendum] esse *add. L*
 8 tempora] tepa *W* 10 Et] *ins. in marg. R* officia] officio *DR* 11 ieiunii] iunii *F*,
 ieiunia *D* 12 conscripta] esse scripta *L* non] *om. sed ins. in extremitate marg. W*,
om. h 13 prima] primae *A* ebdomada] in *add. R* 14 est dicitur] dicitur esse *R*
 14/15 sancti Euangelii] Euangelia *R* 15 ita et] et ita *A* agendum] hic *add. L* recte
 uidetur] recte recte (*sic W*, recte et *h*, rectum uidetur *L* 16 missa] et *add. R* Euan-
 gelium] Euangelia *FD* 17 concordent] concordant *FD h* Nam] et *add. FL R*
 18 ex] et *h* sanctae] *om. h* 19 affectum] effectum *FR* defensionis] ex defensiones
corr. W 21 et' – amen] *des. R* adorabant] adorauerunt *F* saecula] saeculo *W*
 22 Nicodemus] scripsi (*iam h*), Nichodemus *codd.* 23 rogans et] *om. R* animae suae
 salute] salute animae suae *L*, animae salute *R* 24 hac eadem] eadem hac *CF* 25 et]
om. D 26 Nam] et *add. L*

‘introitus’, ‘gradalium’, ‘offertoriorum’, ‘communiorum’, cum
lectionibus Apostolicis et Euangelicis ita conueniant ut uelut
30 quoddam organum distantis inter se uocis concordem sympho-
niam reddant.

〈Dominica prima post Octauam Pentecostes〉 Vt enim exem-
pli gratia pauca ex plurimis proferamus, primam dominicam post
Octauam Pentecostes intendamus, ubi introitus ita incipit ‘Do-
35 mine in tua misericordia speraui’, et responsorium ‘Ego dixi Do-
mine V. Beatus qui intelligit super egenum’, offerenda quoque
‘Intende uoci orationis meae’.

Nonne his uocibus uidetur tibi Prophetam in uoce pauperis La-
zari uel in persona sanctae ecclesiae, hoc quidem tempore pauperis
40 et afflictæ, ad Deum proclamare, ut in hac conualle lacrimarum
dignetur misereri membrorum suorum? Et quid ipso die lectio Io-
hannis nisi tota caritatis melle redundat, dum dicit: ‘Deus caritas
est, et qui manet in caritate in Deo manet et Deus in eo’? Et paulo
superius: ‘Deus dilexit nos et nos debemus inuicem diligere’. Quid
45 autem sanctum Euangelium sonat, nisi ut ad misericordiae opera

34/35 Domine – speraui] cfr Ps. 12, 6 35/36 Ego – egenum] cfr Ps. 40, 5; Ps. 40, 2
37 Intende – meae] cfr Ps. 5, 3 42/43 Deus – eo] I Ioh. 4, 16 44 Deus – diligere]
I Ioh. 4, 11

34/35 Domine – speraui] AMS 173 (Int., Dom. 1 p. Oct. Pent.) 35/36 Ego – ege-
num] AMS 173 (Grad., Dom. 1 p. Oct. Pent.) 37 Intende – meae] AMS 173 (Off.,
Dom. 1 p. Oct. Pent.) 40 in hac conualle lacrimarum] cfr BERNO, *Serm.* 2 (ed. Barré,
p. 51): in hac ualle lacrimarum; BERNO, *Serm.* 4 (ed. Barré, p. 57): in hac conualle lacri-
marum (*uide adnot.*)

Trad. text.: *AWCEFLDR h d*

28 gradalium] gradualium *CEFL DR h* offertoriorum] offertorum *A*
29 Euangelicis] Euangelis *C*, cum Euangelicis *L* conueniant] conueniat *R* 30 dis-
tantis] ex dictatis *ut uid. corr. C*, distantes *R* concordem] concordent et *R* 32 Do-
minica prima post Octauam Pentecostes] *scripsi*, Dominica prima *add. in marg. C, om.*
rell. codd. Vt] Et *A* 33 gratia] causa *R* plurimis] multis *A* 35 misericordia
speraui] *des. L DR* speraui] *deest CEF* et responsorium] gradalis *L R* dixi] *ins.*
sup. l. E Domine] *deest ALR* 36 V.] uersus (*litt. primam iter.*) ex uersus *corr. A*, et
uersus *Wh, om. F* super egenum] *des. ACEFLDR* quoque] *om. L* 37 orationis
meae] *des. ALDR* 38 his] suis *h* Prophetam] Propheta *AD* 39 sanctae] *om. A*
40 Deum] Dominum *CEFL DR* proclamare] clamare *A* lacrimarum] *om.*
CEFLD 41 ipso] ipsam *L* 42/44 dum – diligere] *om. R* dum] cum *CEFLD*
43 et qui – eo] et caetera *LD* paulo] post *add. D* 45 autem] enim *L* sanctum]
om. A ut] *om. A*

nos prouocet, quando et pauperis Lazari patientiam in sinu Abrahae remuneratam, et diuitis superbi auaritiam ostendit damnatam? Pro huiusmodi re sacerdos illum deprecatur qui est in se sperantium fortitudo, ut assit inuocationibus nostris propitius; et
 50 quia sine illo nihil potest nostra mortalis infirmitas, sicut nec Lazari sine eius adiutorio potuit, praestet nobis auxilium gratiae suae ut in exsequendis mandatis eius, illum diligendo ex toto corde et ex tota anima et ex omnibus uiribus, et proximum nostrum sicut nosmetipsos et uoluntate illi et actione placeamus, ut quandoque
 55 post huius uitae terminum in sinu Abrahae recepti, unusquisque nostrum laeto cordis iubilo cantare possit cum Lazaro 'Narrabo omnia mirabilia tua, laetabor et exultabo in te, psallam nomini tuo, altissime'.

Et in hunc modum per uiginti tres ebdomadas, si illa missa superius dicta tertio loco praetermittitur, aut omnia cum omnibus, aut aliqua cum aliquibus, maxime autem si diligenter inspicitur, missae concordant cum Euangelicis lectionibus.

Et ne multiplex sermo lectori fastidium gignat, praetermissis plurimis, pauca adhuc dicamus sub exemplis.

65 <Dominica quinta> Qualiter illa Euangelica lectio qua Dominus Petro praedicat 'Noli timere ex hoc iam homines eris capiens,

46/47 pauperis – damnatam] cfr Luc. 16, 19-31 55 in sinu Abrahae] cfr Luc. 10, 22-23 56/58 Narrabo – altissime] cfr Ps. 9, 2-3 66/67 Noli – illum] Luc. 5, 10-11

48/54 qui – placeamus] cfr *Corp. orat.* 1245; *Sacram. Greg.* 1129 (p. 390; Coll., Dom. 1 p. Pent.): Deus in te sperantium fortitudo, adesto propitius inuocationibus nostris, et quia sine te nihil potest mortalis infirmitas, praesta auxilium gratiae tuae, ut in exsequendis mandatis tuis, et uoluntate tibi et actione placeamus 56/58 Narrabo – altissime] *AMS* 173 (Comm., Dom. 1 p. Oct. Pent.)

Trad. text.: *AW CEFL D(expl. post IV, 62 lectionibus) R(expl. post IV, 62 lectionibus) h d*

46 prouocet] prouocat *W*, prouocent *F* et] *om. R d* Abrahae] Habrahae *C* et sic deinceps 49 inuocationibus] in uocibus *F* 50 nostra mortalis infirmitas] mortalis infirmitas nostra *CEFL R*, mortalis nostra infirmitas *D* nostra] *om. A* 51 eius adiutorio] eo *CEFL D*, illo *R* 52 auxilium] axi- praem. tum del. *A* 52 eius] suis *D* 53 uiribus] fortasse corr. *W* 54 quandoque] uel add. *FR* 55 sinu] sinum *CEFL R* 57/58 tua – altissime] des. *L* laetabor – altissime] des. *CEFDR* 59 tres] quatuor *R* 61 aliqua cum aliquibus] cum aliquibus aliqua *D* si diligenter inspicitur] suscepimus diligenter *L* 62 concordant] concordat *L* lectionibus] sermonibus *L*, et caetera add. et sic expl. *D* 65 Dominica quinta] add. in marg. *C*, *om. rell. codd.* Qualiter] autem add. *L* lectio] in add. *L*

et ille subductis ad terram nauibus cum sociis suis secutus est illum' congruat orationi missae, non est laboriosum inuestigare, quae huiusmodi componitur prece: 'Deus qui diligentibus te
 70 bona inuisibilia praeparasti, infunde cordibus nostris tui amoris affectum, ut te in omnibus et super omnia diligentes promissiones tuas quae omne desiderium superant consequamur.' Vt haec omnia cum Apostolis mereamur consequi, hortatur nos Petrus in lectione 'Omnes unanimes' existere in oratione.

1068

75 <Dominica septima> Iterum illi Euangelicae lectioni ubi Dominus quatuor millia hominum septem panibus et pisciculis paucis paut, haec missa congruit: 'Deus cuius prouidentia in sui dispositione non fallitur, te supplices exoramus ut noxia cuncta submoueas et omnia nobis profutura concedas.' Prouidit enim
 80 Deus quid esurienti populo esset factururus. Merito populi diuinae largitatis pabulo refecti, cum Danihele Propheta decantant laeti 'Sicut in holocausto arietum, rogantes ut sic fiat sacrificium in conspectu Domini, ut placeat tibi'. Et quia haec uerba ad legalia pertinebant sacrificia, et nunc in mysterium corporis et sanguinis
 85 Christi sunt mutata, testantur uerba secreta quae ita incipiunt

74 Omnes unanimes] I Petr. 3, 8 75/77 Dominus – paut] cfr Marc. 8, 1-9 (uide adnot.) 82/83 Sicut – tibi] cfr Dan. 3, 40

69/72 Deus – consequamur] *Corp. orat.* 1532; *Sacram. Greg.* 1144 (p. 393; Coll., Dom. 6 p. Pent.) 77/79 Deus – concedas] *Corp. orat.* 1188; *Sacram. Greg.* 1150 (p. 395; Coll., Dom. 8 p. Pent.) 82/83 Sicut – tibi] *AMS* 179 (Off., Dom. 7 p. Oct. Pent.) (uide adnot.)

Trad. text.: *AWCEFLZ* (inc. ab IV, 83 -ceat) *h d*

67 ad terram nauibus] nauibus ad terram *F* est illum] eum *F* 68 congruat] *om. A* laboriosum inuestigare] inuestigare laboriosum *CEFL* 70/72 infunde – consequamur] et caetera *A* 71/72 ut – consequamur] *des. CEFL* 71 promissiones] promissionis *W* 72 Vt] Et *A*, autem *add. C*, enim *add. L* 73 mereamur] *om. F* in lectione] *om. CEFL* 74 existere in oratione] in oratione existere *W h* 75 Dominica septima] *scripsi*, Dominica sexta *add. in marg. C, om. rell. codd.* 76 quatuor milia] *scripsi* (*iam em. h*), septem milia *A CEFL*, milia milia *W* (uide adnot.) 76/77 septem ... paucis paut] paut septem ... paucis *A* 77 paut] saciauit *EFL* haec] hic *F* 78 dispositione] ex dispositioni *corr. W* 78/79 te – concedas] et caetera *A, des. CEFL* 80 populo] homini *A* Merito] enim *add. L* 81 pabulo] *sup. ras. W* refecti] ex reffectis *corr. L* Danihele] Daniele *A CEFL h* 82 holocausto] holocaustum *EL* arietum] *om. L* 83 tibi] *scripsi*, sibi *rel. codd.*, si- *sup. ras. W* (uide adnot.) 84 et] ea *add. h* 84/85 corporis et sanguinis Christi] corporis Christi et sanguinis *h* 85 Christi] Domini *EL* sunt mutata] mutata sunt *C*, mutata *FL* testantur] haec *add. CFLZ* secreta] secretae *C*

‘Deus qui legalium differentiam hostiarum unius sacrificii perfectione sanxisti’.

90 <Dominica decima> Illi Euangelio in quo Dominus super ciuitatem Hierusalem fleuit, haec oratio congruit: ‘Deus qui omnipotentiam tuam parcendo maxime et miserando manifestas, multiplica super nos gratiam tuam.’

95 <Dominica undecima> Illud Euangelium ‘Duo homines’ et illa Apostolica lectio quae ea die legitur bene concordant, dum Apostolus dicit ‘Ego sum minimus Apostolorum qui non sum dignus uocari Apostolus, quoniam persecutus sum ecclesiam Dei’, et publicanus ‘a longe stans, nolebat nec oculos ad caelum leuare, sed percutiebat pectus suum dicens: Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori’. Inter hos medius stans sacerdos orat et dicit: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui abundantia pietatis tuae et merita supplicum
100 excedis et uota, effunde super nos misericordiam tuam, ut dimittas quae conscientia metuit et adicias quod oratio non praesumit.’

<Dominica duodecima> Nunc uideamus de duodecima dominica post Octauas Pentecostes, quae concordia in illo officio esse

88/89 Dominus – fleuit] cfr Luc. 19, 41-47 92 Duo homines] Luc. 18, 10 (lect. ipsa est Luc. 18, 10-14) 94/95 Ego – Dei] I Cor. 15, 9 95/97 et – peccatori] Luc. 18, 13

86/87 Deus – sanxisti] *Corp. orat.* 1776a; *Sacram. Greg.* 1151 (p. 395; Secr., Dom. 8 p. Pent.) 89/91 Deus – tuam] *Corp. orat.* 1952; *Sacram. Greg.* 1159 (p. 397; Coll., Dom. 11 p. Pent.) 98/101 Omnipotens – praesumit] *Corp. orat.* 3887; *Sacram. Greg.* 1162 (p. 398; Coll., Dom. 12 p. Pent.)

Trad. text.: *AWCEFLZh d*

86 differentiam] differentia *Wh* unius] huius *L*, unitus *Z* 87 sanxisti] *om. FZ*
88 Dominica decima] *scripsi*, Dominica septima *add. in marg. C, om. rel. codd.* Illi] In *A* 89 Hierusalem fleuit] fleuit Iherusalem *A*, Ierusalem (Iherusalem *Z*) fleuit *EFLZ* 90/91 tuam – tuam] *des. Z* parcendo – tuam] *des. CEFL* 91 multiplica – tuam] *des. A* gratiam] misericordiam *h* 92 Dominica undecima] *scripsi*, Dominica octaua *add. in marg. C, om. rel. codd.* Illud] Et *praem. Z* illa] *om. Z* 93 concordant] concordat *FZ* 93/94 dum Apostolus dicit] cum Apostolus dicit *CEFZ, om. L* 94 Ego] enim *add. Z* 94/95 qui – Dei] et caetera *L* 95 quoniam – Dei] *des. CEFZ* publicanus] publicanus *W* 96/97 nolebat – peccatori] *solum uocales F*, et caetera *ELZ* 98 medius stans sacerdos] sacerdos medius stans *C* 99 abundantia] abundantiam *Z* 99/101 et – praesumit] et caetera *C* 99 supplicum] supplicantium *Z* 100/101 effunde – praesumit] *des. Z* 101 conscientia] *conins. sup. l. W* praesumit] Per *add. (uidelicet doxologiam) F* 102 Dominica duodecima] *add. in marg. C, om. rel. codd.* uideamus] *ins. sup. l. C* duodecima dominica] duodecim dominicis *A* 103 Octauas] Octauam *Z*

possit. Nam in Euangelio secundum Marcum eo die legimus qua-
 105 liter adducunt Domino surdum et mutum, et deprecabantur illum
 ut imponat illi manum. Et post pauca: 'Et statim apertae sunt au-
 res eius, et solutum est uinculum linguae eius, et loquebatur recte.'
 Quod intuens Propheta ex persona infirmantis introitu deprecatur
 Deum dicens 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende, Domine ad
 110 adiuuandum me festina'. Congruit etiam titulus eiusdem Psalmi
 qui ita inscribitur: *In finem David, in rememorationem eo quod
 saluum me fecit Dominus*. Cernens sacerdos hanc sanitatum gra-
 tiam non nisi ex diuino munere euenire, orat ad Dominum huius-
 modi prece: 'Omnipotens et misericors Deus, de cuius munere
 115 uenit ut tibi a fidelibus tuis digne et laudabiliter seruiatur, tribue
 quaesumus nobis ut ad promissiones tuas sine offensione curra-
 mus.' Vnde et in lectione Apostolus profitetur fiduciam se habere
 per Christum ad Deum. Et in responsorio iam quasi soluto lin-
 guae uinculo, Propheta laudes se Deo promittit referre dicendo
 120 'Benedicam Domino in omni tempore, semper laus eius in ore
 meo V. In Domino laudabitur anima mea'. In lectione introduci-

105/106 adducunt – manum] cfr Marc. 7, 31-37 106/107 Et² – recte] Marc. 7, 35
 109/110 Deus – festina] cfr Ps. 69, 2 111/112 Ps. 69, 1 117/118 profitetur –
 Deum] cfr II Cor. 3, 4 (lect. ipsa est II Cor. 3, 4-9) 120/121 Benedicam – mea] cfr
 Ps. 33, 2-3

109/110 Deus – festina] AMS 184 (Int., Dom. 12 p. Oct. Pent.) 114/116 Omni-
 potens – curramus] Corp. orat. 3739; Sacram. Greg. 1165 (p. 399; Coll., Dom. 13 p. Pent.)
 120/121 Benedicam – mea] AMS 184 (Grad., Dom. 12 p. Oct. Pent.) (uide adnot.)

Trad. text.: *AWCEFLZ* (lac. hab. in IV, 110/113 titulus – nisi) *h d*

104 secundum Marcum] *om. CEFLZ* eo die legimus] legimus eo die *CEFLZ*
 105 adducunt] *fortasse* addunit *Z* Domino] ad Dominum *CEFLZ* illum] eum
CEFLZ 106 manum] manus *h* 108 introitu] in *praem. CEFLh* deprecatur]
 deprecatus *Z* 109 Deum] Dominum *C* 109/110 meum – festina] *des. C* in-
 tende – festina] *des. E* Domine – festina] *des. AFLZ* 111 inscribitur] inscribitur *W*
 finem] fine *E* rememorationem] remunerationem *CEFZ* 111/112 eo quod saluum
 me] quod me saluum *CEFL* (lac. hab. *Z*) 112 Dominus] Deus *Z* Cernens] autem
add. C 114 et misericors] sempiternae *Z* 115/116 ut – curramus] et caetera *C*
 115 a fidelibus tuis digne et laudabiliter] digne et laudabiliter a fidelibus tuis *E* 115/
 116 et – curramus] *des. Z* tribue – curramus] *des. A* 116 curramus] Per *add., uide-*
licet doxologiam F 118 responsorio] grad *cum signo abbrev. Z* linguae] liguae *Z*
 119 laudes se] laudasse *W*, se laudes *CEFLZ* 120/121 Domino – meo] *des. L*
 120 Domino] Dominum *W h* (uide adnot.) 120/121 in – meo] *des. CEFZ*
 121 V.] *om. AWEFLZ h* anima mea] *des. L* mea] *deest Z*

tur nomen Moysi et in offerenda 'Precatus est Moyses in conspectu Domini' pro peccatis populi sui, ut sicut in Euangelio 1069 corpore infirmum, ita hic sanet Dominus populum in anima languidum; unde scriptum est 'Et placatus factus est Dominus de 125 malignitate, quam dixit facere populo suo' et in uersu 'Dixit Dominus ad Moysen: inuenisti gratiam in conspectu meo et scio te prae omnibus'. Sic uterque populus Noui ac Veteris testamenti curatus diuina commemorat beneficia, ita canens cum Propheta 'De 130 fructu operum tuorum Domine satiabitur terra, ut educas panem de terra et uinum laetificet cor hominis'. Terra, quae in primo homine maledicta spinas et tribulos germinauit, nunc caelesti imbre perfusa ac bonorum operum fructu satiata, illum panem producit qui de caelo descendit, cuius gustu reficimur et uini poculo in 135 mysterio sanguinis Christi potamur, ut oleum diuinae misericordiae faciem interioris hominis exhilaret et panis eiusdem cor hominis confirmet.

140 <Dominica decima tertia> Illi Euangelio ubi Dominus peritum legis de mandato interrogat, et ille respondens dixit 'Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex

122 nomen Moysi] cfr II Cor. 3, 7 122/123 Precatus – Domini] cfr Ex. 32, 11 125/126 Et – suo] cfr Ex. 32, 14 126/128 Dixit – omnibus] cfr Ex. 33, 17 129/131 De – hominis] cfr Ps. 103, 13-15 138/143 Dominus – praemium] cfr Luc. 10, 23-37 139/142 Diliges – ipsum] Luc. 10, 27

122/123 Precatus – Domini] AMS 184 (Off., Dom. 12 p. Oct. Pent.) 125/126 Et – suo] AMS 184 (Off., Dom. 12 p. Oct. Pent.) 126/128 Dixit – omnibus] AMS 184 (Off., Dom. 12 p. Oct. Pent.) 129/131 De – hominis] AMS 184 (Comm., Dom. 12 p. Oct. Pent.); cfr BERNO, *Ton. prol.* 9, 36-37 (p. 59)

Trad. text.: *AWCEFLZ* (lac. hab. in IV, 133/135 bonorum – sanguinis) *h d*

122 Moysi] Moisis *h in'*] *om. Z* 124 populum] populum suum *C anima] animam LZ* 126 uersu] dixit *add. Z* Dominus] *om. EF* 128 uterque populus] populus uterque *L* Noui ac Veteris testamenti] Noui testmenti ac Veteris *Z* curatus] *om. Z* 129 ita] *om. A* 130/131 ut – hominis] *des. CEFLZ* 131 Terra] enim *add. C*, uidelicet *add. Z* 132 germinauit] *om. A* 132/133 imbre perfusa] perfusa imbre *A*, imbre per sua *W* 133 panem producit] producit panem *F* 134 cuius] huius *F* gustu] cotidie *add. CEFLZ* 135 mysterio] ministerio *Z* Christi] *om. L* 136 eiusdem] *om. A* 138 Dominica decima tertia] *scripsi*, Dominica decima *add. in marg. C, om. rell. codd.* Dominus] Dominum *W* 138/139 peritum legis] legisperitum *h* 139 de mandato interrogat] interrogat de mandato *CEFLZ* 140 Deum tuum] *om. W* 140/142 ex¹ – ipsum] et reliqua *CEF*, et caetera *LZ*

omnibus uiribus tuis et ex omni mente tua, et proximum tuum sicut te ipsum', et Samaritanus curat illum uulneratum et stabulario dat et promittit praemium, congruit haec oratio ad Dominum: 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus da nobis fidei spei et caritatis
145 augmentum, et ut mereamur assequi quod promittis, fac nos amare quod praecipis.'

⟨De ieiuniis in Septembris⟩ Haec et alia quae uel praetermissa uel dicta sunt uel quae adhuc restant, si diligenti cura obseruentur, concordabili fine concluduntur si tamen illud officium 'Exultate
150 Deo' nullo canitur die dominico. Nam cum caeterae dominicae quae post ieiunia uacant lectiones et Euangelia habeant constituta, et haec dominica quae hic uacat ita non habeat, iure illud officium praetermittitur ut in caeteris concordia reseruetur. Si quis uero obicit cur officium quartae feriae non hic similiter cantetur
155 sicut in Aduentu Domini et in Quadragesima, respondemus quia cum quatuor ebdomadae in dominico Aduentu ante Natale Domini sint praenotatae, et in Quadragesima per singulos dies singula sint officia constituta, ut in Aduentu Domini quarta et in Quadragesima secunda dominica uacent, merito ab ecclesiasticis
160 uiris est constitutum qualiter illi duo dies supplerentur per officia quartarum feriarum. At uero finita Pentecostes ebdomada ac sequente dominica quae uacat, non iam officium quartae feriae repetitur, sed 'Spiritus Domini' canitur. Ita et finito septimi mensis ieiunio non repetendum puto quartae feriae officium, sed magis,

144/146 Omnipotens – praecipis] *Corp. orat.* 3819; *Sacram. Greg.* 1168 (p. 399-400; Coll., Dom. 14 p. Pent.) 149/150 Exultate Deo] *AMS* 190 (Int., Fer. 4 Q.T. Sept.) 163 Spiritus Domini] *AMS* 106, 172ter (Int., Pent./Oct. Pent.)

Trad. text.: *AWCEFLZhd*

141 mente] *sup. graui ras. W* 142 te] *temet A* 143 Dominum] *Deum ACEFLZ* 145/146 et – praecipis] *et caetera C, om. EFLZ* 147 De ieiuniis in septembris] *scripsi alia* his similia *Z* 148 adhuc] *ad hunc Z* 149 concordabili] *concordali A, concordibili W, concordi h* fine concluduntur] *concluduntur fine CEFLZ* 151 et] *ut E^{a.c.} F* 153 in] *om. L* caeteris] *dominici add. CEFLZ* reseruetur] *seruetur C* 155 in] *om. Z* respondemus] *responde A* 156 Natale] *Natalem EF* 157 singula] *om. A* 158 Aduentu] *ex Aduitu corr. W¹ in² om. A* 159 dominica uacent] *dominica uacet CFZ, uacet dominica EL* ab] *in add. W* 160 qualiter] *uel quatenus add. sup. l. C* per officia] *per officii ad W^{a.c.}, per officia ad W¹, om. Z* 161 finita] *sicut praem. L* Pentecostes] *Pentecosten F* 161/162 ac sequente dominica] *ac sequentem dominicam Z, et sequenti dominica h* 163 Ita] *om. A* 163/164 septimi mensis ieiunio] *ieiunio septimi mensis C* 164 puto] *fortasse ex puta corr. W* officium] *om. Z*

165 si necesse fuerit aliquod officium obseruandum et non occurrit
 aliqua festiuitas sanctorum, rectius prioris ebdomadae officium
 sicut solet fieri in Galliarum ecclesiis repetitur, quam concordia
 Euangeliorum et officiorum dissipetur. Nec satis mirari queo quid
 170 causae obsistat cur non liceat unum officium si ita euenerit cantari
 per duas, sicut et unam historiam cum suis responsoriis per duas
 uel tres uel quatuor ebdomadas.

1070

⟨Dominica decima octaua⟩ Nam finita ebdomada quae uacat,
 in introitu missae cantor pacem a Domino rogat ut Prophetae eius
 fideles inueniantur. Et in responsorio Propheta Dauid ‘Laetatus
 175 sum,’ inquit, ‘in his quae dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibi-
 mus,’ et in uersu ‘Fiat pax in uirtute tua’. In Euangelio facit Domi-
 nus mentionem Prophetae Moysi, dicens ‘Super cathedram Moysi
 sederunt scribae et Pharisei’. Sequens offerenda ita incipit ‘Sancti-
 ficauit Moyses altare Domino’, et primus uersus ‘Locutus est
 180 Dominus ad Moysen’, secundus uersus ‘Orauit Moyses Domi-
 num’. Et in communione hortatur nos Psalmista cum Moyse tol-

173/174 pacem – inueniantur] cfr Eccli. 36, 18 174/176 Laetatus – tua] cfr Ps.
 121, 1; Ps. 121, 7 177/178 Super – Pharisei] Matth. 23, 2 (uide adnot.) 178/
 180 Sanctificauit – Dominum] cfr Ex. 24, 4; Ex. 24, 12; Ex. 33, 12 181/183 hortatur –
 eius] cfr Ps. 95, 8-9

173/174 pacem – inueniantur] cfr AMS 193 (Int., Dom. 18 p. Oct. Pent): Da pacem
 Domine sustentibus te ut Prophetae tui fideles inueniantur 174/176 Laetatus –
 tua] AMS 193 (Grad., Dom. 18 p. Oct. Pent) 178/180 Sanctificauit – Dominum]
 AMS 193 (Off., Dom. 18 p. Oct. Pent) 181/183 tollere – eius] cfr AMS 193 (Comm.,
 Dom. 18 p. Oct. Pent): Tollite hostias et introite in atria eius: adorate Dominum in aula
 sancta eius

Trad. text.: AWCFLZ(expl. post IV, 177 dicens) h d

165 et] si add. CEFZ 166 prioris ebdomadae officium] officium prioris ebdomadae A ebdomadae] dominicae C officium] officio CEFZ 167 repetitur] repetatur A reputetur EFZ 168 quid] quod Z 169 obsistat] ex absistat corr. W^r 169/171 si – ebdomadas] cantari per duas uel per (uel per om. E, per om. L) tres uel (per add. FZ) quatuor ebdomadas si ita euenerit CEFZ 170 unam] unum W responsoriis] resposoriis (sic) A 171 tres] per praem. h quatuor] per praem. h 172 Dominica decima octaua] add. in marg. C, om. rell. codd. 173 pacem a Domino rogat] pacem rogat a Domino CEL, rogat pacem a Domino FZ 174 fideles inueniantur] inueniantur fideles Z in responsorio] responsorio W h, in graduale Z, responsoria d Dauid] dicit add. CEFZ 175 inquit – ibimus] des. CEL Z inquit] om. AF dicta – ibimus] des. F 176 in uirtute tua] des. CEFZ 177 Prophetae] om. Z Mosyi¹] Moysis h Moysi²] Moysis h 178 offerenda] offertorium CF 179 altare] ex altera corr. W^r Domino] deest F 180 ad Moysen] dicens add. EF, om. L uersus] om. CEFZ Moyses] ad add. A

lere hostias et introire in atria Domini, et adorare eum in aula
sancta eius. Et quia Deo nec in sacrificio nec in oblatione hostia-
rum sine eius adiutorio placere possumus, nec in atria eius introire
185 nec in aula eius eum adorare, merito sacerdos ex sua et nostra uoce
Deum deprecatur dicens: 'Dirigat corda nostra Domine quaesu-
mus tuae miserationis operatio, quia tibi sine te placere non pos-
sumus.'

⟨**Dominica decima nona**⟩ In sequenti dominica in introitu
190 missae consolatur nos ipse dicens 'Salus populi ego sum' et caetera.
Vnde et in Euangelio non solum sanat paralyticum quem ei offe-
rebant iacentem in lecto, sed eius peccata dimittit, sicut eidem pa-
ralytico dicit 'Confide fili remittuntur tibi peccata tua'. Vnde et
merito nos Dominum in oratione missae rogamus ut omnipotens
195 et misericors Deus uniuersa nobis aduersantia propitiatus exclu-
dat, et sicut paralyticus ex miseratione Dei libero gressu incedebat,
ita et nos mente et corpore expediti quae Dei sunt liberis mentibus
exequamur. Et quia Apostolus quosdam de scribis sciebat intra se
de Domino dixisse 'Hic blasphematur', in epistola sua praemonebat

191/193 non – tua] cfr Matth. 9, 1-8 193 Confide – tua] Matth. 9, 2 199 Hic
blasphematur] Matth. 9, 3

186/187 Dirigat – possumus] *Corp. orat.* 2234; *Sacram. Greg.* 1183 (p. 403; Coll.,
Dom. 19 p. Pent.) 190 Salus – sum] *AMS* 194 (Int., Dom. 19 p. Oct. Pent.) 194/
198 omnipotens – exequamur] cfr *Corp. orat.* 3773; *Sacram. Greg.* 1186 (p. 404; Coll.,
Dom. 20 p. Pent.): Omnipotens et misericors Deus uniuersa nobis aduersantia propi-
tius excludit, ut mente et corpore pariter expediti, quae tua sunt liberis mentibus exse-
quamur

Trad. text.: *AWCEFLhd*

182 atria] eius *add. F* 182/183 et adorare – eius] *om. A* 182 et adorare eum]
adornate (adorare *h*) Dominum *W h* 184 eius adiutorio] adiutorio eius *F* placere
possumus] placere non possumus *A*, possumus placere *CEFL* 185 aula] sancta *add.*
A F eum adorare] adorare eum *L h* eum] *om. A* nostra] *ex nos corr. E^{a.m.}*
186 Deum deprecatur] deprecatur Deum *F* 186/187 Domine – possumus] *des. C*
186 Domine quaesumus] quaesumus Domine *L* 187 quia – possumus] *des. A* sine]
fine *W* te] *om. d.*, [te] *PL* possumus] Per *add.*, uidelicet doxologiam *F* 189 Domi-
nica decima nona] *add. in marg. C, om. rell. codd.* 190 missae] *om. h* caetera] reli *ex*
eli *corr. A* 191 ei offerebant] offerebant ei *F* 192 sed eius peccata dimittit] *om. A*,
sed etiam eius peccata dimittit *C*, uerum etiam dimittit peccata *h* sed eius] *ex* sed uis
corr. W dimittit] *ex* dimittat *corr. E* sicut] qui *L* paralytico] *om. h* 193 Con-
fide] *litt. primam om. A* 194 ut] *om. A* 195 Deus] Dominus *F* uniuersa] cuncta
CEF 196 et] ut *d* 198 exequamur] Per *add.*, uidelicet doxologiam *F* 199 de Do-
mino] *om. h* Hic] domino *add. A, Hin E^{a.c.}* blasphematur] blasphematur *W*

200 dicens 'Propter quod <deponentes mendacium> loquimini ueritatem unusquisque cum proximo suo' et 'nolite locum dare diabolo'.

<Dominica uicesima> Deinde occurrit illa dominica ubi illud Euangelium legitur in quo quidam ad nuptias filii regis inuitati
 205 neglexerunt uenire, sicut scriptum est: 'Et abierunt alius in uillam suam, alius uero ad negotiationem suam, reliqui uero tenuerunt seruos eius et contumelia affectos occiderunt.' Quod nos praecauere uolens Apostolus in epistola sua ammonet, dicens: 'Videte itaque <fratres> quomodo caute ambuletis, non quasi insipientes sed
 210 ut sapientes', et caetera usque in finem huius lectionis, ubi etiam inter alias nuptias introgressos his uerbis ammonet, dicens: 'Nolite inebriari uino in quo est luxuria, sed implemini Spiritu sancto.' Vbi etiam inter discumbentes rex uidens hominem non uestitum ueste nuptiali, iussit eum ligatis manibus et pedibus mittere in tenebras exteriores, ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium. Quod
 215 intuens populus paenitens 'Super flumina,' inquit, 'Babylonis sedimus et fleuimus dum recordaremur Sion'. Et cantor uolens iustum iudicem placare et beneuolum reddere, huiusmodi uerbis

200/201 Propter – diabolo] Eph. 4, 25; Eph. 4, 27. 204/207 quidam – occiderunt] cfr Matth. 22, 2-14. 205/207 Et – occiderunt] Matth. 22, 5-6. 208/210 Videte – sapientes] Eph. 5, 15. 211/213 Nolite – sancto] Eph. 5, 18. 213/215 Vbi – dentium] cfr Matth. 22, 11-13. 216/217 Super – Sion] cfr Ps. 136, 1.

216/217 Super – Sion] AMS 195 (Off., Dom 20 p. Oct. Pent)

Trad. text.: AWCEFL h d

200 propter quod] om. F quod] qs cum signo abbrev. W deponentes mendacium] scripsi cum textu Vulg., om. codd. 200/201 ueritatem unusquisque] unusquisque ueritatem CEFL. 201 suo] deest A. 203 Dominica uicesima] add. in marg. C, om. rell. codd. 204 quidam] quidem L. 205 alius] unus EF. 206 uero] om. Ah. reliqui] litt. primam om. A. 207 eius] suos A. Quod] litt. primam om. A. 208/211 Videte – dicens] om. ob homoioteleuton AW. 208 itaque] om. C. 209 fratres] scripsi cum textu Vulg., om. codd. 209/210 non – sapientes] des. L. 212 implemini] implemini E^{p.c.} L. 213 sancto] om. W. Vbi] ibi A. 214 iussit] ex nissit corr. W^r. manibus et pedibus] pedibus et manibus W, manibus ins. sup. l. C. mittere] mitti CEFL. 215 ibi] ubi CE^{p.c.} L (quoque PL). erit] ins. sup. l. C. 216 Babylonis] Babylonis (illic add. L) ACEFL. 217 dum – Syon] des. L. recordaremur] recordaremur A, tui add. d. Sion] scripsi (iam h), Syon AW CEF. cantor] cantorum W. 218 iustum iudicem placare] placare iustum iudicem F.

confitendo incipit canere ‘Omnia quae fecisti nobis Domine in
 220 uero iudicio fecisti, quia peccauimus tibi’, et caetera. In responso-
 rio iam aspirans ad conuiuium Dei ita canit ‘Oculi omnium in te
 sperant Domine, et tu das illis escam in tempore opportuno’.
 Propter haec omnia rogat sacerdos pium iudicem ut fidelibus suis
 largiatur indulgentiam placatus et pacem, ut pariter ab omnibus 1071
 225 mudentur offensis et segura sibi mente deseruiant. Et in commu-
 nione iam quadam spe ex diuino munere Propheta animatus, ex
 persona fidelium canit laetus ‘Memento uerbi tui seruo tuo Do-
 mine in quo mihi spem dedisti, haec me consolata est in humili-
 tate mea’.

230 <Dominica uicesima prima> Concordia inter lectionem Euan-
 gelicam et Apostolicam, offerendam et missam, in ea quae subse-
 quitur ebdomada in propatulo est. Nam in Euangelio Dominus
 infirmum reguli filium sanat, et offerenda narrat de beato Iob qua-
 liter Satan a Domino petiit ut temptaret eum, et data ei potestate
 235 in facultate et in carne eius perdidit omnem substantiam ipsius et

219/220 Omnia – tibi] cfr Dan. 3, 31 221/222 Oculi – opportuno] cfr Ps. 144, 15
 227/229 Memento – mea] cfr Ps. 118, 49-50 232/233 Dominus – sanat] cfr
 Ioh. 4, 46-53 (uide adnot.) 233/236 narrat – uulnerauit] cfr Iob 1, 1-7

219/220 Omnia – tibi] AMS 195 (Int., Dom 20 p. Oct. Pent) 221/222 Oculi –
 opportuno] AMS 195 (Grad., Dom. 20 p. Oct. Pent.) 223/225 fidelibus – deseruiant]
 cfr Corp. orat. 3237; Sacram. Greg. 1189 (p. 405; Coll., Dom. 21 p. Pent.): Largire quacsu-
 mus Domine fidelibus tuis indulgentiam placatus et pacem, ut pariter ab omnibus munden-
 tur offensis et segura tibi mente deseruiant 227/229 Memento – mea] AMS 195
 (Comm., Dom. 20 p. Oct. Pent.) 233/236 narrat – uulnerauit] cfr AMS 196 (Off.,
 Dom. 20 p. Oct. Pent.): Vir erat in terra nomine Iob, simplex et rectus ac timens deum,
 quem Satan petiit ut tentaret, et data est ei potestas a Domino in facultate et in carne eius,
 perdiditque omnem substantiam ipsius et filios, carnem quoque eius graui ulcere uulnerauit

Trad. text.: *AWCEFLhd*

219 incipit] inceptit *F* 219/220 nobis – tibi] *des. C* Domine – tibi] *des. EF*
 in – tibi] *des. L* 220 et caetera] *om. A* 221 aspirans] spirans *F* ita] *litt. primam*
iter. A canit] incipit *CEFL* 221/222 in – opportuno] et caetera *CEFL* 222 il-
 lis escam] escam illis *A* 223 pium iudicem] *om. F* 224 placatus] propitiatus *L*
 225 deseruiant] Per *add., uidelicet doxologiam F* in] *om. A* 226 Propheta] Prophe-
 tae *W* 227 canit laetus] laetus canit *A* 227/229 seruo – mea] et caetera *CEF*
 228/229 in¹ – mea] et caetera *L* 230 Dominica uicesima prima] *add. in marg. C, om.*
rell. codd. Concordia] Concordiam *F* 233 infirmum reguli filium sanat] sanat re-
 guli filium *L* 234 Satan] Sathan *EL* – temptaret] tentaret *h* ei potestate] est ei
 potestas *E^{a.c.} L*, est potestas ei *F* 235 in¹] facie et in *add. CEFL* facultate] facul-
 tatem *h*, facultates *d* carne] carnem *h* perdidit] -que *add. FL*

filios, carnem quoque eius graui ulcere uulnerauit. Ad resis-
 dum huiusmodi insidiis hortatur nos Apostolus exemplo beati Iob
 confortari in Domino et in potentia uirtutis eius: 'Induite uos,'
 inquit, 'armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare aduersus insidias diaboli',
 240 et caetera usque in finem lectionis. Et in Euangelio legimus quia
 postquam cognouit pater quia illa hora sanatus est puer, in qua
 dixit ei Iesus 'Filius tuus uiuit', credidit ipse et domus eius tota.
 Domus eius intelligitur familia eius, pro qua familia, id est ecclesia
 de gentilitate collecta, rogat sacerdos his uerbis: 'Familiam tuam
 245 quaesumus Domine continua pietate custodi, ut a cunctis aduer-
 sitatibus te protegente sit libera, et in bonis actibus tuo nomini sit
 deuota.'

In responsorio Propheta beneficia iusti Iudicis potestatemque
 commemorat dicens 'Domine refugium factus es nobis', et caetera
 250 usque in finem subsequentis uersus. Vnde et cantor in introitu
 confitetur quod in uoluntate Domini uniuersa sint posita, et non
 sit qui possit resistere eius uoluntati. In communione quoque Pro-
 pheta, ex persona beati Iob uel sanctae ecclesiae multimodis perse-
 cutionibus subditae, orat ad Dominum dicens: 'In saluari tuo
 255 anima mea et in uerbum tuum supersperaui, quando facies de per-
 sequentibus me iudicium. Iniqui persecuti sunt me, adiuua me
 Domine Deus meus.'

238/239 Induite – diaboli] Eph. 6, 11 241/242 postquam – tota] cfr Ioh. 4, 53
 249 Domine – nobis] cfr Ps. 89, 1 251/252 in – uoluntati] cfr Esth. 13, 9-11 254/
 257 In – meus] cfr Ps. 118, 81; Ps. 118, 84; Ps. 118, 86

244/247 Familiam – deuota] *Corp. orat.* 2637; *Sacram. Greg.* 1192 (p. 405; Coll.,
 Dom. 22 p. Pent.) 249 Domine – nobis] *AMS* 196 (Grad., Dom. 21 p. Oct. Pent)
 251/252 in – uoluntati] cfr *AMS* 196 (Int., Dom. 21 p. Oct. Pent): In uoluntate tua Do-
 mine uniuersa sunt posita, et non est qui possit resistere uoluntati tuae 254/257 In –
 meus] *AMS* 196 (Comm., Dom. 21 p. Oct. Pent)

Trad. text.: *AWCEFLbd*

236 eius] *om. L* uulnerauit] uulnerabat *F* 238/239 Induite – diaboli] *om. L*
 239 inquit] *deest EFL* armaturam] armatura *A* ut – diaboli] *des. C*, inquit *E*, inquit
 apostolus *F* 240 Euangelio] Euuangelio (*sic*) *A* 242 ei] *om. CEFL* 245/
 247 custodi – deuota] *des. C* ut – deuota] et caetera *L* 247 deuota] Per *add., uide-*
licet doxologiam F 248 potestatemque] potestatem *E^{a.c.} L* 249 commemorat]
 commorat *W* factus es nobis] *des. CEFL* 250 in] ad *Wh* subsequentis] sequen-
 tis *AL* uersus] aduersus *Wh* et cantor in introitu] et in introitu cantor *C*, in introitu
 et cantor *EFL* 251 Domini] Dei *CEFL* 252 sit] *om. A* 253 uel] et *F* multi-
 modis] multimodo *A* 255/257 anima – meus] et reliqua *CE*, et caetera *FL*
 255 uerbum tuum] uerbo tuo *b* supersperaui] speraui *A*

260 <Dominica uicesima dua> Nunc superest tantum ut dicamus
 de dominica uicesima secunda post Octauas Pentecostes, quam
 conuenientiam illud officium totum cum Euangelio habeat in quo
 265 introducitur persona regis qui uoluit rationem ponere cum seruis
 suis. Cui cum oblatus esset debitor decem millium talentorum et
 non haberet unde redderet, misertus eius dimisit ei debitum. Sed
 quia ille noluit misereri conserui sui, iratus Dominus debitum
 270 quod dimisit repetit, tradiditque eum tortoribus quoadusque red-
 deret uniuersum debitum. Quo haec parabola tendat Dominus
 manifeste denuntiat dicens 'Sic et pater meus caelestis faciet uobis,
 si non remiseritis unusquisque fratri suo de cordibus uestris'.
 Quam sententiam Propheta pertimescens in introitu clamat ad
 270 Dominum dicens 'Si iniquitates obseruaueris Domine, Domine
 quis sustinebit?', et quoniam sciebat eum iustum iudicem esse, hac
 uoce studebat eum beneuolum reddere 'Quia apud te propitiatio
 est Deus Israhel'. Vnde sacerdos confidenter Dominum rogat di-
 275 cens: 'Deus refugium nostrum et uirtus, adesto piis ecclesiae tuae
 precibus auctor ipse pietatis, et praesta ut quod fideliter petimus
 efficaciter consequamur.'

1072

261/262 introducitur – suis] cfr Matth. 18, 23-35 267/268 Sic – uestris] Matth.
 18, 35 270/271 Si – sustinebit] cfr Ps. 129, 3 272/273 Quia – Israhel] cfr Ps. 129, 4

270/271 Si – sustinebit] AMS 197 (Int., Dom. 22 p. Oct. Pent.) 272/273 Quia –
 Israhel] AMS 197 (Int., Dom. 22 p. Oct. Pent.) 274/276 Deus – consequamur] Corp.
 orat. 2175; Sacram. Greg. 1195 (p. 406; Coll., Dom. 23 p. Pent.)

Trad. text.: *AWCEFL h d*

258 Dominica uicesima dua] *add. in marg. C, om. rel. codd.* tantum ut dicamus] ut
 dicamus tantum *F* 260 illud officium totum cum Euangelio habeat] illud officium
 habeat totum cum Euangelio *CEF*, habeat illud officium totum cum Euangelio *L*
 261 regis] *om. L* 262 cum] *ins. sup. l. W* debitor decem millium talentorum] unus
 seruorum qui debebat ei decem milia talenta *L* 262/263 et non] *om. W*, nec *h*
 263 ei debitum] debitum ei *A* 264 quia] et *L* conserui sui] cum seruis sui *W* ira-
 tus] est *add. A*, et *praem. L* 265 repetit] repetiit *CEFL* redderet] reddere *W*
 266 tendat] tandat *W* 267 et] *om. F* 268 si non] *ex Syon corr. W* 269 per-
 timescens] pertremiscens *C*, pertremiscit *F* 269/270 ad Dominum] *om. L* 270 in-
 iquitates] iniquitatis *W* 270/271 obseruaueris – sustinebit] et caetera *CEFL*
 270 obseruaueris] obseruaberis *W* Domine'] *om. A* 271 sciebat] sciebit *W*
 272 studebat] stuebat *W* Quia] inquit *add. h* 273 Israhel] Israel *h* confidenter
 Dominum rogat dicens] confidenter rogat Dominum dicens *CEL*, rogat Dominum di-
 cens confidenter *F* confidenter] confitenter *W* 274 refugium nostrum] nostrum
 refugium *CEL* 274/276 adesto – consequamur] et caetera *C* 276 consequamur]
 Per *add.*, uidelicet doxologiam *F*

Tunc enim fideliter petimus, si conseruis nostris debita dimit-
timus, ut et nos a nostris debitis per Dominum absolui ualeamus.
Nam et Apostolica lectio de obseruanda fraternae caritatis unitate
280 satis nos ammonet, dum Apostolus seipsum in exemplum ponens
inter caetera sic dicit: 'Testis enim mihi est Deus, quomodo cu-
pnam uos omnes in uisceribus Christi Iesu. Et hoc oro ut caritas
uestra magis ac magis abundet in scientia et in omni sensu, ut pro-
betis potiora ut sitis sinceres et sine offensa in diem Christi, repleti
285 fructu iustitiae per Iesum Christum in gloriam et laudem Dei.'
Quam caritatem commendat responsorium dicens 'Ecce quam
bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum'. In offerenda
beata Hester, ecclesiae typum gerens, Dominum rogat recordari
sui et ut det sermonem rectum in os eius. Si enim rectus sermo in
290 ore nostro sonuerit, uidelicet peccata nostra confitendo, paeni-
tendo, proximis nostris debita remittendo, statim in communione
illa ad nos diuina dirigitur promissio 'Dico uobis gaudium est an-
gelis Dei super uno peccatore paenitentiam agente'.

295 <Dominica uicesima tertia> De uicesima autem tertia domi-
nica, quoniam tractaui in quadam epistola quam ad Aribonem ar-

281/285 Testis – Dei] Phil. 1, 8-11 286/287 Ecce – unum] cfr Ps. 132, 1 288/
289 beata – eius] cfr Esth. 14, 12-13 292/293 Dico – agente] cfr Luc. 15, 10

286/287 Ecce – unum] AMS 197 (Grad., Dom. 22 p. Oct. Pent.) 288/289 Domi-
num – eius] cfr AMS 197 (Off., Dom. 22 p. Oct. Pent.): Recordare mei Domine, omni
potentatui dominans: da sermonem rectum in os meum, ut placeant uerba mea in con-
spectu principis 292/293 Dico – agente] AMS 197 (Comm., Dom. 22 p. Oct. Pent.)

Trad. text.: *AWCEFLhd*

277 conseruis] seruis *L* nostris] uestris *W* dimittimus] dimiserimus *h*
278 nos] *ins. sup. l. W* nostris debitis] debitis nostris *A* 279 lectio] *om. A* frater-
nae] fraternitate (et *add. L*) *CEFL* 281 enim mihi est] est enim *E* 282 Christi
Iesu] Iesu Christi *WFh* 283 uestra] Dei *A* 283/285 magis¹ – Dei] et caetera *C*
283 scientia et in omni sensu] omni scientia et sensu *A* scientia] scientiam *W*
284 sinceres] sinceri *h* 285 Iesum Christum] Christum Iesum *L* 286 responso-
rium] Psalmista *L* 287 et – unum] *des. CEL* habitare – unum] *des. F* 288 ec-
clesiae typum] typum ecclesiae *CEFL* gerens] tenens *L* 288/289 Dominum rogat
recordari sui] Dominum recordari sui rogat *F*, rogat recordari Dominum sui *L*
289 et] *om. CEFL* 289/290 rectus sermo in ore nostro] in ore (eius *add. F*) nostro
rectus sermo *CEFL* 292 ad nos diuina] diuina ad nos *CEFL* 293 super – agente]
et caetera *ACEL* paenitentiam agente] et caetera *F* 294 Dominica uicesima tertia]
add. in marg. C, om. rell. codd. uicesima²] uicesima *W* autem tertia dominica] tertia
autem dominica *C*, tertia dominica autem *EFL* 295/296 quam – composui] *om. A*
295 quam] qua *W* archiepiscopum] archi- *ins. sup. l. C*

chiepiscopum de Aduentu Domini composui, nunc aliquid dicere supersedi.

cap. 6

⟨V. QVARE AVCTOR OFFICIORVM AB OCTAVA PENTECOSTES
VSQVE AD ADVENTVM DOMINI VIGINTI TRIA SOLVMMODO
POSVERIT OFFICIA⟩

Inter haec non otiose quaerendum puto cur auctor officiorum
5 tantummodo uiginti tres inter Octauas Pentecostes et Aduentum
Domini, ordinator uero lectionarii uiginti quinque lectiones po-
suerit, exceptis his quae in Octaua Pentecostes et in dominica
quinta ante Natale Domini et de sancta Trinitate legi solent. Quae
si uiginti quinque adduntur, uiginti octo numerus adimpletur.
10 Qui officia ordinauit embolismales annos in decennouenali cyclo
attendit, in quibus Pascha tardius solet occurrere et breuiora tem-
porum spatia inter Octauas Pentecostes et Aduentum Domini
conficere. Alter uero communes, in quibus eadem paschalis festi-
uitas maturius consueuit prouenire.
15 Dicamus sub exemplo quando ultimus terminus paschalis
XIV Kal. Mai. et ipse paschalis dies VII Kal. eiusdem mensis oc-
currit, qui diligenter computare uoluerit, non plus quam uiginti
tres ebdomadas ab Octaua Pentecostes usque ad Aduentum Do-
mini inuenire poterit. Et ita accidit ut officium 'Domine in tua'
20 necessario debeat cantari in ipsa Octauae Pentecostes ebdomada.

V, 15/24 Dicamus – lectionarii] cfr Ps. BEDA, *Arg. lun.* (col. 712): Statutum inuenimus in cyclo Romanorum, ut nec ante XI Kal. Aprilis, nec post VII Kal. Maii Pascha debeat fieri. Et nec ante XII Kal. Aprilis, nec post XIV Kal. Maii, decima quarta luna paschalis ullatenus inquiri 19 Domine in tua] AMS 173 (Int., Dom. 1 p. Oct. Pent.)

Trad. text.: *AW CEFL D*(*denuo inc. ab V, 4 Inter*) *h d*

297 supersedi] supersedeo *h*

V, 1/3 scripsi e capitulis ut supra, om. codd., om. *h* 4 Inter] quaestio glossa add. in marg. *C* haec] haec enim *EL*, hoc enim *F* auctor] author *h* 5 inter Octauas] sup. graui ras. *W* 7 his] om. *F* in²] om. *W* *h* 8 Natale] Natalem *CE*, Natiuitatem *h* de] in *h* Quae] Quibus *F* 9 adduntur] adducuntur *F* uiginti octo] uicesimus octauus *CEL* 10 Qui] solutio glossa add. in marg. *C* cyclo] om. *CEFL* 11 breuiora] praeuiorum *A* 13 Alter] Aliter *EL*, Alius *D* paschalis] paschalis est *EF*, est paschalis *D* (uide adnot.) 16 XIV Kal. Mai.] sup. graui ras. *W* occurrit] occurrerit *A* 18 Octaua] Octauas *W* ad] om. *W*, in *L* 19 poterit] potuerit *EF* accidit] contigit *A* officium] om. *A* tua] misericordia add. *FL* 20 Pentecostes] Pentecostae *F*

Quando uero terminus primi Paschae XII Kal. Apr., ipsum uero sanctum Pascha statim in crastinum, hoc est XI Kal. Apr. euenit, tunc ab Octaua Pentecostes usque Aduentum Domini completur numerus uiginti octo ebdomadatum iuxta computationem lectionarii. Dignus profecto numerus qui inter has solemnitates Sancti spiritus et Domini Aduentus medius incedat, quia non solum iuxta huius mundi sapientes, eo quod partibus suis consistat, perfectus esse dinoscitur, uerum etiam magis propter sacramentum septiformis gratiae et Euangelicae doctrinae. Nam septenario quater ducto in hanc perfectionis summam excrescit, ut sicut senarius infra denarium, ita et iste infra centenarium numerum perfectus inuenitur. Quod prudens calculator facile intellegere quibit, si partium eius diuisiones diligenter in unum colligit, nulli uero dubium quin septem ad Spiritum sanctum, quatuor uero pertineant ad Euangelium, quia per septiformem gratiam Spiritus sancti praedicatur Euangelium per quatuor plagas mundi.

Si quis uero contentiose conatus fuerit reprehendere, quod in praedictis officiis non aequae omnia omnibus ex toto conueniant, huiusmodi responsum a beato Augustino percipiat: "Non sane omnia quae gesta narrantur, aliquid etiam significare putanda sunt; sed propter illa quae aliquid significant, (etiam ea quae nihil significant) attexuntur. Solo enim uomere terra proscinditur, sed

39/49 Non – religitur] AVG., Ciu. 16, 2 (p. 501, 91-101)

Trad. text.: AWCEFLD(expl. post V, 36 mundi) h d

21 terminus] om. A primi] primus CEFLD uero] om. L 22 XI] II h euenit] praeuenit CEFL, prouenit uel praeuenit ut uid. D 23 usque] ad add. CEFLD h, in add. L Domini] om. D 24 lectionarii] lectionum CEFLD 25 Dignus] es add. D, Dignus perfectus numerus xxviii glossa add. in marg. C 25/26 Sancti spiritus] om. L, Spiritus sancti h 25 Sancti] sup. ras. W 26 Domini Aduentus] Aduentum Domini CEFLD medius incedat] incedat (ut uid.) medius D quia non solum] non solum quia C 27 iuxta] apud C, om. EFLD consistat] constet C, constat EFLD perfectus] perfectum A 28 dinoscitur] dignoscitur d 28/29 sacramentum – doctrinae] sacra W^{a.c.}, uerba omissa add. in marg. W^r 29 septenario] ex septenarie ut uid corr. W 31 infra] intra F 32 inuenitur] inueniatur d 32/35 Quod – quia] om. D 34 uero] om. F 34/35 pertineant ad Euangelium] ad Euangelium pertineant CEFL 35 septiformem] uerbum add. sed obscurum D 37 conatus fuerit] fuerit conatus L 38 ex toto] om. A 39 percipiat] percipiant A 40 quae gesta] om. F 40/41 putanda – significant] om. L 41 propter] pro F 41/42 etiam ea quae nihil significant] scripsi cum textu Aug., om. fortasse ob homoioteuton codd. 42 attexuntur] adduntur cum litt. tertia sup. ras. W, attexuntur add. in marg. W^r, texuntur CEFL, adduntur h Solo] litt. primam om. A enim] in add. F terra proscinditur] proscinditur (-s- om. L) terra EL

ut hoc fieri possit, etiam caetera aratri membra sunt necessaria. Et
 soli nerui in cytharis atque huiusmodi uasis musicis aptantur ad
 45 cantum, sed ut aptari possint, insunt et caetera in compagibus
 organorum, quae non percutiuntur a canentibus, sed ea quae
 percussa resonant his connectuntur. Ita in Prophetica historia
 dicuntur et aliqua quae nihil significant, sed quibus adhaereant
 quae significant et quodammodo religuntur.”

Trad. text.: *AWCEFL h d*

43 etiam] et *CEFL* 44 atque] *sup. ras. W* 45 in compagibus] compaginibus
CEFL 46 non] *ins. sup. l. A* 47 connectuntur] *ex connentuntur corr. F* Ita] et
add. CEFL historia] *ex hostoria corr. F* 48 et] *om. A, etiam h* significant] *ex*
significat corr. W 48/49 sed – significant] *om. ob homoioteleuton h* 48 quibus]
-dam ins. sup. l. W', quibusdam *EL h* adhaereant] *adhaerent E* 49 religuntur] *reli-*
gantur ex religuntur corr. W', religantur *EL h*

DE VARIA PSALMORVM
ATQVE CANTVVM MODVLATIONE

INTRODUCTION

Composed from five loosely connected chapters, *De uaria Psalmorum* (henceforth *Modul. Ps.*) considers the various ways, permissible and impermissible, in which liturgical poetry manipulates, distorts or reveals deeper truths about the canon of scripture. Bern's discussion therefore covers Psalter translations, lections, canticles and, most numerous, liturgical chants from the Gregorian or Romano-Frankish tradition. The treatise is thus of great musicological interest. Although Bern's primary focus is on the texts of these chants, not their melodies, both manuscript include considerable amounts of musical notation. This appears to have been part of the original design, as is demonstrated when Bern explains that a proposed adaptation may be sung in the manner 'which we have laid out in writing below'.¹ In both manuscripts the text which follows is notated with adiestematic (i.e. non-pitch-indicating) neumes. The intention was not to communicate a new tune, but to show the reader how an existing tune can be adapted to a different text.

In structural terms, Bern's division of the text into (relatively) self-contained sections strongly resembles *Off. miss.* Unlike that text, however, the main body of *Modul. Ps.* is preceded by two historically illuminating prefaces. The first is an epistle to an unnamed dignitary, almost certainly Henry III (1028-1056), in which Bern introduces his work and explains his variegated aims.² (*Modul. Ps.* was not the only text enclosed within this letter, but it clearly had pride of place in Bern's account.) The second is a brief prologue in which he names the two brothers who are his dedicatees, Meginfred and Benno, the first of which had requested the abbot's advice.

Carl Erdmann made a convincing case for identifying Benno as the future Bishop Benno II of Osnabrück, born in 1020 and consecrated bishop in 1068, who according to his *Vita* grew up in Swabia and spent his teenage years studying liberal arts with Her-

¹ *Modul. Ps.* 3 (p. 139, 188-189): 'quod subter scribendo subiecimus'.

² The language closely mirrors that of other letters to Henry III, as noted by BLANCHARD, 'Notes', p. 100 and SCHMALE, 'Zu den Briefen', p. 89-90, n. 120.

mann of Reichenau.³ That would place him in Reichenau in the later 1030s or early 1040s. Meginfred is harder to identify, but we do know that Bern dedicated his *De nigromantia* (probably written after 1022) to an individual of the same name.⁴ Presumably he was a Reichenau monk, but it is possible, as Erdmann first suggested, that he was the same Meginfred (Manfred, Maginfrid) who was master of the cathedral school at Magdeburg in the second quarter of the eleventh century.⁵ From what little we know of this individual and his accomplishments, the association with Reichenau might be explained by his interests in computus, or vice versa.⁶

These identifications suggest that Bern was writing to members of a younger generation, which marries with the existing consensus that *Modul. Ps.* was written late in his life. Strong support for this dating comes from the moment when Bern describes himself as 'immature in perception, slow of wit, and though advanced with age already defective with senility'.⁷ The implication becomes even clearer when we read his words closely. Serving to introduce Bern's imminent discussion of the Psalms, the whole sentence is a clever play on the opposed yet equivalent states of youth and old age: children begin their studies with the Psalms; wisdom begins with fear (a reference to Ps. 110, 10, but also to Bern's first example, Ps. 2, 11); and through fear one may eventually ascend the ladder of humility which leads to the love of God. The meanings come into their sharpest focus if, as the text implies, the abbot is now at a venerable age.

This dating is supported by the likelihood that Bern addressed the covering letter to Henry III, who only assumed sole control over the German kingdom in the decade before Bern's own death. We can further narrow the timeframe by returning to the hypothetical copy of Bern's 'complete works', thought to have been compiled for the king around 1043 or 1044 and later consulted in

³ ERDMANN, 'Bern von Reichenau', p. 118-119, n. 6; NORB. IBVRG., *Benn.* 1 (p. 2), 3 (p. 4).

⁴ *Epist.* 21 (ed. Marxreiter, p. 64, 4); *Centuria XI*, col. 219, 24-25 and col. 219, 60.

⁵ ERDMANN, 'Bern von Reichenau', p. 118-119, n. 6; MARXREITER, *Bern von Reichenau*, p. 34.

⁶ F. J. WORSTBROCK, 'Meginfried von Magdeburg', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon*, VI – ed. K. Ruh, G. Keil, W. Schröder, B. Wachinger, F. J. Worstbrock, Berlin, 1987², vol. 6, col. 303-306.

⁷ *Modul. Ps.* 1 (p. 111, 106-107): 'sensu sum paruulus, ingenio tardus, et si aetate prouectus senio iam defectus'.

the sixteenth century by the editors of *Centuria XI*. Since the copy does not survive, it is hardly appropriate to date *Modul. Ps.* on that basis. However, we know from his correspondence that Bern supplied Henry III with extra works in the years following the 'complete works' gift, and that these included *Modul. Ps.* (For more detail see the General Introduction.) The fact that not all of these extra works survive underlines the point: as later appendages to the canon, these materials were by no means guaranteed the successful dissemination which Bern had achieved for his earlier work. This may explain the limited source survival of *Modul. Ps.*, as well as its limited medieval reception.

I. TEXTUAL TRADITION

Filiation of sources

Although few in number, the surviving sources *B* and *H* communicate a great deal about their textual heritage. Their proximity is best measured by their agreement over several unambiguous errors, including one liturgical misidentification which Bern could not possibly have countenanced. In the third section of *Modul. Ps.* both *B* and *H* recommend that the possible dates for Advent Sunday 'should extend from 27 November to 5 December'.⁸ Aside from the fact that this encloses a period of nine days, not the expected seven, the recommendation contradicts the entire purpose of Bern's *Adu. Dom. celeb.*, which, together with *Adu. Dom. rat.*, declares that the latest possible date for Advent Sunday is 3 December. It is thus clear that 'in Non.' ('on the Nones') is a simple misreading of 'III Non.' ('two days before the Nones').

Over a dozen further mistakes fall into this category, from which it follows that *B* and *H* ultimately derive from the same uncorrected exemplar. These include simple factual errors, such as a misidentified chant or mis-numbered Psalm:

I	p. 114, 202	illa offerenda <i>scripsi</i>] illo introitu <i>BH</i>
I	p. 120, 343	septuagesimo sexto <i>scripsi</i>] septuagesimo septimo <i>BH</i>

⁸ *Modul. Ps.* 3 (p. 140, 224): 'a V Kal. Dec. usque in Non. eiusdem mensis solet extendi'.

But most errors are simple misquotations. The following samples involve quotations either from the Bible or from commentaries thereupon. Almost all can be explained by a scribe's recollection of words or phrases copied earlier in the sentence:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---|
| I | p. 121, 381-382 | et nos populus pascuae eius et oues manus eius <i>scripsi</i> (<i>cum textu Vulg.</i>)] nos autem populus eius et oues manus eius <i>BH</i> |
| I | p. 124, 471 | in Hebraeo et in Septuaginta continetur <i>scripsi</i> (<i>cum textu Hier.</i>)] in Graeco et in Septuaginta continetur <i>BH</i> |
| I | p. 124, 474 | bonus dominus <i>scripsi</i> (<i>cum textu Vulg.</i>)] bonus est dominus <i>BH</i> |
| I | p. 125, 483 | cum recordaremur Sion <i>scripsi</i> (<i>cum textu Vulg.</i>)] dum recordaremur Sion <i>BH^{a.c.}</i> |
| II | p. 130, 114 | humana felicitas <i>scripsi</i> (<i>cum textu Haimonis</i>)] humana fragilitas <i>BH</i> |
| III | p. 137, 152 | numquid non <i>scripsi</i> (<i>cum textu Vulg.</i>)] numquid nam <i>BH</i> |

If we recall that *Modul. Ps.* is essentially built upon the comparison of closely related passages of liturgy and scripture, we can quickly see why the infelicities accumulated. Nevertheless, the degree of agreement between *B* and *H* shows that the problems occurred at one remove from the surviving manuscripts. If we bear in mind that *H* was copied in mid-eleventh-century Reichenau, the problems may even go back to the author himself. It is possible that Bern never had the opportunity to revise his text; it is also possible that we possess copies of a final draft.

The scribes also introduced errors themselves, principally in the form of homoioteleuton. Once again, the frequency of this kind of error can be attributed to Bern's comparative (and thus repetitive) methodology, because both manuscripts omit texts with respect to the other. This confirms that they are not directly related to one another:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|--|
| I | p. 110, 73-77 | Septuaginta – Interpretum] Septuaginta Interpretum <i>B^{a.c.}</i> |
| I | p. 112, 132-134 | sanctificetur – in nobis] sanctificetur in nobis <i>H</i> |
| I | p. 112, 137-138 | neque in – ira tua] neque in ira tua <i>B^{a.c.}</i> |
| I | p. 114, 182-185 | Vbi – Romani] Vbi Romani <i>B^{a.c.}</i> |
| II | p. 126, 5-6 | euangelizantium – pacem] euangelizantium pacem <i>B</i> |

However, there are two large omissions in *H* which cannot easily be explained in this way. These formed the basis of Pierre Blanchard's rather pessimistic assessment of *Modul. Ps.*, which held that *B* was an 'interpolated' version of an original which was probably irrecoverable:⁹

III p. 135, 77-84 Sed inter haec – extitit peritus] *om. H*

III p. 137, 128-142 Ille introitus – super altare meo] *om. H*

In this edition we have significantly fewer concerns. Unlike other instances of interpolation in copies of Bern's works, most notably *Off. Miss.*, these additions do not reproduce or quote from pre-existing material, so far as we know, nor do they jar with the flow of the argument. The first functions as a candid, pre-emptive admission that the previous argument is flawed (Isaiah never spoke Latin!), followed by the defence that Jerome the translator is still an unimpeachable authority. With its combination of humility and deference to patristic wisdom, the sentiment is entirely typical of Bern's writings at large. Furthermore, the author's allusion to being misunderstood (the parenthetical interjection 'quod quidam me putant') opens up the possibility that he had added these lines in response to criticism.¹⁰ The second 'added' passage is simply an extra piece of analysis within a section devoted to several such analyses. It is less clear why discussion of this particular text, the introit 'Dicit Dominus sermones meos', merited addition to (or subtraction from) the *Modul. Ps.* But we do know that this chant had a particular local resonance. In a letter to the monks of Reichenau written a few generations earlier, Gunzo of Novara had singled out 'Dicit Dominus sermones meos' for its questionable grammar.¹¹ It seems likely that Bern knew the reference, not only because grammatical problems are the context of his own investigation, but also because of a second likely reference to Gunzo just a few pages earlier.¹² Conversely, there is no strong intellectual or stylistic reason to associate these passages with a posthumous

⁹ BLANCHARD, 'Notes', p. 101, n. 2, p. 102: 'il y a tout lieu de croire qu'il a été à la fois interpolé et écourté'.

¹⁰ *Modul. Ps.* 3 (p. 135, 78).

¹¹ GUNZO, *Epist. Aug.* (p. 26, 21-23).

¹² *Modul. Ps.* 3 (p. 134, 50 et adnot.). On the possibility that Bern was responding to Gunzo's critique see PARKES, 'Wild Strawberries', p. 43.

‘second edition’, as Blanchard originally hypothesised.¹³ Both are therefore included in the present edition.

2. EXISTING EDITIONS

Martin Gerbert was the first to publish *Modul. Ps.*, and he did so ‘ex MS. Salemitano’ (that is, from manuscript *H*), albeit without the musical notations. He is also to be credited for fashioning the title ‘De uaria Psalmorum et cantuum modulatione’, which derives from the text of Bern’s introduction, as well as for the decision to divide the work into thirteen chapters, including a numbering scheme that skips over ch. 10 (later emended when the edition was reprinted in *PL*). Gerbert was also responsible for the injudicious mistranscription of ‘et Pennoni’ as ‘Eipennoni’, thereby misidentifying Bern’s co-dedicatee Penno (Benno). This error was only corrected when Blanchard became acquainted with *B*. In an article he edited selected parts of the main text as found in that manuscript, plus the complete dedicatory epistle to Henry III, which is missing from *H*. Unable to locate Blanchard’s source, Schmale then reproduced Blanchard’s edition. In what follows we record all of the variants from the Blanchard and Schmale publications, plus illustrative variants from Gerbert’s edition.

3. PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

The text has been established eclectically from manuscripts *B* and *H*. The musical notations are not reproduced, but their presence is noted in the apparatus. The text itself is divided editorially into five chapters, following Bern’s own five-part overview of the contents in his dedicatory epistle to Henry III. The epistle is also the source of the editorial chapter titles. This arrangement fits the surviving text well, *pace* Blanchard, and it is greatly preferable to the unwieldy and inconsistent thirteen-part division found in Gerbert and *PL*. To further aid navigation of the second chapter, editorial subheadings precede each Psalm.

¹³ BLANCHARD, ‘Notes’, p. 102: ‘une seconde édition, donnée par ses disciples’.

DE VARIA PSALMORVM
ATQVE CANTVVM MODVLATIONE

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

codices

- B* BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek, Mus.ms.theor.95, f. 11a-12va (s. XV²)
H HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX 20, f. 69r-82r
(s. XI^{3/4})

editiones

- b* P. BLANCHARD, 'Notes sur les œuvres attribuées à Bernon de Reichenau', *Revue Bénédictine*, 29 (1912), p. 98-107, at p. 100-101: Epistola ad Heinricum III
g M. GERBERT, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, II, St. Blasien, 1784, p. 91-114 (= *PL*, 142, col. 1131-1154)
s F.-J. SCHMALE, *Die Briefe des Abtes Bern von Reichenau* (*Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg*, A 6), Stuttgart, 1961, p. 64-65: Epistola ad Heinricum III

⟨EPISTOLA AD HEINRICVM III⟩

Praeterea subieci series narrationum aliquas, etsi minus sapientiae sale conditas, eorum tamen uictus amore qui me super hac re studuerunt rogare, uidelicet: de dissona psalterii Romani ac
5 Gallicani qua nos utimur interpretatione; de quibusdam Isaiae Prophetae sermonibus; de uersibus minus cum responsoriis conuenientibus; de antiphonis uel responsoriis non regulariter nec conuenienter se habentibus; de intermissione alleluiae et eius cantuum uerbis, qui cantus in Septuagesima dominica ad matutinas
10 laudes solet dimitti.

Et quia quosdam minus recte sapientes uel credentes utrum Dominus noster Iesus Christus animam haberet uel pro anima diuinitatem susciperet, super hac re epistolam composui, asserens iuxta catholicam fidem Iesum Christum, sicut uerum hominem,
15 ita animam ueram suscepisse, sicut sanctus Athanasius caeteris sanctis catholicis patribus consentiens dicit: "Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo, ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens." Sed et sermones de natali Domini ac de assumptione gloriosa sanctae Dei genitricis semper Virginis Mariae, uestrae dignitatis gloriae
20 studui dirigere, non incongruum aestimans ut cuius prae caeteris sanctis uenerationem habetis et colitis, in eius memoria aliquod scriptum retineatis.

Solet enim saepe euenire quod dico, ut huius mundi diuites postquam excellentioribus epularum dapibus esuriem de uentre
25 expellunt, causa refrigerandi stomachum uirentibus hortorum herbis uel arborum fructibus reficere se satagunt ut, dum alternis delectantur uti, fastidium ualeat facilius euitari.

Ita et uos orbis terrarum rector optime ac dominator mitissime, post sacras spiritualium patrum lectiones, post referta diuinae

Epist., 16/17 Perfectus – subsistens] *Symb. Athan.* 32 (ed. Turner, p. 409) 23 Solet – dico] GREG. M., *In Euang.* 36, 2 (p. 334, 60)

Epist., 1 scripsi, om. codd. 2/33 Praeterea – satiari] om. H 2 subieci] scripsi (iam em. bs), subiecti B 5 Isaiae] scripsi, Esaye B bs 6 de] antiphonis add. tum del. B 9 Septuagesima] scripsi (iam em. s), Septuagesime B b 11 quia] accepi add. bs credentes] dubitare add. bs 23 euenire] deuenire s 24 excellentioribus] scripsi, esou-
lencioribus B, exulentioribus bs

- 30 Scripturae fercula, quibus assidue mentem refouetis, nostris dictatiunculis rogo ut uti uelitis, uelut humi nascentibus fragis, sicque talibus ciborum generibus aliquatenus refocillati iterum sacrorum uoluminum pabulo possitis satiari.

31 uelut] *scripsi*, uelud *B bs* 33 uoluminum] *scripsi (iam em. bs)*, foluminum *B*

⟨DE VARIA PSALMORVM
ET CANTVVM MODVLATIONE⟩

Bern qui quod uult Deus, Meginfrido et Bennoni, dilectis in Christo fratribus, perenne immarcescibilis gloriae decus. Rationabile mihi uidetur ut quos unus Spiritus uinculo caritatis ligat, hos litterarum textus non dissoluat. Immo epistola iungat quos carae
5 amicitiae sodalitas conglutinat. Igitur fraternae dilectionis tuae rogatu compulsus, o Meginfride, aliquid tibi scribere de uaria Psalmorum atque cantuum modulatione, quae dissimiliter uel confuse solet in ecclesia fieri, prius cupio aliquam de interpretum translatione memoriam facere, quatenus uelut hoc quodam iacto
10 sermonis fundamento, nostrae narrationis aedificium solidius surgat in altum. PL 1131

⟨I. DE DISSONA PSALTERII ROMANI AC GALLICANI
QVA NOS VTIMVR INTERPRETATIONE⟩

cap. 1 Vt enim maiorum firmat auctoritas omnis Veteris testamenti Scriptura, imprimis Hebraeo sermone constat scripta. Sed post
5 destructam Hierusalem et legem accensam a Chaldaeis, dum Iudaei reuersi sunt a Babylonia captiuitate in Hierusalem, Esdras scribe doctus scientia diuina omnem Veteris testamenti bibliothecam et cuncta legum et Prophetarum uolumina reparauit, atque in
10 uiginti duobus uoluminibus secundum numerum Hebraicarum litterarum constituit, correxit, ordinauit. Ad eius imitationem multi gentilium gesta aliorum congregauerunt et bibliothecas

I, 3/13 Vt – Magnus] cfr ISID., *Orig.* 6, 3, 2-5 (p. 43-45)

Tit. *scripsi ex epistola (iam g), om. BH*

1 Bern] Bernhardus B Meginfrido] MB et Bennoni] *scripsi*, et P B, et Pennoni H, Eipennoni g (*uide adnot.*) 3 caritatis] *ins. in marg. B* 6 Meginfride] MB 9 uelut] *om. B* 10 solidius] altius B

I, 1/2 *scripsi ex epistola ut supra, om. codd., om. g* 3 auctoritas] actoritas H 4 scripta] conscripta *sup. ras. H^{a.m.} g* 5 Hierusalem] Ierusalem B et sic deinceps 6 Babylonia] *scripsi*, Babilonia BH Esdras] Hesdras B

constituerunt. Inter quos quidam Pisistratus floruisse dicitur, deinde Xerxes, post Seleucus ac Alexander Magnus.

cap. 2

Sed et Ptolomaeus cognomento Philadelphus, omnes litteratos
 15 studio superans, non solum gentium sed etiam diuinas litteras in
 bibliothecam contulit. Nam septuaginta millia librorum, ut fer-
 tur, huius temporibus Alexandriae inuenta sunt. Hic etiam ab
 Eleazaro pontifice petens, Scripturas Veteris testamenti ab He-
 braea lingua in Graecam conuerti Septuaginta Interpretes impe-
 20 trauit, qui eius uoluntati satisfacerent. Nam quidam mirabiliter de
 eisdem Septuaginta Interpretibus asserunt, quod singuli per sin-
 gulas cellas diuisi, ita omnia per Spiritum sanctum sint interpre-
 tati, ut nihil in alicuius eorum codice inuentum sit, quod in
 caeteris uel in uerborum ordine discreparet.

25 Cui opinioni sanctus Hieronymus uehementer obsistit ita 1132
 inquit: "Nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexan-
 driae mendacio suo construxerit, quibus diuisi eadem scriptita-
 rent, cum Aristaeus eiusdem Ptolomaei ὑπερασπιστής (quod
 interpretatur 'protector fidelis'), et multo post tempore Iosephus
 30 nihil tale rettulerint, sed in una basilica congregatos contulisse
 scribant, non prophetasse. Aliud est enim," inquit, "uatem esse
 aliud interpretem. Hic Spiritus uentura praedicit, hic eruditio et
 uerborum copia ea quae intelligit transfert." Et paulo superius,
 cum ea commemorasset quae a Septuaginta Interpretibus sunt
 35 praetermissa, ait: "Iudaei prudenti factum dicunt esse consilio, ne
 Ptolomaeus unius Dei cultor etiam apud Hebraeos duplicem di-
 uinitatem deprehenderet, quod maxime idcirco faciebat, quia in
 Platonis dogma cadere uidebatur. Denique ubicumque sacratum
 aliquid Scriptura testatur de Patre et Filio et de Spiritu sancto, aut

14/17 Sed – sunt] cfr ISID., *Orig.* 6, 3, 5 (p. 45) 17/24 Hic – discreparet] cfr
 ISID., *Orig.* 6, 4, 1-2 (p. 45-46) 26/33 Nescio – transfert] HIER., *Praef. in Pent.*
 (p. 66, 7-67, 4) 35/41 Iudaei – uulgarent] HIER., *Praef. in Pent.* (p. 66, 1-7)

12 Pisistratus] *scripsi cum textu Isid.*, Epistratus B, Episistratus H g 13 Xerxes]
scripsi cum textu Isid. (iam g), Xexses B, Xerses H Seleucus] *scripsi cum textu Isid.*
 (iam g), Seleucius BH Ptolomaeus] Ptholomeus B et sic deinceps 14 Philadelphus]
 Philadelfus H 17 temporibus] temporis B 21 eisdem] isdem H, iisdem g
 25 Hieronymus] *scripsi* (iam g), Ieronimus et sic deinceps B, Hieronimus et sic deinceps H
 27 construxerit] *ex* estruxerit (ut uid., ut Hier.) corr. H^{a.m.} diuisi] scripta B scripti-
 tarent] *ex* scriptarent corr. H 28 Aristaeus] *scripsi*, Aristheus BH, Aristheas g
 ὑπερασπιστής] *scripsi*, YNHPACTHC B, YΠHPACΠHCTHC H 32 eruditio] eru-
 ditione g 33 uerborum copia] copia uerborum B 36 diuinitatem] *ex* diuinitem
 corr. H 38 Platonis] *ex* Platous corr. H 39 aliquid] *ins. in marg.* B

40 aliter interpretati sunt aut omnino tacuerunt, ut et regi satisfacerent et arcanum fidei non uulgarent.” Legite prologum eiusdem beati Hieronymi super librum Genesis.

cap. 3

Fuerunt et alii interpretes qui ex Hebraea lingua in Graecam sacra eloquia transtulerunt, sicut Aquila, Symmachus et Theodotion. Est etiam et uulgaris interpretatio, cuius auctor non apparet, et ob hoc sine nomine interpretis ‘quinta editio’ uocatur, quam Origenes et Eusebius Caesariensis κοινήν, id est ‘communem’ uel ‘uulgatam’, appellant, quam Origenes miro labore reperit et caeteris editionibus comparauit. Sed et multi Graeciae tractatores uariis modis eam transtulerunt atque corruerunt, quam multi Latinorum et maxime Romanorum ante sanctum Hieronymum acceperunt, et hucusque utuntur, tenent et seruant. Quorum diuersitatem immo errorem beatus Hieronymus corrigere cupiens, utpote multarum linguarum peritus, omnem Scripturam Veteris testamenti ex Hebraeo in Latinum uertit eloquium. Cuius interpretatio merito caeteris antefertur, ut Isidorus ait: “Est enim et uerborum tenacior et perspicuitate sententiae clarior.” Sed et sanctus Gregorius papa ipsius translationem caeteris asserit esse ueraciorem.

60 Est et ‘sexta editio’ de qua beatus Hieronymus “illud,” inquit, 1133
“breuiter ammoneo ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origenes et Caesariensis Eusebius omnesque Graeciae tractatores κοινήν, id est ‘communem’, appellant atque ‘uulgatam’; aliam Septuaginta Interpretum, quae in ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter uersa est, et in Hierosolimae
65 atque in orientis ecclesiis decantatur.” Et paulo post iterum infert:

43/46 Fuerunt – uocatur] ISID., *Orig.* 6, 4, 3 (p. 47) 46/48 quam – appellant] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 2 (ed. Hilberg, p. 248, 20-21) 48/49 quam – comparauit] ISID., *Orig.* 6, 4, 4 (p. 47) 52/55 Quorum – eloquium] ISID., *Orig.* 6, 4, 5 (p. 47) 56/57 Est – clarior] ISID., *Orig.* 6, 4, 5 (p. 47); AVG., *Doctr. Christ.* 2, 15 (p. 47, 2-3) 57/59 Sed – ueraciorem] cfr GREG. M., *Moral. Epist.* ad Leand. (p. 7, 225-229) 60/66 illud – decantatur] HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 2 (ed. Hilberg, p. 248, 19-25)

43 Graecam] Graeco B 44 Symmachus] *scripsi* (iam g), Symachus B, Simmachus H et] om. Hg Theodotion] *scripsi* (iam g), Theodocion BH 47 Origenes] *scripsi cum textu Hier.* (iam g), Origenis et sic deinceps BH Caesariensis] Coesariensis H κοινήν] *scripsi*, koinh in ras. B, KOINH H communem] *iter. tum del.* B 51 Latino- rum] ex Latorum corr. H 56 Isidorus] *scripsi* (iam g), Ysidorus BH enim] *ins. in marg.* H 63 κοινήν] *scripsi*, KOINH BH 64 ἑξαπλοῖς] ex anaoc B, EXΑΠΛΑΟΙC ex ΕΞΑΠΛΑΟΙC corr. H 65 Hierosolimac] Ierosolimae B

“Sicut autem in Nouo testamento, si quando apud Latinos quaestio exoritur et est inter exemplaria uarietas, concurrimus ad fontem Graeci sermonis, quo nouum scriptum est instrumentum. Ita
 70 in Veteri testamento, si quando inter Graecos Latinosque diuersitas est, ad Hebraicam confugimus ueritatem, ut quidquid de fonte proficiscitur hoc quaeramus in riuulis. Κοινή autem ista, hoc est communis editio, ipsa est quae et Septuaginta. Sed hoc interest
 75 inter utramque, quod κοινή pro locis et temporibus et pro uoluntate scriptorum uetus corrupta editio est. Ea autem, quae habetur in ἐξαπλοῖς et quam nos uertimus, ipsa est quae in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata Septuaginta Interpretum translatione seruat. Quidquid ergo ab hac discrepat, nulli dubium est quin ita et ab Hebraeorum auctoritate discordet.” Hucusque
 80 Hieronymus, hic talis ac tantus aliquando ad tribunal aeterni iudicis raptus, ubi diuina increpatione est ammonitus ut studiis diuinis insisteret et sanctae ecclesiae utilitati deseruiet.

cap. 4

Inter caetera ex emendata Septuaginta Interpretum translatione psalterium ex Graeco in Latinum uertit, illudque cantandum
 85 omnibus Galliae ac quibusdam Germaniae ecclesiis tradidit, et ob hoc ‘Gallicanum psalterium’ appellauit, Romanis adhuc ex corrupta uulgata editione psalterium canentibus. Ex qua Romani cantum composuerunt nobisque usum cantandi contradiderunt. Vnde accidit quod uerba, quae in diurnis uel in nocturnis officiis
 90 canendi more modulantur, intermisceantur et confuse nostris Psalmis inserantur, ut a minus peritis haud facile possit discerni quid nostrae uel Romanae conueniat editioni. Quod pius pater ac peritus magister Hieronymus intuens, tres editiones in uno uolumine composuit: Gallicanum psalterium quod nos canimus ordinauit in una columna, in altera Romanum, in tertia Hebraeum. Et
 95 ubicumque aliquid in nostro interpositum est quod in Hebraeo non habetur, obelo, id est ueru, taliter cum hoc signo ÷ notauit. Vbi uero ex Hebraeo aliquid addidit, cum asterisco, id est stella, * hoc modo illucescere fecit.

67/79 Sicut – discordet] HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 2 (ed. Hilberg, p. 249, 4-16) 95/99 Et – fecit] cfr HIER., *Praef. in Ps.* (p. 3, 10-4, 2)

72 Κοινή] KOINH BH 73/77 Sed – Septuaginta] *om. ob homoioteleuton, ins. in marg. B* 74 κοινή] koinh B, KOINH H 76 ἐξαπλοῖς] exanaoic B, ΕΧΑΠΑΟΙC H 79 Hebraeorum] Hebrorum H 80 tantus] tancus H 81 raptus] *om. B* 86 appellauit] appellant g 97 ÷ notauit] notauit ÷ Hg

cap. 5 100 Huius igitur summi doctoris licet scientia multum inferior, utpote qui in eius comparatione nec linguam me habere putem, a longe uestigia sequens uestrae dilectionis causa cupio aliquid discernere: quid in antiphonis, responsoriis, gradalibus, offerendis, communionibus modulando psallamus, quid in ecclesiis distincte
105 proferendo dicamus.

Et quia sensu sum paruulus, ingenio tardus, et si aetate prouectus senio iam defectus, more puerorum qui post prima elementa
solent discere Psalmorum carmina, imprimis incipio exordium sum- 1134
mens a 'timore', quia *initium sapientiae timor Domini* est, ut per
110 timorem perueniamus ad caritatem quae *perfecta foras mittit timorem*. Et non solum in cantu uerum etiam in aliis quibusdam locis ubi nostra et Romana editio in uerbis discrepare uidentur notare nitimur.

⟨Ps. 2⟩ Igitur antiphonas uel communiones quae iuxta Romanum psalterium canuntur 'Seruite Domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore', nos iuxta emendationem beati Hieronymi canimus 'et exultate ei in tremore'.

⟨Ps. 3⟩ In tertio Psalmo ubi illi canunt 'Ego dormiui et somnum coepi', nos 'Ego dormiui et soporatus sum'.

120 ⟨Ps. 4⟩ In quarto Psalmo ubi illi canunt 'Cum inuocarem te, et exaudisti me Deus', nos dicimus 'Cum inuocarem exaudiuit me Deus iustitiae meae'. Quod uero a prima persona subito transit ad secundam, ita dicens 'In tribulatione dilatasti mihi', more omnium Prophetarum agit qui solent tempora et personas saepissime
125 permutare et rationis ordinem tali modo obseruare.

⟨Ps. 5⟩ In quinto Psalmo 'Dirige in conspectu tuo uiam meam', quod ut beatus Hieronymus dicit: "Nec Septuaginta habent, nec

I, 109 Ps. 110, 10 110 I Ioh. 4, 18 115/116 Ps. 2, 11 118/119 Ps. 3, 6 120/
121 Ps. 4, 2 123 Ps. 4, 1 126 Ps. 5, 9

109/110 ut – timorem¹] cfr BENED., *Reg.* 7, 67 (p. 57): his omnibus humilitatis gradibus ascensis, monachus mox ad caritatem Dei perueniet illam quae perfecta foris mittit timorem 115/116 Seruite – tremore] CAO 4876 (Ant., Dom. per annum); AMS 39 (Comm., Fer. 6 p. Cin.) 127/135 Nec¹ – fiat] HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretilam) 4 (ed. Hilberg, p. 250, 16-251, 3)

100 igitur] ergo B utpote] scripsi (*iam g*), utpute BH 114 Igitur] itaque H g
121 exaudisti] iter. tum del. B 123 dilatasti mihi] om. B 124 agit] ait H g

Aquila, nec Symmachus, nec Theodotion, sed sola κοινή editio habet. Denique sicut in Hebraeo scriptum est, omnes uoce simili
 130 transtulerunt 'Dirige in conspectu meo uiam tuam', secundum illud quod in oratione dominica dicitur 'Pater noster qui es in caelis sanctificetur nomen tuum', non quo nobis orantibus sanctificetur, quod per se sanctum est, sed quo petamus ut, quod per naturam sui sanctum est, sanctificetur in nobis. Ergo et nunc Propheta pos-
 135 tulat ut uia Domini, quae per se recta est, etiam sibi recta fiat."

⟨Ps. 6⟩ In sexto Psalmo ubi illi canunt 'Domine ne in ira tua arguas me, neque in furore tuo corripias me', nos canimus 'Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me'. Item 'Conuertere Domine et eripe animam meam', nos dicimus
 140 'Conuertere Domine eripe animam meam'.

⟨Ps. 7⟩ In septimo ubi illi canunt 'Exurge Domine Deus meus in praecepto', nos dicimus 'Et exurge Domine'.

⟨Ps. 8⟩ In octauo Psalmo 'Videbo caelos tuos' non habetur in Graeco, sed in Hebraeo legitur 'Samacha', quod interpretatur 'caelos tuos', et de editione Theodotionis in Septuaginta Interpretibus additum est sub asterisco *.
 145

⟨Ps. 9⟩ Vbi Romani canunt 'Tibi enim derelictus est pauper, pupillo tu eris adiutor', nos relicto enim dicimus 'Tibi derelictus est pauper, orphano tu eris adiutor'.

150 ⟨Ps. 13⟩ In illo Psalmo 'Dixit insipiens' finito uersu 'Omnes declinauerunt', tres qui sequuntur, 'Sepulcrum patens est ÷ Quorum os ÷ Contritio et infelicitas ÷' usque 'non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum', in Hebraico non habentur, sed a beato Hieronymo de Graeco in nostram translationem interpositi sunt.

131/132 Matth. 6, 9 136/137 Ps. 6, 2 139 Ps. 6, 5 141/142 Ps. 7, 7 143 Ps. 8, 4 147/148 Ps. 9, 35 150 Ps. 13, 3

144/146 sed – asterisco *] HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 7 (ed. Hilberg, p. 252, 2-5)

128 Symmachus] Symachus B, Simmachus H [Theodotion] Theodocion B, Theodicion H κοινή] KOINH del. tum iter. in marg. B, KOINH H 133/134 quod¹ – sanctificetur] om. ob homoioteleuton Hg 137/138 neque – arguas me] om. ob homoioteleuton, ins. in marg. B 139 Item Con-] a.m. H 142 in praecepto] des. B 143 Videbo] Video Hg 144 Samacha] Samecha g 145 Theodotionis] Theodocionis BH 148 relicto] ex derelicto corr. B 151/152 Quorum os] om. Hg 152 infelicitas] felicitas H

155 <Ps. 16> Illi 'Custodi me Domine ut pupillam oculi', nos 'Cus-
todi me ut pupillam oculi'. Sed ubi ipsius Psalmi uerba non prae-
cedunt nec subsequuntur, non obest si in solo uersu dicimus
'Exurge Domine', sicut in illo uersu 'Saluum fac populum tuum
Domine et benedic hereditati tuae', nostrum psalterium habet 1135
160 'Saluum fac populum tuum et benedic hereditati tuae'. Vbi illi ca-
nunt 'Ego autem cum iustitia apparebo in conspectu tuo, satiabor
dum manifestabitur gloria tua', nos dicimus 'Ego autem in iustitia
apparebo conspectui tuo, satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua'.

<Ps. 17> In decimo septimo Psalmo 'Praefulgorae in conspectu
165 eius nubes transierunt', dicit beatus Cassiodorus: "Non est iste
uersus facile transeundus. 'Praefulgorae' una pars orationis est, id
est nominatiuus pluralis, et respondet ad 'nubes'. 'Nubes' autem,
sicut superius dictum est, praedicatores diuini uerbi intelligendi
sunt."

170 <Ps. 18> In decimo octauo Psalmo 'Exultauit ut gigas ad curren-
dam uiam suam' nec in Graeco nec in Hebraeo habetur 'suam', sed
a beato Hieronymo sub ueru, id est tali signo ÷, additum est. In
eodem ubi illi canunt 'Lex Domini irreprehensibilis', nos 'Lex
Domini immaculata'. In illa offerenda 'Iustitiae Domini rectae lae-
175 tificantes corda', quia desunt illa uerba quae in psalterio posita
sunt, usque in illum locum 'et dulciora super mel et fauum', rectius
caneremus 'Iustitiae Domini rectae laetificantes corda, et dulcior-
es super mel et fauum'.

<Ps. 21> In illo tractu ubi Romani canunt 'Annuntiabunt caeli
180 iustitiam eius', nos 'caeli' non dicimus, sed canimus 'Annuntia-
bunt iustitiam eius'.

155 Ps. 16, 8 158 Ps. 16, 13 158/159 Ps. 27, 9 161/162 Ps. 16, 15 164/
165 Ps. 17, 13 170/171 Ps. 18, 6 173 Ps. 18, 8 174/175 Ps. 18, 9 176 Ps. 18, 11
179/180 Ps. 21, 32

155/156 Illi – oculi] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 8 (ed. Hilberg,
p. 252, 18-19) 165/169 Non – sunt] CASSIOD., *In Ps.* 17, 13 (p. 156, 244-248) 170/
172 In – est²] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 10 (ed. Hilberg,
p. 254, 7-10) 174/175 Iustitiae – corda] AMS 53, 56, 181 (Off., Dom. 3 Quad., Fer. 4
Hebd. 3 Quad., Dom. 9 p. Oct. Pent.) 179/180 Annuntiabunt – eius] AMS 73
(Tr. 'Deus Deus meus', Dom. in Palmis)

161/162 satiabor dum] satiabitur cum B 166 transeundus] transeundumds B
168 sicut] ut B 176 rectius] rectium H

⟨Ps. 22⟩ Vbi Romani canunt 'Et poculum tuum inebrians quam praeclarum est', nostra editio habet 'et calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est'.

185 ⟨Ps. 24⟩ Vbi Romani canunt 'Vias tuas Domini notas fac mihi et semitas tuas doce me', nos uero 'Vias tuas demonstra mihi et semitas tuas doce me'.

190 ⟨Ps. 26⟩ In illo Psalmo ubi isti canunt 'Exaudi Domine uocem meam qua clamaui ad te, tibi dixit cor meum, quaesiui uultum tuum, uultum tuum Domine requiram', nos autem 'Exaudi Domine uocem meam qua clamaui (miserere mei et exaudi me), tibi dixit cor meum, exquisiuit facies mea, faciem tuam Domine requiram'.

195 ⟨Ps. 30⟩ In illa offerenda 'In te speraui Domine, dixi tu es Deus meus, in manibus tuis tempora mea', nos pro eo quod sunt 'tempora' habemus 'sortes meae'.

⟨Ps. 31⟩ In illo Psalmo 'Conuersus sum in aerumna mea', in Graeco 'mea' non habetur, sed ex Hebraico et de translatione Theodotionis sub asterisco, id est stella *, additum est.

200 ⟨Ps. 32⟩ In illa alleluia uel communionem ubi illi canunt 'Gaudete iusti in Domino', nos canimus 'Exultate iusti in Domino'.

⟨Ps. 33⟩ In illa offerenda ubi in cantu psallimus 'Et ex omnibus tribulationibus eius liberauit eum', nos psalterium decantando di-

182/183 Ps. 22, 5 185/186 Ps. 24, 4 188/190 Ps. 26, 7-8 194/195 Ps. 30, 15
197 Ps. 31, 4 200/201 Ps. 32, 1 202/203 Ps. 33, 7; cfr Ps. 33, 18

182/184 Vbi - est] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 13 (ed. Hilberg, p. 255, 13-17) 194/195 In² - mea] AMS 42, 185 (Off., Fer. 3 Hebdom. 1 Quad., Dom. 13 p. Oct. Pent.) 197/199 In¹ - est²] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 19 (p. 257, 17-19) 200/201 Gaudete - Domino] AMS 92, 99 (All./Comm., SS. Tiburtii et Valeriani, S. Nerei et Soc.) 202/203 Et - eum] AMS 44, 186 (Off. 'Immittit angelum', Fer. 5 Hebdom. 1 Quad., Dom. 14 p. Oct. Pent.), vers. 3; et ex omnibus tribulationibus ius liberauit eum; cfr AMS 97, 112 (Int. 'Clamauerunt iusti', S. Alexandri et soc., SS. Marcellini et Petri): et ex omnibus tribulationibus eorum liberauit eos (*uide adnot.*)

182/184 Vbi - est] *om. ob homoioteleuton, ins. in marg. B* 185 Vbi] *om. H g*
191 miserere mei et exaudi me] *scripsi cum textu Vulg., om. codd.* 199 Theodotionis] Theodocionis BH *) *ins. sup. l. B* 200 alleluia] antiphona g 202 In illa offerenda] *scripsi, In illo introitu codd. (uide adnot.)*

cimus 'saluabit eum'. In eodem Psalmo, ubi illi canunt 'Timete
 205 Dominum omnes sancti eius, quoniam nihil deest timentibus
 eum', nos dicimus 'non est inopia timentibus eum'. Vbi illi 'non
 deficient', nos 'non minuentur omni bono'.

⟨Ps. 41⟩ In quadragesimo primo Psalmo ubi illi canunt 'Sicut
 ceruus desiderat ad fontes', nostra translatio habet 'Quemadmo-
 210 dum desiderat ceruus'. Et in alio uersu 'Sitiuit anima mea ad
 Deum uiuum', nos habemus sub asterisco * 'ad Deum fortem'. Sci-
 endum est in hoc Psalmo bis inueniri 'salutare uultus mei Deus
 meus'. In secundo autem, id est in fine ipsius Psalmi, 'salutare uul- 1136
 tus mei et Deus meus' ita dumtaxat ut 'et' coniunctio de Hebraeo
 215 et Theodotione sub asterisco * additum sit. In eodem 'exprobra-
 uerunt mihi qui tribulant me inimici mei' quod apud Romanos
 non habetur, sed in Hebraeo positum est 'exprobrauerunt mihi
 hostes mei'.

⟨Ps. 43⟩ In Psalmo quadragesimo tertio secundum Romanos
 220 scriptum est 'et non egredieris Deus in uirtutibus nostris', sed
 'Deus' ibi superfluum est. Et ubi illi canuntur 'adhaesit in terra
 uenter noster', nos dicimus 'conglutinator est in terra uenter nos-
 ter'. Item in eodem Psalmo, cum in cantu et in uersu psallamus
 'Exurge Domine adiuua nos et libera nos propter nomen tuum',
 225 secundum editionem nostram solummodo dicimus 'Exurge ad-
 iuua nos et redime nos propter nomen tuum'.

⟨Ps. 45⟩ Vbi Romani cantant 'Adiuuabit eam Deus uultu suo,
 Deus in medio eius non commouebitur', nos dicimus 'Adiuuabit
 eam Deus mane diluculo'.

204/206 Ps. 33, 10 206/207 Ps. 33, 11 208/209 Ps. 41, 2 210/211 Ps. 41, 3
 212/213 Ps. 41, 6; Ps. 41, 12 215/216 Ps. 41, 11 220 Ps. 43, 10 221/222 Ps. 43, 25
 224 Ps. 43, 26 227/228 Ps. 45, 6

211/215 Sciendum – sit] HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 25 (ed. Hil-
 berg, p. 259, 1-6) 215/218 In – mei] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam)
 25 (ed. Hilberg, p. 259, 6-10) 219/221 In – est] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et
 Fretulam) 26 (ed. Hilberg, p. 259, 16-18) 223/226 Item – tuum] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106
 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 26 (ed. Hilberg, p. 259, 24-26)

204 saluabit] saluauit B 209 fontes] aquarum *add. tum del. B* 210 ceruus] ad
add. tum del. B 215 Theodotione] Theodocione B, Theodicione H sit] est B^{a.c.}
 216 Romanos] Romanum Hg 221/222 Et – noster²] *om. Hg*

230 <Ps. 46> Illi 'Ascendit Deus in iubilatione', nos 'Ascendit Deus in iubilo'.

<Ps. 47> Illi 'Sicut audiuius, ita et uidimus', nos 'Sicut audiuius, sic uidimus'.

235 <Ps. 48> In Psalmo quadragésimo octauo ille uersiculus 'Homo cum in honore esset' bis positus est, et in priore additam habet 'et' coniunctionem, ut 'Et homo cum in honore esset' in fine coniunctionem non habet, sed ita 'Homo cum in honore esset'.

240 <Ps. 49> Illi 'Inuoca me in die tribulationis tuae, eripiam te et magnificabis me', nos autem 'Et inuoca me in die tribulationis, et erua me et honorificabis me'.

<Ps. 50> In quinquagesimo Psalmo illorum editio habet 'Amplius laua me ab iniustitia mea, et a delicto meo munda me', nostra uero 'Amplius laua me ab iniquitate mea, et a peccato meo munda me'. Illa 'Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego agnosco, et delictum meum coram me est semper', nostra uero 'Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco, et peccatum meum contra me est semper'. Illa 'Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in delictis peperit me mater mea', nostra 'Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea'. Item illa 'Doceam iniquos uias tuas', nostra uero 'Docebo iniquos uias tuas'. Illi iuxta finem Psalmi canunt 'Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus, cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit', nos autem 'Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus, cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non despiciet'.

255 <Ps. 52> In quinquagesimo secundo Psalmo, qui ita incipit 'Dixit insipiens', in secundo uersu additum habet 'non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum', nos uersum finimus solummodo 'non est qui faciat bonum'. At uero quarto uersui, qui ita

230 Ps. 46, 6 232 Ps. 47, 9 234/235 Ps. 48, 13; Ps. 48, 21 238/239 Ps. 49, 15
241/242 Ps. 50, 4 244/245 Ps. 50, 5 247/248 Ps. 50, 7 249/250 Ps. 50, 15
251/252 Ps. 50, 19 256/257 Ps. 52, 2

232/233 Illi – uidimus] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 28 (ed. Hilberg, p. 260, 11-15) 234/237 In – esset] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 29 (ed. Hilberg, p. 260, 22-26)

242 meo] mea *H* 244 ego] *om. g* 255 ita] sic *B* 257 finimus solummodo] *ex solummodo finimus corr. B*

incipit ‘Omnes declinauerunt’, adiungimus in fine ‘non est usque
 260 ad unum’. Illi modulantur ‘Nonne cognoscent omnes qui operan-
 tur iniquitatem, qui deuorant plebem meam sicut escam panis’, et
 paulo post ‘trepidauerunt timore ubi non erat timor’, nos autem
 ‘Nonne scient omnes qui operantur iniquitatem, qui deuorant
 plebem meam ut cibum panis’, et in fine uersus ‘trepidauerunt ti-
 265 more ubi non fuit timor’. Illi ‘cum auerterit Dominus captiuita-
 tem plebis suae’, nos ‘cum conuerterit Dominus captiuitatem
 plebis suae’. 1137

⟨Ps. 53⟩ Illi primum uersum subsequentis Psalmi ita finiunt ‘et
 in uirtute tua libera me’, nos uero ‘et in uirtute tua iudica me’.

270 ⟨Ps. 54⟩ Illi cantant ‘Exaudi Deus orationem meam, et ne des-
 pexeris deprecationem meam; intende in me et exaudi me’, nos
 uero ‘intende mihi et exaudi me’. In eodem Psalmo ubi illi modu-
 lantur ‘Timor et tremor uenerunt super me, et contexerunt me
 tenebrae’, nos ‘Timor et tremor uenit super me, et contexit me
 275 tenebra’. Nec uos conturbet quod interpretes, contra regulam
 grammaticae artis, singularem numerum quod est ‘tenebra’ posue-
 runt pro plurali. Cum sancto Gregorio teste, “uerba caelestis ora-
 culi non sint inflectenda sub regulis Donati,” sicut idem Propheta
 non ueritus ferulam grammaticorum posuit *Libera me de sangui-*
 280 *nibus* et in Iohannis Euangelio *Qui non ex sanguinibus*, inquit, *ne-*
que ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri, sed ex Deo nati sunt.
 Sicut ibi numerum pluralem posuit pro singulari, ita hic singula-
 rem pro plurali posuit, Hebraice ueritatis consonantiam sequens
 quae dicit ‘Timor et tremor uenit super me, et operuit me caligo’.
 285 Vbi illi canunt ‘Iacta in Domino cogitatum tuum’, nos canimus
 ‘Iacta super Dominum curam tuam’.

⟨Ps. 56⟩ In illo quinquagesimo sexto Psalmo ille uersus ‘Exal-
 tare super caelos Deus’ in medio et in fine ponitur. In medio ha-

259 Ps. 52, 4 260/262 Ps. 52, 5-6 265/266 Ps. 52, 7 268/269 Ps. 53, 3
 270/271 Ps. 54, 3 273/274 Ps. 54, 6 279 Ps. 50, 16 280/281 Ioh. 1, 13
 284 Ps. 54, 6 285 Ps. 54, 23 287/288 Ps. 56, 6; Ps. 56, 12

277/278 uerba – Donati] GREG. M., *Moral. Epist. ad. Leand.* (p. 7, 221-222), *sed* non
 sint inflectenda (l. 278)] restringam

266 suae] tuae Hg conuerterit] ex uerterit *ut uid. corr. H* 270 ne] *ins. sup. l. H*
 275 contra] circa g

betur 'et in omnem terram gloria tua', in fine 'et super omnem
290 terram gloria tua'.

⟨Ps. 58⟩ Vbi nos alternatim in choro canimus 'Deus ostendit
mihi super inimicos meos, ne occidas eos ne quando obliuiscantur
populi mei', illi 'Deus meus ostendit mihi bona inter inimicos
meos, ne occideris eos ne quando obliuiscantur legis tuae'. Et in
295 sequenti uersu, pro eo quod nos canimus 'depone eos protector
meus Domine', illi dicunt 'destrue eos protector meus Domine'.

⟨Ps. 59⟩ In quinquagesimo nono Psalmo habetur 'Iuda rex
meus, Moab olla spei meae', in centesimo septimo Psalmo 'Moab
lebes spei meae'. Vbi nos dicimus 'mihi alienigenae subditi sunt',
300 Romani 'mihi allophili subditi sunt'. In fine istius Psalmi canimus
'et ipse ad nihilum deducet tribulantes nos', in alio 'et ipse ad ni-
hilum deducet inimicos nostros'.

⟨Ps. 65⟩ In illo uersu 'Omnis terra adoret te et psallat tibi' ubi
illi concludunt 'Psalmum dicat nomini tuo Domine', Romano-
305 rum editio habet 'nomini tuo altissime', nostra tantummodo
'Psalmum dicat nomini tuo', Hebraica 'canit nomini tuo'.

⟨Ps. 67⟩ Vbi illi canunt 'Deus in loco sancto suo, Deus qui in-
habitare facit unanimes in domo', nos dicimus 'qui inhabitare fa-
cit unius moris in domo'. De hoc uersu qui apud nos legitur
310 'Viderunt ingressus tui Deus', dicit beatus Hieronymus: "Ergo a
nobis ita legendum est 'Viderunt ingressus tuos Deus', et scripto-
ris uitium relinquendum qui nominatiuum posuit pro accusa-
tiuo." Vbi illi canunt 'Ascendens in altum, captiuam duxit
captiuitatem, dedit dona hominibus', nos canimus 'Ascendisti in
315 altum, coepisti captiuitatem, accepisti dona in hominibus'.

⟨Ps. 68⟩ In illo Psalmo 'Saluum me fac' ubi nos canimus 'oper- 1138
uit confusio faciem meam', illi 'operuit reuerentia faciem meam'.

291/293 Ps. 58, 12 295/296 Ps. 58, 12 297/298 Ps. 59, 9-10 298/299 Ps.
107, 10 299 Ps. 59, 10 301 Ps. 59, 14 303 Ps. 65, 4 307/308 Ps. 67, 6-7
310 Ps. 67, 25 313/314 Ps. 67, 19 316/317 Ps. 68, 8

291/294 Vbi – tuae] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 33 (ed. Hilberg,
p. 263, 20-264, 2) 310/312 Ergo – accusatiuo] HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et
Fretulam) 41 (ed. Hilberg, p. 266, 19-21)

291 in choro] *om. B* 298 Psalmo] *om. H g* 299 alienigenae] aligenigenae *H*
308 qui] Deus *H g* (*uide adnot.*)

Nos 'Extraneus factus sum fratribus meis, et peregrinus filiis matris meae', illi 'hospes filiis matris meae'.

320 <Ps. 71> In illo Psalmo 'Deus iudicium tuum regi da' illi canunt 'omnes reges terrae, omnes gentes seruiant ei', nos 'omnes reges, <omnes gentes> seruiant ei'. "In eodem," dicit beatus Hieronymus, "Benedictus Dominus Deus Israhel" dicitis in Graeco 'Deus' bis non haberi, cum in Hebraico et apud Septuaginta manifestissime
325 Domini Deique nuncupatio mysterium Trinitatis sit," id est 'Benedictus Dominus Deus, Deus Israhel'.

<Ps. 72> Illi canunt 'Quia zelauit in peccatoribus', nos 'Quia zelauit super iniquos'. In eodem Psalmo 'Tenuisti manum dexteram meam, et uoluntate tua deduxisti me, et cum gloria assumpsisti me', nos uero 'et cum gloria suscepisti me'.

<Ps. 73> In septuagesimo tertio Psalmo, cum beatus Hieronymus exponeret illum uersum 'Respice in testamentum tuum quia repleti sunt', ita exposuit 'qui obscurati sunt <terrae> dumis iniquitatum': "Dumi," inquit, "interpretantur 'spinae'. Hi ergo qui
335 obscurauerunt persecutionibus suis terram tuam, repleti sunt sentibus iniquitatis. Tu uero Domine qui per testamentum tuum, siue uetus siue nouum, quia utrumque a te processit, etiam quod unum habetur promissisti protegere tuos, succisis nunc spinis erue nos."

<Ps. 75> In illo Psalmo ubi illi canunt 'Vouete et reddite Domino Deo uestro omnes qui in circuitu eius offertis munera', nos
340 'qui in circuitu eius afferent munera'. In illa offerenda illi canunt 'Terra tremuit et quieuit', nos 'Terra timuit et quieuit'.

318/319 Ps. 68, 9 321 Ps. 71, 11 323 Ps. 71, 18 327 Ps. 72, 3 328/330 Ps. 72, 24 332/333 Ps. 73, 20 339/340 Ps. 75, 12 342 Ps. 75, 9

322/325 In - sit] HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 44 (ed. Hilberg, p. 268, 3-6) 334/338 Dumi - nos] Ps. HIER., *Breu. in Ps.* 73 (col. 1034) 342 Terra' - quieuit'] AMS 80 (Off., Dom. Pasch.)

319 illi - meae²] *om. sed illi hospes filiis meae ins. in marg. B* 320 tuum] *om. g*
321 omnes reges²] *om. g* 322 omnes gentes] *scripsi cum textu Vulg. (iam g), om. codd.*
323 dicitis] *dictus g* 324 haberi] *ex habere corr. B* 328 dexteram] *dextram H*
330 me¹] *om. B* 331 septuagesimo tertio] LXXII *g* 333 qui] *quia g* terrae] *scripsi cum. textibus Ps. Hier. et Vulg., om. codd.* 335 suis] *om. B* sentibus] *sensibus H g*
338 tuos] *nos g* 341 afferent] *offerent B*

345 <Ps. 76> In illo septuagesimo sexto Psalmo in illo uersu ubi multi canunt 'Et meditatus sum nocte cum corde meo, et scobe-
bam spiritum meum' uel 'scopabam', Hieronymus ita ponit: "Et
scrobebam spiritum meum', hoc est," inquit, "fodiebam, quasi
agrum ut ibi mitterem semen doctrinarum Domini."

350 <Ps. 77> In illo uersu ubi canitur 'Sacerdotes eorum in gladio ceciderunt', multi dicunt 'et uiduae eorum non plorabuntur', fu-
turo tempore, sed nos rectius dici putamus, praeterito tempore,
'non plorabantur', quia Propheta praeteritos sermones quasi
transactos narrat. Et Hebraicum huic sententiae congruit cum di-
cit 'Sacerdotes eius gladio ceciderunt, et uidue eius non sunt fle-
tae'.

355 <Ps. 78> Vbi illi 'Posuerunt mortalia seruorum tuorum', nos di-
cimus 'morticina seruorum tuorum'.

<Ps. 79> Et ubi illi 'Qui sedes super cherubim appare coram Ef-
frem', nos 'Qui sedes super cherubim manifestare coram Effraim'.

360 <Ps. 80> In illo introitu 'Exultate Deo adiutori nostro' ubi illi
canunt 'Canite initio mensis tuba', nos canimus 'Bucinate in neo-
menia tuba'.

<Ps. 90> In illo uersu ubi illi canunt 'scapulis suis', nos 'in sca-
pulis suis'. Illi canunt 'perambulante in tenebris a ruina', nos 'ab
incursu et daemonio meridiano'. Illi 'Inuocauit me', nos 'clamauit
365 ad me'.

<Ps. 91> Vbi illi canunt 'Iustus ut palma florebit, sicut cedrus
quae in Libano est multiplicabitur', nos 'Iustus ut palma florebit,
ut cedrus Libani multiplicabitur'.

344/345 Ps. 76, 7 348/349 Ps. 77, 64 355 Ps. 78, 2 357 Ps. 79, 2-3
359 Ps. 80, 2 360 Ps. 80, 4 362 Ps. 90, 4 363 Ps. 90, 6 364 Ps. 90, 15 366/
367 Ps. 91, 13

345/347 Et – Domini] Ps. HIER., *Breu. in Ps. 76* (col. 1040) 359 Exultate – nos-
tro] AMS 190 (Int., Fer. 4 Q.T. Sept.)

343 septuaginto sexto] *scripsi*, septuagesimo septimo BH, LXXVII g 344 sum]
om. H g 355 tuorum] suorum B 357 Et] *om. H g* 358 Effraim] Ephraim g
360 neomenia] comenia H, comenia (neomenia) g 363 a ruina] aruia H g
367 quae] *est add. tum del. B*

370 <Ps. 92> Illi canunt 'Dominus regnauit, decorem induit, induit 1139
Dominus fortitudinem et praecinxit se uirtute', nos 'Dominus
regnauit, decore indutus est, indutus est Dominus fortitudine et
praecinxit se'.

<Ps. 94> In Psalmo nonagesimo quarto, qui ita incipit 'Venite
exultemus Domino', ubi illi canunt 'Quoniam non repellit Domi-
nus plebem suam', nostra editio non habet. Vbi illi canunt 'Quia
375 in manu eius sunt omnes fines terrae, et altitudines montium ipse
conspicit', nos 'Quia in manu eius sunt omnes fines terrae, et alti-
tudines montium ipsius sunt'. Illi 'et aridam fundauerunt manus
eius', nos 'et siccam manus eius formauerunt'. Illi 'ploremus coram
380 Domino qui fecit nos', nos 'ploremus ante Dominum qui fecit
nos'. Illi 'nos autem populus eius et oues pascuae eius', nos 'et nos
populus pascuae eius et oues manus eius'. Illi 'Sicut in exacerbati-
one', nos 'Sicut in irritatione'. Illi 'probauerunt et uiderunt opera
mea', nos 'probauerunt', et adiungimus sub obelo ÷ 'me', 'et uide-
385 runt opera mea'. Illi 'Quadraginta annis proximus fui generationi
huic, et dixi semper hi errant corde', nos 'Quadraginta annis of-
fensus fui generationi illi, et dixi semper errant corde'. Illi 'quibus
iuraui in ira mea si introibunt in requiem meam', nos 'ut iuraui in
ira mea si intrabunt in requiem meam'.

390 <Ps. 95> Vbi Romani canunt 'Confessio et pulchritudo in con-
spectu eius, sanctitas et magnificentia', nos 'Confessio et pul-
chritudo in conspectu eius, sanctimonia et magnificentia'. Illi
'Tollite hostias et introite in atria eius, adorate Dominum in aula
sancta eius', nos 'Tollite hostias et introite in atria eius, adorate
395 Dominum in atrio sancto eius'. Illi 'Etenim correxit orbem qui
non commouebitur, iudicabit populos in aequitate et gentes in ira
sua', nos tantummodo 'iudicabit populos in aequitate'.

<Ps. 97> Illi 'Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum, ante con-
spectum gentium', nos 'in conspectu gentium reuelauit iustitiam

369/370 Ps. 92, 1 374/375 Ps. 94, 3 (*Ps. rom.*) 375/377 Ps. 94, 4 378/
379 Ps. 94, 5 379/380 Ps. 94, 6 381 Ps. 94, 7 382 Ps. 94, 9 383/384 Ps.
94, 9 385/386 Ps. 94, 10 387/388 Ps. 94, 10 390/391 Ps. 95, 6 393/394 Ps.
95, 8-9 395/397 Ps. 95, 10 398/399 Ps. 97, 2

381/382 et nos populus pascuae eius et oues manus eius] *scripsi cum textu Vulg.*, nos
autem populus eius (eius *om. g*) et oues manus (maris *g*) eius *BH g* (*uide uersum supra*)
387 generationi] huic *add. tum del. B* 395 eius] *om. B* 397 populos] *om. B*
399 releuauit] releuabit *H*

400 suam'. Illi 'Viderunt omnes fines terrae, salutare Dei nostri', nos
'Viderunt omnes termini terrae'.

⟨Ps. 101⟩ In illo centesimo primo Psalmo ubi illi canunt 'Percus-
sus sum sicut faenum et aruit cor meum, quia oblitus sum mandu-
care panem meum', nos dicimus 'Percussum est ut faenum et aruit
405 cor meum, quia oblitus sum comedere panem meum'. Illi canunt
'potum meum cum fletu temperabam', nos 'potum meum cum
fletu miscebam'.

⟨Ps. 103⟩ In illo uersu 'Hoc mare magnum et spatiosum mani-
bus' in Graeco non habetur 'manibus'. Ex Hebraico et de editione
410 Theodotionis in Septuaginta sub asterisco *, id est stella, additum
est. Metaphorice dicitur 'de mare', quasi expansas manus habeat et
in se cuncta suscipiat.

⟨Ps. 107⟩ Apud Romanos canitur 'Exurge gloria mea', apud nos
tantummodo 'Exurge psalterium'. Nam 'gloria mea' nec apud He-
415 braeos neque apud ullum interpretem reperitur, sed solummodo
in quinquagesimo sexto Psalmo inuenitur.

⟨Ps. 109⟩ In centesimo nono Psalmo, qui ita incipit 'Dixit Do-
minus Domino meo', "primum nomen Domini," ut beatus Hiero- 1140
nymus dicit, "in Hebraeo his litteris scribitur quibus Dominus
420 Pater designatur. Secundum uero nomen Domini his litteris scri-
bitur quibus solent homines Dominum uocare. Vnde et a Do-
mino Patre, homini qui a Deo assumptus est praecipitur, ut sedeat.
Hoc aduersus Arianos diximus, et aduersus eos qui dicunt maio-
rem patrem qui iubet ut sedeat, quam ille cui iubetur. Omnia
425 Euangelia personant de persona hominis, et nunc non est necesse
approbatio, quia omnia quaecumque uilia uidentur, referuntur ad
carnem."

400 Ps. 97, 3 402/404 Ps. 101, 5 406 Ps. 101, 10 408 Ps. 103, 25 413 Ps.
107, 3 414/416 Nam – inuenitur] cfr Ps. 56, 9 417/418 Ps. 109, 1

408/412 In – suscipiat] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 65 (ed. Hil-
berg, p. 280, 25-281, 8) 413/416 Apud – inuenitur] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sun-
niam et Fretulam) 69 (ed. Hilberg, p. 284, 1-5) 418/427 primum – carnem] Ps. HIER.,
Breu. in Ps. 109 (col. 1163-1164)

403 sum²] comedere *add. tum del. B* 406 temperabam] iperabam *ut uid. B*
potum²] poculum *H^{p.c.} g* 410 Theodotionis] Theodocionis *B* id est stella] *ins.*
sup. l. B 420 Pater] *om. B*

⟨Ps. 110⟩ Ille Psalmus qui incipit ‘Confitebor tibi Domine in toto corde meo’, hic ‘meo’ superfluum est.

430 ⟨Ps. 111⟩ Vbi Romani ‘Exortum est in tenebris lumen rectis corde’, nos ‘corde’ non habemus. Romani ‘In memoria aeterna erit iustus, ab auditu malo non timebit’, nos ‘ab auditione mala non timebit’.

435 ⟨Ps. 114⟩ ‘Quia inclinavit aurem suam mihi et in diebus meis inuocabo te’, dicit beatus Hieronymus in epistola sua ad quosdam: “Dicitis quod in Graeco non sit ‘te’, et bene de uestris codicibus radendum est. In ipso ‘Placebo Domino in regione uiuorum’, pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis ‘Placebo in conspectu Domini’, sed hoc superfluum est.”

440 ⟨Ps. 117⟩ In illo Psalmo ‘Confitemini Domino’ Romani canunt ‘Circumdantes circumdederunt me, et in nomine Domini uindictabor in eis’, nos ‘et in nomine Domini quia ultus sum in eos’. Item in eodem illi ‘O Domine saluum me fac, o Domine bene prosperare’, nos ‘O Domine saluum fac, o Domine prosperare’.

445 ⟨Ps. 118⟩ In centesimo decimo octauo Psalmo ubi Romani canunt ‘Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua Domine super mel et fauum ori meo’, nos ‘Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua super mel ori meo’. ‘Anima mea in manibus tuis semper’, de hoc uersu dicit beatus Hieronymus ad Sunniam et Fretulam: “Pro quo
450 in Graeco legisse uos dicitis ‘anima mea in manibus tuis semper’. Sed sciendum et apud Septuaginta et omnes alios interpretes scriptum esse ‘in manibus meis’ et non ‘in manibus tuis’. Et omnes apud Graecos ecclesiastici interpretes istum locum sic edisserunt, et est breuiter hic sensus: cotidie periclitor et quasi in manibus
455 meis sanguinem meum porto, et tamen legem tuam non obli-

428/429 Ps. 110, 1 430/431 Ps. 111, 4 431/432 Ps. 111, 7 434/435 Ps. 114, 2
437/438 Ps. 114, 9 441/442 Ps. 117, 12 443/444 Ps. 117, 25 446/447 Ps.
118, 103 448 Ps. 118, 109

428/429 Ille – est] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 71 (ed. Hilberg, p. 284, 18-20) 436/439 Dicitis – est] HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 73 (ed. Hilberg, p. 285, 2-5) 440/442 In – eos] cfr HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 74 (ed. Hilberg, p. 285, 6-8) 449/460 Pro – tuam] HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 75 (ed. Hilberg, p. 286, 2-15)

429 meo²] in eo g 434 meis] *iter. H* 435 epistola] *pla cum signo abbrev. H*
438 legisse uos] uos legisse B 451 omnes] apud B

uiscor. In eodem 'Exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi mei, quia non
custodierunt legem tuam', pro quo in Graeco legisse uos dicitis
'quia non custodiui legem tuam', sed hoc superfluum, quia et in
460 Hebraeo legitur 'Riui aquarum fluebant de oculis meis, quia non
custodierunt legem tuam'." Romani canunt 'Vidi non seruantes
pactum et tabescebam', nos 'Vidi praeuaricantes et tabescebam'.

⟨Ps. 119⟩ In illo uersu 'Domine libera animam meam a labiis
iniquis, a lingua dolosa', in Graeco legisse uos dicitis 'et a lingua
dolosa'. 'Et' ergo superfluum est.

465 ⟨Ps. 120⟩ In subsequenti Psalmo ubi illi canunt 'Leuaui oculos
meos ad montes', nos dicimus 'in montes'.

⟨Ps. 123⟩ Vbi illi canunt 'Nisi quod Dominus', nos 'Nisi quia 1141
Dominus'.

470 ⟨Ps. 126⟩ In illo uersu 'Beatus uir qui impleuit desiderium suum
ex ipsis', et in Graeco dicitur 'uir' non haberi, quod manifestissime
et in Hebraeo et in Septuaginta continetur.

⟨Ps. 134⟩ In Psalmo centesimo trigesimo quarto ubi Romani
canunt 'Laudate Dominum quia benignus est', nos 'Laudate Do-
minum quia bonus [est] Dominus'. Vbi illi canunt 'Quia iudicabit
475 Dominus populum suum, et in seruis suis consolabitur', nos 'de-
precabitur'.

480 ⟨Ps. 135⟩ "Qui fecit luminaria magna", dicit beatus Hierony-
mus ad eos quos supra, "dicitis, quia in Graeco inueneritis 'magna
solus', sed hoc de superiori uersiculo ubi legimus 'Qui facit mira-
bilia magna solus'. Ibi ergo legendum est et hic quasi superfluum
est et non scribendum."

456/457 Ps. 118, 136 460/461 Ps. 118, 158 462/463 Ps. 119, 2 465/466 Ps.
120, 1 467 Ps. 123, 1 469/470 Ps. 126, 5 473 Ps. 134, 3 474/475 Ps. 134, 14
477 Ps. 135, 7

462/464 Domine – est] HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 76 (ed. Hil-
berg, p. 286, 21-24) 469/471 Beatus – continetur] HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam
et Fretulam) 77 (ed. Hilberg, p. 286, 25-287, 3) 477/481 Qui – scribendum] HIER.,
Epist. 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 80 (ed. Hilberg, p. 287, 20-24)

457 legisse] le- in ras. *H^{a.m.}* 458 in] ins. sup. l. *H^{a.m.}* 459 Hebraeo] Graeco B
461 tabescebam¹] tabescam g 463 a¹] ins. sup. l. H 471 Hebraeo] scripsi cum textu
Hier., Graeco BH g 473 est] om. B 474 est] deleui cum textu Vulg.

⟨Ps. 136⟩ In illo Psalmo 'Super flumina' ubi illi cantant 'dum recordaremur tui Sion', nos dicimus 'cum recordaremur Sion'. Illi canunt 'Memento Domine filiorum Edom', nos 'Memor esto'.

485 ⟨Ps. 137⟩ In illa offerenda 'Si ambulauero' ubi illi canunt 'extendes manum', nos 'extendisti'.

⟨Ps. 139⟩ In illo tractu 'Eripe me Domine' ubi illi cantant 'a uiro iniquo libera me', nos 'eripe me'. Illi 'Qui cogitauerunt malitias in corde', nos 'Qui cogitauerunt iniquitates'. Illi 'ab hominibus iniquis libera me Domine', nos 'eripe me'. Illi 'laqueos', nos 'laqueum'. Illi 'Et funes extenderunt in laqueum pedibus meis', nos 'Et funes extenderunt in laqueum'. Illi 'Obumbra caput meum', nos 'Obumbrasti'.

495 ⟨Ps. 141⟩ In illo responsorio ubi illi canunt 'Educ de carcere animam meam', nos 'Educ de custodia'.

⟨Ps. 142⟩ Vbi illi canunt 'Anxiatus est in me spiritus meus', nos 'Anxiatus est super me spiritus meus'.

500 ⟨Ps. 143⟩ In Psalmo centesimo quadragesimo tertio ubi Romana editio habet 'Qui das salutem regibus, qui liberasti Dauid seruum tuum de gladio maligno', nostra habet 'Qui das salutem regibus, qui redemisti Dauid seruum suum de gladio maligno eripe me'. Nec perturbare debet lectorem subita transmutatio personae uel temporis, quia solent Prophetæ Spiritu sancto edocti transire de personis ad personas, et temporibus ad tempora, et sic
505 diuina proferre eloquia.

⟨Ps. 144⟩ In illo introitu ubi illi cantant 'Sancti tui Domine benedicent te', nos 'Sancti tui benedicant tibi'. In illo gradale 'Prope

482/483 Ps. 136, 1 484 Ps. 136, 7 485/486 Ps. 137, 7 487/488 Ps. 139, 2
488/489 Ps. 139, 3 489/490 Ps. 139, 5 490 Ps. 139, 6 491 Ps. 139, 6 492 Ps.
139, 8 494/495 Ps. 141, 8 496 Ps. 142, 4 499/500 Ps. 143, 10 506/507 Ps.
144, 10 507/508 Ps. 144, 18

485 Si ambulauero] AMS 57, 194 (Off., Fer. 5 Hebd. 3 Quad., Dom. 19 p. Oct. Pent)
487 Eripe me Domine] AMS 89 (Tr., Fer. 6 in Parasc.) 491/492 Illi – laqueum] cfr
HIER., *Epist.* 106 (= ad Sunniam et Fretulam) 83 (ed. Hilberg, p. 288, 15-18) 494/
495 Educ – meam] CAO 6622 (Resp., Dom. 1 Quad.) 506/507 Sancti – te] AMS 98,
105 (Int., SS. Tiburtii et Valeriani, S. Gordiani et soc.) 507/508 Prope – eum] AMS 5,
7bis (Grad., Fer. 4 Q.T. Adu., Dom. 4 Adu.)

483 Sion¹] Syon BH et sic deinceps cum] dum BH^{a.c.} 484 canunt] cantant B
501 redemisti] redemit Hg (uide adnot.)

est Dominus omnibus inuocantibus eum' uersus canitur 'Laudem Domini loquetur os meum, et benedicat omnis caro nomen sanctum eius', nos 'Laudationem Domini loquetur os meum, et benedicat omnis caro nomini sancto eius'.

⟨Ps. 145⟩ In illo Psalmo ubi illi canunt 'Lauda anima mea Dominum, laudabo Dominum in uita mea, psallam Deo meo quamdiu ero', nos 'psallam Deo meo quamdiu fuero'.

515 ⟨Ps. 146⟩ In illo centesimo quadragésimo sexto Psalmo, qui ita incipit 'Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus est Psalmus', inter quosdam contentio est utrum rectius dicatur, 'Laudate Dominum quia bonus est' aut 'Laudate Dominum quia bonus est Psalmus'. Sed ex Hebraeo, ubi dicitur 'Laudate Dominum quoniam bonum
520 est canticum', animaduertere possumus quod rectius dicatur 'quia 1142 bonus est psalmus', id est bona res psallere, ut beatus Hieronymus exponit: "Psallere autem," inquit, "non uoce sed corde. Quanti bonam uocem habent et quoniam peccatores sunt, male psallunt. Bene psallit qui cantat in corde, qui cantat Christum in conscientia."
525

Haec pauca de Psalmis utcumque sufficiant dicta.

⟨II. DE QVIBVSDAM ISAIÆ PROPHETAE SERMONIBVS⟩

cap. 6

Nunc manum conabor transmittere ad Isaiam qui, ut dicit beatus Hieronymus, "non tam Propheta quam Euangelista et Apostolus est dicendus". Ipse enim de se et de caeteris Euangelistis
5 testatur dicens: *Quam speciosi pedes euangelizantium bona, euangelizantium pacem*. Et iterum de seipso: *Spiritus Domini super me*

508/510 Ps. 144, 21 512/514 Ps. 145, 2 516 Ps. 146, 1

II, 5/6 Rom. 10, 15; cfr Is. 52, 7 6/7 Luc. 4, 18; cfr Is. 61, 1

522/524 Psallere – conscientia] Ps. HIER., *Breu. in Ps. 146* (col. 1253)

II, 3/4 non – dicendus] HIER., *Prol. in Is.* (p. 3-4)

508 uersus] *om. B*, ubi *g* 522 autem] *om. B* 526 Haec – dicta] *om. sed spat. uac. B*

II, 1 scripsi ex epistola ut supra, *om. codd.*, *om. g* 2 Isaiam] scripsi, Esayam prophetam *B^{a.c.}*, Esayam *B^{p.c.}*, Esaiam *H g* dicit beatus] beatus dicit *H g* 4 Euangelistis] Euangelis *B* 5 bona euangelizantium] *om. ob homoioteleuton B*

propter quod unxit me, euangelizare pauperibus misit me. Et quia ‘apostolus’ interpretatur ‘missus’, ad ipsum quasi ad Apostolum loquitur Deus *Quem mittam et quis ibit ad populum istum?* et ille
 10 respondit *Ecce ego mitte me.* Et quia multi, non solum litterarum scientia minus perfecti, uerum etiam liberalibus artibus eruditi, solent in hoc Propheta multo aliter quam ueritas se habeat in lectione distinguere, uel in cantu uerba proferre, placuit summatim loca notare ubi minus recte sententias distinguant, uel uerba aliter
 15 quam se ueritas habeat promunt.

Nunc primo uideamus de eo quod scriptum est ‘Quo mihi multitudinem uictimarum uestrarum, dicit Dominus’. Et cum inferendum et distinguendum sit ‘plenus sum’, hoc est ‘nulla re indigeo’, secundum quod alibi scriptum est *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius*, quidam uitiose huic sententiae ‘plenus sum’ per ablatiuum adiungunt ‘holocausto arietum et adipe pinguium’, et post inferunt accusatiuum ‘et sanguinem uitulorum et agnorum et hircorum nolui’, cum priora uerba ‘holocaustum arietum et adipem pinguium’ per accusatiuum sunt proferenda, sicut et hoc
 25 quod sequitur: ‘et sanguinem uitulorum et agnorum et hircorum nolui’.

Et iterum in eo loco ubi scriptum est ‘Primo tempore alleuiata est terra Zabulon et terra Neptalim, et in nouissimo aggrauata est uia maris trans Iordanen Galilaeae’, ubi quidam dictionem quae
 30 est ‘gentium’ subsequenti sententiae iungunt, ita: ‘gentium populus qui ambulabat in tenebris’, cum longe aliter sit distinguendum. Denique duae sunt ‘Galilaeae’: una ‘trans Iordanen’ in qua uiginti ciuitates Salomon dedit Hiram regi Tyrriorum in sorte tribus Neptalim, altera iuxta stagnum Genesareth in tribu Zabulon circa Ti-

9/10 Is. 6, 8 16/17 Quo – Dominus] Is. 1, 11 19/20 Ps. 23, 1 27/29 Primo – Galilaeae] Is. 9, 1 30/31 gentium – tenebris] Is. 9, 1-2

7/10 Et – me] cfr HAIMO, *Is. Praef.* (p. 114, 17-21) 16/17 Quo – Dominus] *loc. liturg. non inueni* 17/20 Et – eius] cfr HIER., *In Is.* 1, 11 (p. 17, 21-22); HAIMO, *Is.* 1 (p. 126, 276-277) 27/29 Primo – Galilaeae] *Ord. rom.* 13A, 13 (vol. 2, p. 486, 2; *Lectio*, *Vig. Nat. Dom.*), *Ord. rom.* 13B, 14 (vol. 2, p. 501, 4-5; *Lectio*, *Vig. Nat. Dom.*), et cetera (*sed uide adnot.*)

11 etiam] *una litt. del. post uerbum B* 13 in] *om. Hg* 17 Dominus] *punct. interrog. add. in cod. B* 24 sunt] *sint B* 28 Neptalim] *Nephtalim et sic deinceps g* 29 Galilaeae] *Gallilee et sic deinceps B* 33 Salomon] *Solomon B* Hiram] *scripsi (iam g), Hyram B, Iram H* 34 Genesareth] *Genazereth B* Tiberiadem] *scripsi (iam g), Tyberiaden BH*

35 beriadem, ad cuius distinctionem quae est in Iudaea dicit nunc
 'trans Iordanen Galilaeae gentium'. Deinde infert 'Populus qui
 ambulabat in tenebris uidit lucem magnam'. Et ubi scriptum est
 'et sceptrum exactoris eius superasti sicut in die Madian', quidam
 40 mendose pro ablatiuo singulari ponunt pluralem et dicunt 'sicut
 in diebus Madian'.

In illo introitu quem canimus in die Natalis Domini 'Puer na-
 tus est nobis et filius datus est nobis', nostra translatio secundum
 Hebraicam ueritatem habet 'Paruulus natus est nobis, filius datus
 est nobis'. Et pro eo quod canimus 'cuius imperium super umerum 1143
 45 eius', Hebraica ueritas habet 'et factus est principatus super ume-
 rum eius'. Et pro eo quod canimus 'et uocabitur nomen eius magni
 consilii angelus', in Hebraeo sex nomina habentur: 'admirabilis',
 'consiliarius', 'Deus', 'fortis', 'pater futuri saeculi', 'princeps pacis'.
 Vbi notandum quod non, ut plerique putant, bina iungenda sunt
 50 nomina ut legamus 'admirabilis consiliarius' et rursum 'Deus for-
 tis', sed 'admirabilis' legendum est separatim, et 'consiliarius' seor-
 sum, et 'Deus' separatim, deinde 'fortis', postmodum iungenda
 sunt duo nomina 'pater futuri saeculi', 'princeps pacis'.

In illa lectione 'Super montem excelsum ascende', quidam co-
 55 dices in masculino genere habent 'qui euangelizas Sion' et 'qui
 euangelizas Hierusalem', cum iuxta Hebraicum feminino genere
 pronuntiandum sit 'quae euangelizas Sion' et 'quae euangelizas
 Hierusalem', praecipiturque Sion et Hierusalem ut super montem
 excelsum, id est ad alta uirtutum, ascendant et in fortitudine uo-
 60 cem suam exaltent et absque timore nuntient et dicant ciuitatibus
 Iuda: ecce Deus uester, et caetera quae sequuntur.

36/37 Populus – magnam] Is. 9, 2 38 et – Madian] Is. 9, 4 43/44 Paruulus – nobis] Is. 9, 6 54 Super – ascende] Is. 40, 9

41/42 Puer – nobis²] AMS 13 (Int., Nat. Dom.) 49/52 non – separatim] HIER., In Is. 3, 9 (p. 126, 36-40); cfr HAIMO, Is. 9 (p. 199, 71-200, 78) 54/58 In – Hierusa- lem¹] cfr HIER., In Is. 11, 40 (p. 458, 19-21); HAIMO, Is. 40 (p. 478, 111-119) 54 Super – ascende] Com. Murb. 155 (p. 52; Lect. 3, Sabb. Q.T. Adu.); Com. Würz. 166 (p. 64; Lect. 3, Sabb. Q.T. Adu.)

36 Galilaeae] Galileae ins. sup. l. H^{am}. 41 canimus] cantamus B 44 Et] om. B 45 principatus] eius add. B 48 Deus] punct. om. H 52 iungenda] ex iugenda corr. H 58 praecipiturque] litt. del. inter praecipitur- et -que B

Illa antiphona quam quidam modulantur ‘Sancti qui sperant in Domino habebunt fortitudinem, assument pennas ut aquilae, uolabunt et non deficient’: in Hebraeo habetur ‘Qui autem sperant
 65 in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem, assument pennas sicut pennas aquilae, current et non laborabunt, ambulabunt et non deficient’, hoc significans quod sancti, assumptis alis uirtutum, sicut aquilae in senectute solent mutatione pennarum reuiuiscere, ita isti in Dei seruitio semper current et non laborent, ambulent et
 70 non deficient, sicut de eis scriptum est *Ambulabunt de uirtute in uirtutem*, ut post huius uitae terminum assumpto corpore immortali Deus Deorum ab eis possit uideri.

In illo responsorio ‘Illuminare, illuminare, Hierusalem uenit lux tua’, in Hebraeo scriptum est ‘Surge, illuminare, quia uenit lumen tuum’. Nomen ‘Hierusalem’ in Hebraeo non habetur, ut significet ea quae scripta et promissa sunt, non solummodo ad Hierusalem et ad Iudaeos pertinere, sed ad omnes generationes generaliter quae in Christum erant crediturae.

Et infra ‘Filii tui de longe uenient et filiae tuae lac sugent’
 80 quidam ita distinguunt ut dicant ‘de late’ et postea subiungant ‘resurgent’, putantes consequens esse ut illi dictioni ‘de longe’ respondeat altera dictio ‘de late’. Sed beatus Hieronymus alium sensum ponit ut dicat ‘filiae tuae in latere sugent’, ut animae in Christo lactantes in baptismo paruulorum. Sicut Petrus Aposto-
 85 lus dicit *Quasimodo geniti infantes rationabiles sine dolo lac concupiscite*, uelut paruuli lac, id est doctrinam Apostolorum, interim sugant donec solidum perfectae doctrinae cibum capere ualeant,

64/66 Qui – deficient] Is. 40, 31 70/71 Ps. 83, 8 (*Ps. rom.*) 74/75 Surge – tuum] Is. 60, 1 79 Filii – sugent] Is. 60, 4 85 I Petr. 2, 2

62/64 Sancti – deficient] CAO 4734 (Ant., Comm. plur. mart.) 73/74 Illuminare' – tua] CAO 6882 (Resp., Epiph.) 75/78 Nomen – crediturae] cfr HIER., *In Is.* 17, 60 (p. 695, 101-103) 79 Filii – sugent] CAO 7833a (Resp. ‘Venit lumen tuum’, Epiph.) (*uide adnot.*) 82/87 Sed – ualeant] cfr HIER., *In Is.* 17, 60 (p. 695, 25-29)

62 Illa antiphona] *scripsi*, Illam antiphonam BHg 68 reuiuiscere] *scripsi* (*iam g*), reuiuiscere B, reui ueniscere H 71 ut] et B huius uitae] uitae huius B assumpto] *ex insumpto corr.* H 73/74 Illuminare' – est] *om. fortasse ob homoioteleuton, ins. in marg.* B 73 Hierusalem] Ierusalem quia B 74 illuminare] Ierusalem *add. tum. del.* B uenit] *spat. ras. post uerbum* H 76 quae] *praemissa add. tum del.* B solummodo] solum B 80 late] lacte g resurgent] resurgant g 82 late] lacte g 83 in latere] *scripsi cum textu Hier. (et Vulg.), lac* BHg (*sed uide adnot.*) 85 rationabiles] rationabile PL 86/87 interim sugant] sugant interim B

uel sicut aliqui codices habent 'de latere surgent', aut enim legendum est 'filiae tuae lac sugent', aut 'filiae tuae de latere surgent',
 90 hoc significans quod, sicut Eua mater omnium ex costa lateris Adae formata est, ita ecclesia ex latere Christi aedificata est
 quando iuxta Euangelium Iohannis unus militum lancea aperuerat
 95 et sanguine redimamur.

In illo cantico Ezechiae et in illo uersu 'Dixi non uidebo Dominum' quidam codices habent 'Dominum Deum', sed falso scriptum est. Bis enim repeti debet 'Dominum Dominum', sicut beatus Hieronymus dicit. Illum uersum 'Non aspiciam hominem ultra et
 100 habitatorem' ita diuidunt et sic terminant ut subsequens uersus ita incipiat 'Quieuit generatio mea'. Et beatus quidem Hieronymus propter ambiguitatem uerbi primum ita transtulit, sed postea correxerat 'habitatorem quietis'. Vera quies et uera exultatio uita aeterna est, uita autem aeterna est contemplatio et uisio Trinitatis. Quis
 105 est habitator aeternae uitae, nisi ipse Deus omnipotens et electi illius? In illo uersu 'Domine uim patior' quidam codices habent 'responde pro me', sed falso scriptum est. Melius est enim, ut expositores dicunt, 'sponde pro me', acsi diceret: 'si quid erraui, tu sponde pro me', hoc est 'sis mihi fideiussor et accipe me in fide et
 110 protectione tua'. Non est enim uolentis neque currentis sed miserentis Dei est. Et iterum ibi 'Domine sic uiuitur' quidam codices habent 'si sic uiuitur', sed non est ita. Sicut beatus Hieronymus ait, philosophatus est rex de statu huius uitae, ita dicendo 'Domine sic uiuitur', id est ita fragilis et caduca est humana felicitas.

88 de latere surgent] Is. 60, 4 92/94 unus - baptismatis] cfr Ioh. 19, 34
 96 Dixi - Dominum] Is. 38, 11 106 Domine uim patior] Is. 38, 14 110/111 Non - est] cfr Rom. 9, 16 111 Domine sic uiuitur] Is. 38, 16

89/95 filiae² - redimamur] cfr HAIMO, Is. 60 (p. 728, 139-151) 97/103 quidam - quietis] HAIMO, Is. 38 (p. 465, 53-60) 103/105 Vera - illius] HAIMO, Is. 38 (p. 465, 69-466, 72) 106/111 quidam - est] HAIMO, Is. 38 (p. 467, 107-112) 111/114 quidam - felicitas] HAIMO, Is. 38 (p. 468, 122-125) 113/114 philosophatus - uiuitur] cfr HIER., In Is. 11, 38 (p. 448, 29-30)

88 aliqui] quidam B 90 Eua] Aeua H 92 aperuerat] aperuerit B 94 baptismatis] baptismatae B 96 cantico] canticu B 98 Dominum²] ins. sup. l. Ham. 100 sic] om. g 101 quidem Hieronymus] Ieronimus quidem B 103 quietis] qui etis cum ras. inter uerba H 105 illius] eius B 114 felicitas] scripsi cum textu Haim., fragilitas BHg

115 Item in illo introitu ubi canitur 'Sitientes uenite ad aquas et qui non habetis pretium uenite' quidam canunt 'bibite cum laetitia', sed dicendum est iuxta Prophetam 'comedite', non 'bibite'. Sed quomodo possumus aquam comedere? Nam Sacra scriptura in quibusdam locis est 'cibus', in quibusdam 'potus'. Vbicumque
 120 cum difficultate capitur 'cibus' est, ubi uero facilem habet intelligentiam 'potus' est. Et est sensus: O gentiles qui sitiendo desideratis scientiam Veteris et Noui testamenti, 'uenite ad aquas' baptismatis uel ad dona Spiritus sancti, 'et qui non habetis argentum', id est eloquia diuina, de quibus dicit Psalmista *Eloquia*
 125 *Domini eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum probatum*, 'properate' cito uenite ad fidem meam, 'emite' dona Spiritus sancti et aquam baptismatis, non pretio auri uel argenti aut aliquo huiusmodi, sed credendo et bene operando, 'comedite' ipsam aquam, doctrinam scilicet spiritalem uel dona Spiritus sancti, audiendo,
 130 legendo, meditando, corde retinendo.

In illa lectione ubi legitur 'non uocaberis ultra derelicta et terra tua non uocabitur amplius desolata', in quibusdam codicibus subsequitur 'sed uocaberis uoluntas mea in aeuo', sed falso. Nam Hebraice consuetudinis est ut ex rebus uocabula semper imponant, sicut Abram qui prius dicebatur 'pater excelsus'. Iterum quando
 135 audiuit per promissionem *Et in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes* appellatus est Abraham, id est 'pater multarum gentium', et Dominus saluator inter caetera nomina appellatus est Emmanuel, quod interpretatur 'nobiscum Deus'. Ita nunc ecclesia uocatur Hebraice Ephsiba, quod interpretatur 'uoluntas mea in ea'.
 140 Et est sensus: 'non uocaberis ultra derelicta' a Deo, 'et terra tua',

115/116 Sitientes – uenite] Is. 55, 1 124/125 Ps. 11, 7 131/132 non – desolata] Is. 62, 4 136/137 Gen. 22, 18 137 pater multarum gentium] Gen. 17, 4

115/116 Sitientes – uenite] AMS 66 (Int., Sabb. Hebd. 4 Quad.) 118/121 quomodo – est] HAIMO, Is. 55 (p. 658, 20-23) 122/130 scientiam – retinendo] HAIMO, Is. 55 (p. 658, 11-20) 131/132 non – desolata] Com. Murb. 1 (p. 35; Epist., Nat. Dom.); Com. Würz. 175 (p. 65; Epist. Nat. Dom.) 133/140 Nam – ea] cfr HIER., In Is. 17, 4 (p. 714, 1-715, 31); HIER., In Is. 17, 64 (p. 734, 55-56) 135/137 Iterum – gentium] cfr BERNO, Obseru. ieiun. (p. 42, 235-237) 141/145 non – facit] HAIMO, Is. 62 (p. 755, 50-54)

123 et] ut B 124 diuina] Domini Hg Psalmista] Psalmista H 128 credendo] ex comedite corr. B 133 uoluntas] uolunta H Hebraice] Hebrace H 134 uocabula semper] semper uocabula B 135 dicebatur] uocabatur B 137 id est] om. B 138 Emmanuel] Emmanuel H^{a.c.} 140 Hebraice] Hebrace H Ephsiba] scripsit cum. textu Hier., Ephiba BH

id est habitatio tua, 'non uocabitur amplius desolata', quia Christus habitabit in medio tui, 'sed uocaberis uoluntas mea in ea', id est ecclesia Christi, et dicetur de te "ista ecclesia Christi quae uoluntatem Domini facit". Igitur rogemus Dominum ut uoluntatem eius facientes ipsius sanctae matris ecclesiae et dici et esse filii possimus, ut in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi cum ipso et in ipso permanere ualeamus.

⟨III. DE ANTIPHONIS VEL RESPONSORIIS NON REGVLARITER
NEC CONVENIENTER SE HABENTIBVS⟩

cap. 7

Nunc igitur libet animo notare quosdam cantus qui in sancta ecclesia absque Sacrae scripturae auctoritate uidentur compositi, uel humano usu iuxta libitus carnalium extraordinarie compilati, non attendentes qui talia concinebant quod Dominus praecipiendo per Prophetam clamat: *Psallite sapienter*. Et in concilio Africano constitutum est ut preces et orationes nisi probatae fuerint non dicantur, nec aliqua ex his omnino canantur in ecclesia, nisi quae a prudentioribus tractata et comprobata fuerint in synodo, ne forte aliquid contra fidem uel per ignorantiam uel per studium sit compositum. Vbi breuiter considerandum quod non solum ea quae studio perfidiae sed etiam illa quae simplicitate ignorantiae contra fidei regulam fuerint composita pari animaduersione sunt repudianda.

Beatus quoque Hieronymus cum exponeret praeceptum Apostoli, ubi ait *Implemini Spiritu loquentes uobismet ipsis in Psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritalibus cantantes et psallentes in cordibus uestris Domino*, inter caetera ait: "Canere igitur et psallere et laudare Dominum magis animo quam uoce debemus." Vnde sanc-

III, 7 Ps. 46, 8 17/19 Eph. 5, 18-19

III, 7 Psallite sapienter] cfr BENED., *Reg.* 19 (p. 81); BERNO, *Ton. prol.* II, 18-12, 1 (p. 65) 8/20 ut - debemus] AGOBARD., *Corr. antiph.* 11-12 (p. 344, 1-6) 8/12 ut preces - compositum] *Conc. Afr.* Conc. Mileu. 12 (p. 365, 137-142) (*uide adnot.*) 19/20 canere - debemus] HIER., *In. Eph.* 3, 5 (col. 528)

142 uocabitur] uocaberis H desolata] ex desolata corr. H 143 in ea] om. B 145 ut] et H

III, 1/2 scripsi ex epistola ut supra, om. codd., om. g 7 Africano] scripsi (iam g), Affricano BH 13 studio] studeo B 19 igitur] ergo B

tus pater Benedictus nobis praecipit dicens: "Sic stemus ad psallendum ut mens nostra concordet uoci nostrae." Quomodo mens nostra uoci concordat cum modulando uocem in altum leuamus? Aut omnino de Sacra scriptura tacemus, aut uerba aut sensum in
 25 alienum intellectum mutamus, illud Virgilianum potius implentes "dat sine mente sonum" quam illud Apostolicum quod supra posuimus praeceptum.

cap. 8

Et mirum in modum, dum quidam huius mundi sapientes uideri et esse uolunt, per superstitiosam intelligentiam Sacrae
 30 scripturae uerba suo sensui applicare conantur. Et uerba, quae ipsa Dei uirtus et Dei sapientia per se protulit uel Spiritus sanctus per ora Prophetarum ac Apostolorum praedixit, aliter secundum Donatum et Priscianum permutando canunt et dicunt, dum omnis philosophia mundana et saecularis scientiae doctrina originem a
 35 Sacrae scripturae auctoritate sumpserint. Teste Cassiodoro, qui in expositione uiginti tertii Psalmi ita dicit: "Cognoscite, magistri saecularium litterarum, hinc schemata, hinc diuersi generis argumenta, hinc definitiones, hinc disciplinarum omnium profluxisse doctrinas, quando in his litteris posita cognoscitis quae ante scho-
 40 las uestras longe prius dicta fuisse sentitis." Sed et sanctus pater Augustinus in libro tertio de doctrina Christiana in eadem uerba consentit, necnon in libris quos appellauit 'De modis locutionum' diuersa schemata saecularium litterarum inueniri probauit in libris sacris. Alios autem proprios modos in diuinis eloquiis esse decla-
 45 rauit, quos grammatici siue rhetores nullatenus attigerunt.

21/22 Sic – nostrae] BENED., *Reg.* 19 (p. 82) 22/27 Quomodo – praeceptum] cfr HERM. AVGIENS., *Mus.* 15 (p. 110, 114-112, 1): sed quo modo sapienter canunt, qui nihil de praedictis sciunt, qui tropum tropo permutantes confundunt, qui solam altisonantiam laudant? (*uide adnot.*) 26 dat sine mente sonum] VERG., *Aen.* 10, 633: dat inania uerba dat sine mente sonum; cfr HIER., *Adu. Iouin.* 1 (col. 221): illud Virgilianum: dat sine mente sonum; ALCVIN, *Epist.* 136 (p. 209, 34-37): impleatur Virgiliacum illud: dat sine mente sonum et non euangelicum 29 superstitiosam intelligentiam] HIER., *In Matth.* 1 (p. 72, 1730) (*uide l. 88-90, infra*) 36/40 Cognoscite – sentitis] CASSIOD., *In Ps.* 23, 10 (p. 219, 193-197) 40/45 Sed – attigerunt] CASSIOD., *In Ps.* Praef. 15 (p. 20, 77-88)

23 uocem in altum] in altum uocem *H g* leuamus] *punct. interrog. conieci*
 27 praeceptum] *punct. interrog. B g* 28 huius mundi] mundi huius *B* 30 sensui] sensu *B* 32 aliter] alter *H* 34 scientiae] scientia *B* 35/45 Teste – attigerunt] *ins. in marg., ubi textus paullulo amputatur H, om. g* 38 definitiones] diffinitiones *B*
 42 appellauit] *om. B* 43 inueniri] inuenire *B* 45 grammatici siue] grammatici siues *H* rhetores] *scripsi, rethores codd.*

Quae enim est consequentia ut Priscianus audiat et ueritas quae Deus est contemnatur? Sic enim Terentius, Virgilius, Tullius caeterique liberalium litterarum sequaces in suis scripturis hoc meruerunt ut eorum dicta permanerent inconuulsa, ut sunt 'adu-
 50 ortite', 'diunt', 'ipsus', 'optumus', 'maxumus', 'olli', multaque his similia. Quanto magis caelestium uerborum oracula in sua perseuerare debent regula?

Nam quidam in Euangelio ubi legitur 'et dico huic uade et uadit, et alio ueni et uenit', cupiunt emendare 'et alii ueni et uenit'.
 55 Et ubi sanctum Euangelium dicit 'quia uirtus de illo exiebat et sanabat omnes', illi emendant 'quia uirtus de illo exibat'. Et ubi Zachaeus in Euangelio dicit 'si quid aliquem defraudaui', illi dicunt 'defrudaui'.

Sed in illa offerenda pro defunctis ubi canimus 'Libera animas
 60 omnium fidelium defunctorum de manu inferni et de profundo lacu', aliqui cum quodam mentis cothurno canunt 'de profundo lacus', minus attendentes quod illud nomen 'lacus' genitium iuxta utramque declinationem, id est secundam et quartam, solet proferre. Verum secundum idioma Sacrae scripturae saepius solet
 65 poni 'laci' quam 'lacus', praecipue ubi altas foueas et abyssum uel profundum inferni designat. Igitur Isaias Propheta qui de se dicit *Et uolauit ad me unus de Seraphim, et in manu eius calculus quem forcipe tulerat de altari, et tetigit os meum et dixit: Ecce tetigit hoc labia tua, et auferetur iniquitas tua, et peccatum tuum mundabitur*, ipse, inquam, dixit: *Verumtamen ad infernum detraheris*

53/54 et' - uenit'] Matth. 8, 9 55/56 quia - omnes] Luc. 6, 19 57 si - defraudaui] Luc. 19, 8 67/69 Is. 6, 6-7 70/71 Is. 14, 15

53/54 et' - uenit'] *Capit. euang.* D26, D70 (p. 142, p. 146; Euang., Dom. 3 p. Epiph., Fer. 5 p. Cin.) 55/56 quia - omnes] *Capit. euang.* D31, D246 (p. 142, p. 161; Euang., S. Sebast., S. Herm.) 57 si - defrudaui] *Capit. euang.* D337, D339 (p. 169-170; Euang., Nat. Pap., Ded. Eccl.) 59/61 Libera - laci] *deest in AMS* (Off., Missa de defunct.) 61 quodam mentis cothurno] cfr AMBROS., *Abr.* 2, 10 (p. 625, 11): magno quodam cothurno

46 consequentia] conna cum signo abbrev. B 47 Tullius] Tulius B 49 aduortite] animaduortite B (uide adnot.) 53 uade] uadit B 55 ubi] uero B 57 quid] scripsi cum textu Vulg., quod B, om. H g 60 fidelium] fedelium H, de fidelium B^{a.c.} 61 laci] lacu ex laci corr. B 63 iuxta] secundum B 64 proferre] perferre g 65 altas foueas] alta fouea g abyssum] abyssus g 66 designat] significat B^{a.c.}, designatur H g Isaias] scripsi (iam g), Esayas B, Esaías H 67 ad me unus] unus ad me B Seraphim] Seraphin B 68 altari] altare B

in profundum laci. Et iterum: *Qui descendunt ad fundamenta laci*, id est inferni. Iure igitur censemus illius auctoritatem magis sequi cuius labia mundata sunt igne caelesti, quam magisterium alicuius doctoris grammatici. Et Danihel huic sensui congruit: *Al-*
 75 *latusque est lapis unus et positus est super os laci.* Et iterum: *Et non peruenerunt usque ad pauimentum laci, donec arriperent eos leones, et omnia ossa eorum comminuerunt.* Sed inter haec sciendum (quod quidam me putant) quare dixerim Isaiam et Danihelem genitium 'laci' posuisse, cum alter horum Hebraeo, alter
 80 uero Chaldaeo sermone uolumen suum contexuerit. Econtra ego, correctione postposita, interpretem eorum beatum Hieronymum ducam in medium, non erubescens illum sequi doctiloquum qui totius secularis scientiae doctrina instructus ac multarum linguarum extitit peritus. Petimus igitur canendo ut Dominus animas
 85 suorum fidelium 'de profundo laci', id est inferni, liberet.

Debemus igitur Sacrae scripturae seriem firmiter tenere, ac eius tenorem in omnibus inuiolabiliter obseruare, attendentes quod quidam sapiens ammonet dicens: "Prudens lector, semper caue superstitiosam intelligentiam, ut non tuo sensui attemperes Scripturas
 90 sed Scripturis sensum tuum adiungas." Igitur constituendum est ut sacra Euangelii uerba, Patriarcharum ac Prophetarum oracula, Apostolorum scripta, fide integra, deuotione congrua, ut in authenticis libris reperiuntur, incommutabiliter seruemus, teneamus, custodiamus, nec aliquid addentes nec dementes nec mutantes, si uelimus illam comminationem euadere, quam Spiritus
 95 sanctus iuxta finem apocalypsis uidetur intentare: *Si quis apposuerit ad haec, apponet Deus super illum plagas scriptas in libro isto. Et si quis deminuerit de uerbis libri Prophetiae huius, auferet*

71/72 Is. 14, 19 74/75 Dan. 6, 17 75/77 Dan. 6, 24 96/100 Apoc. 22, 18-19

71/72 Qui – inferni] cfr HIER., *In Is.* 6, 14 (p. 245, 42-44); HAIMO, *Is.* 14 (p. 241, 141-146) 88 quidam sapiens] cfr BERNØ, *Ton. prol.* 12, 10 (p. 66) 88/90 Prudens – adiungas] HIER., *In Matth.* 1 (p. 72, 1730-1732); DEFENS. LOC., *Lib. scint.* 81, 10 (p. 231)

72 igitur] ergo B 74 alicuius] alicius B doctoris] auctoris g Allatusque] Allatus B g 76 peruenerunt] peruenerant g 77/84 Sed – peritus] om. H g 78 Isaiam] scripsi, Esaïam B Danihelem] scripsi, Da- iter. B 80 Chaldaeo] scripsi, Caldeo B 84 igitur] ergo B 86 igitur] ergo B 87 obseruare] ob- ins. in marg. B 90 sed] om. H g 93 libris] libris H 96 intentare] -tare sup. ras. B 98 deminuerit] diminuerit B libri] ins. in marg. B

Deus partem eius de libro uitae et de ciuitate sancta, et de his quae
 100 *sunt scripta in libro isto.* Ergo si quis per grammaticae artis regu-
 lam ingenium suum acuere uoluerit, exerceat se in scholis, utatur
 si libet Donato et Prisciano magistris, dummodo salua uerae inter-
 pretationis integritate non renuat debitum honorem diuinis elo- 1147
 quiis conseruare.

105 Sed de his satis. Nunc uideamus de caeteris.

cap. 9

Denique illud responsorium quod primo ponitur in antiphona-
 rio ‘Aspiciens a longe’, uel ille introitus ‘In excelso throno’, nec-
 non et illud responsorium quod canitur de sancta Maria semper
 Virgine ‘Vidi speciosam sicut columbam ascendentem desuper ri-
 110 uos aquarum’: in tota Sacrae scripturae serie ubi scripta sint repe-
 riri non potui, nisi forte existunt qui dicant in initio nascentis
 ecclesiae multos interpretes fuisse, qui Sacram scripturam de
 Graeco in Latinum uerterent et inde ista assumpta sint, antequam
 beatus Hieronymus, diuinae legis interpres, totum Vetus testa-
 115 mentum de Hebraeo in Latinum uerteret et Septuaginta Interpre-
 tum editionem emendatam Latinis auribus traderet.

Sed probare inde aliquid non audemus, unde nihil certi tene-
 mus. Quamquam ipse beatus Hieronymus, in quodam sermone
 quem ad Paulam et Eustochium de assumptione sanctae Dei geni-
 120 tricis Mariae semper Virginis composuit, testetur huius responso-
 rii uerba in canticis canticorum haberi, ita inquires: “De huius
 nimirum ad caelos ascensione multo admirantis intuitu, secreto-
 rum contemplator caelestium in canticis sequitur: *Vidi, inquit,*
speciosam sicut columbam ascendentem desuper riuos aquarum,” et
 125 caetera, uerum ubi illa uerba inuenerit utrumnam ipse ea transtu-
 lerit incertum habemus, pro certo scientes quod iuxta hanc editi-
 onem quam nos ab eo tenemus minime inuenire possumus.

123/124 fons biblicus non extat

107 Aspiciens a longe] CAO 6129 (Resp., Dom. 1 Adu.) In excelso throno] AMS
 19 (Int., Dom. 1 p. Epiph.) 109/110 Vidi – aquarum] CAO 7878 (Resp., Assump.
 BVM) 121/124 De – aquarum] RADBERT., *Epist. ad Paul. et Eust.* 88 (p. 149, 743-
 746)

99 de¹] om. g 105 uideamus] uideamur g 110 sint] sunt B 111 qui] sicut
 quidam B^{a.c.} dicant] dicunt B 119 quem] quam H 120 responsorii] respon-
 soriae B 122 nimirum] assumptione add. tum del. B

Ille introitus qui de sancto Clemente compositus est ‘Dicit Dominus sermones meos quos dedi in os tuum’, unde sumptus sit
 130 nondum reperire potui, nisi forte quis dicat eo locutionis genere dictum esse quo Iohannes Chrysostomus solet uti. Nam cum pater Abraham filium suum Deo in sacrificium mactare uellet, multarum sermocinationem inter se habuisse confirmat de qua postmodum infert. Haec etsi utique non dixit, tamen cuncta ista in actu
 135 ostendit. Ita et Dominus, quaecumque sui fideles de eo dicere possunt, ab ipso accipiunt, sicut ipse per Prophetam praecipit dicens: *Aperi os tuum et ego adimplebo illud*. Eo modo confirmatur nunc dicere ‘sermones meos quos dedi in os tuum, non deficient de ore tuo’. Et quod dicit ‘et munera tua accepta erunt super altare
 140 meum’ de illo Scripturae loco uidetur assumptum ubi in Isaia Dominus de eunuchis dicit: *Holocausta eorum et uictimae eorum placebunt mihi super altare meo*.

Quod canitur de sancto Michahele in illa antiphona uel alleluia ‘Concussum est mare et contremuit terra’, ubi archangelus Michael
 145 ‘descendebat de caelo’, quo quaerendum et inueniendum sit loco penitus ignoro.

Illa antiphona quam quidam cantant in ecclesia ‘Sancti estis dicit Dominus, multiplicabo numerum uestrum ut oretis pro populo meo in loco isto’: ubi Dominus haec uerba dixerit non facile
 150 inuenitur. Sed quia Deus ueritas est, debuit ueritatem dicere qui de eo talia praesumit proferre, non timens illud quod Dominus per Prophetam comminatur dicens: *Numquid non uisionem cassam uidistis, et diuinationem mendacem locuti estis, et dicitis, ait Dominus, cum ego non sim locutus*.

131/132 Nam – uellet] cfr Gen. 22 137 Ps. 80, 11 141/142 Is. 56, 7 152/154 Ez. 13, 7

128/129 Dicit – tuum] AMS 166 (Int., S. Clem.); cfr GVNZO, *Epist. Aug.* (p. 26, 21-23) 131 quo – uti] IOH. CHRYSOST. *non inueni (sed uide adnot.)* 144 Concussum – terra] CAO 1864 (Ant., S. Mich.); *deest in AMS* (All., S. Mich.) 147/154 Illa – locutus] cfr AGOBARD., *Corr. antiph.* 9 (p. 343, 10-11) 147/149 Sancti – isto] CAO 4728 (Ant., Comm. plur. mart.)

128/142 Ille – altare meo] *om. H g* 132 sacrificium] *effecere add. tum del. B* 133 sermocinationem] *ex sermocinationem corr. B* 140 Isaia] *scripsi, Esaia B* 141 eunuchis] *enuchis B^{a.c.}* 143 Michahele] *Michale B* 152 Numquid non] *scripsi cum textu Vulg., Numquid nam (nam ins. sup. l. B) BH, Numquidnam g* 153 estis] *est B^{a.c.}*

- 155 In illo responsorio 'Suscipe uerbum Virgo Maria', in illo loco
ubi scriptum est 'concupies per aurem', et in illo responsorio 'An-
nuntiatum est per Gabrihelem archangelum Mariae Virgini de in-
troitu regis, et ingressus est per splendidam regionem aurem
160 Virginis uisitare palatium uteri, et regressus est per auream
portam Virginis', satis pueriliter et simpliciter utinam non minus
catholice dictum est. Si enim, ut illi asserunt, statim ut uerba an-
geli audiuit concepit, quid faciunt morae tantarum sententiarum
ab illo loco ubi angelus dixit *Aue Maria gratia plena, Dominus te-*
cum, benedicta tu in mulieribus. Quae cum audisset turbata est in
165 *sermone eius, et Ne timeas Maria. Ecce concupies in utero et paries*
filium, et uocabis nomen eius Iesum. Hic erit magnus et filius altis-
simi uocabitur, usque in illum locum ubi sancta Maria dixit ad an-
gelum *Quomodo fiet istud, quoniam uirum non cognosco? Et*
respondens angelus dixit ei, non de praesenti sed de futuro praedi-
170 cens, *Spiritus sanctus superueniet in te, et uirtus altissimi obumbra-*
bit tibi, ideoque et quod nascetur sanctum, uocabitur filius Dei,
usquedum Maria ita conclusit *Ecce ancilla Domini*, non indicando
sed optando ait *fiat mihi secundum uerbum tuum*? His uerbis satis
datur intelligi quod nemo unquam scire potuit, potest uel poterit
175 quomodo filius Dei per uterum intactae Virginis ad saluationem
humani generis intrauit, et clauso sanctae castitatis sigillo exiuit.
Ipsa enim iuxta Ezechielis uaticinium praefigurata est illa porta
iugiter serata soli Deo peruia, quae cooperante Spiritu sancto in-
effabiliter Virgo Filium Dei concepit, et in unitate personae ue-
180 rum Deum et uerum hominem Virgo peperit, et post partum
Virgo permansit.

Vnde in illo responsorio 'Suscipe uerbum' ubi nos canimus
'concupies per aurem' rectius diceremus 'concupies in utero'. Illud
uero 'Annuntiatum est per Gabrihelem archangelum' iure a sapi-

163/173 Luc. I, 28-38 177/178 praefigurata – peruia] cfr Ez. 44, 2

155 Suscipe – Maria] CAO 7744 (Resp., Dom. 3 Adu.) 156/160 Annuntiatum –
Virginis] CAO 6103 (Resp. Fer. 5 Hebd. 4 Adu.) 182 Suscipe uerbum] CAO 7744
(Resp., Dom. 3 Adu.) 184 Annuntiatum – archangelum] CAO 6103 (Resp., Fer. 5
Hebd. 4 Adu.)

156 scriptum est concupies] *sup. ras. H^{a.m.}* 157 Gabrihelem] *scripsi cum. textu Vulg.,*
Gabrielem BH 159 uisitare] *uterum Virginis add. tum del. B* 171 nascetur] *ex add.*
tum del. B uocabitur filius Dei] *filius Dei uocabitur B* 173 tuum] *punct. interrog.*
conieci 178 quae] *om. g* 184 Gabrihelem] *scripsi cum textu Vulg., Gabrielem BH*

185 entibus uidetur esse reprobatum, sicut et illud quod in ipsa sancta
dominicae natiuitatis nocte canitur 'Descendit de caelis missus ab
arce Patris introiuit per aurem Virginis in regionem nostram' me-
rito refutatur, et pro eo a multis Galliarum ecclesiis quod subter
scribendo subiecimus taliter modulatur: 'Descendit de caelis
190 Deus uerus a Patre genitus, introiuit in uterum Virginis, nobis ut
appareret uisibilis, indutus carne humana protoparentis Adae. Et
exiuit per clausam portam, Deus et homo, lux et uita, conditor
mundi. V. Tamquam sponsus Dominus.'

Illud quoque responsorium quod in ipsa sacratissima nocte ca-
195 nitur, ita incipiens 'Sancta et immaculata uirginitas quibus te lau-
dibus referam nescio, quia quem caeli capere non poterant tuo
gremio contulisti', quam iuste queat reprehendi, facile potest adu-
erti. Ait enim ad uirginitatem quasi ad quamdam feminam 'sancta
et immaculata uirginitas', cum uirginitas non sit femina, sed quae-
200 dam uirtus a nomine, quod est uirgo, sic denominata. Et finito
responsorio apostropham ad ipsam facit cum dicit 'Benedicta tu
in mulieribus et benedictus fructus uentris tui', cum rectius et ma-
gis catholice idem responsorium taliter modularetur: 'Sancta et
immaculata Virgo Maria, quibus te laudibus referam nescio, quia
205 quem caeli capere non poterant, tuo gremio contulisti. V. Bene-
dicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus uentris tui.'

Illa antiphona quae in uigilia eiusdem dominicae natiuitatis ca-
nitur 'Dum ortus fuerit sol de caelo, uidebitis regem regum': in
quibusdam codicibus habetur scriptum 'procedentem a Patre
210 tamquam sponsum de thalamo suo', quamuis id 'a Patre' a moder-
nis sit abrasum. Non enim Deus Dei Filius a Deo Patre tamquam
sponsus de thalamo suo processit, sed in Virgine matre humanam
naturam sibi associauit, et sic de Virginis utero tamquam sponsus

185/193 sicut – Dominus] cfr AGOBARD., *Corr. antiph.* 7 (p. 341, 1-342, 31) 186/
187 Descendit – nostram] CAO 6411 (Resp., Vig. Nat. Dom.) 189/193 Descendit –
Dominus] CAO 6410 (Resp., Vig. Nat. Dom.) 195/197 Sancta – contulisti] CAO
7569a (Resp., Nat. Dom.) 207/215 Illa – suo] cfr AGOBARD., *Corr. antiph.* 4
(p. 339, 1-340, 16) 208 Dum – regum] CAO 2462 (Ant., Nat. Dom.)

186 dominicae] *om. g* 188 a] *om. g* 189/193 Descendit – mundi] *cum notulis*
musicis BH 191 Adae] *sup. ras. H* 198/200 Ait – denominata] Vide huius die
communicantes *glossa add. in marg. H^{a.m.} (uide adnot.)* 198 uirginitatem] -nitatem
(-tem *ins. sup. l.*) *H^{a.m.}* 201 apostropham] *scripsi (iam g)*, appostropham *B*, apostra-
pham *H* 202 cum] *ma add. tum del. B* 205 poterant] poterant *H* 206 et – tui]
des. B 208 sol] *om. B* regum] *procedentem add. B* 209 procedentem] *om. B*
212/214 matre – suo] *H^{a.m.}* 213/214 -ciauit – suo] *ins. in marg. H^{a.m.}*

cap. 10

processit de thalamo suo. Ideo rectius canitur 'Videbitis regem re- 1149
 215 gum procedentem a matre tamquam sponsum de thalamo suo'.

Nunc licet praepostero ordine illas antiphonas conuenit con-
 spicere quae ad inuitandum Dominum ab littera 'O' incipiunt, et
 sic per ordinem eiusdem litterae uadunt. Nam sicut sanctitum est
 a sanctis patribus, ille praepotabilis Domini Aduentus trium eb-
 220 domadarum numero ante aduentum Domini est constitutus, quae
 per singulos dies uariis antiphonarum cantilenis sunt praescriptae
 et praedeterminatae. Sed et tria officia per singulas trium ebdomada-
 rum dominicas sunt constituta, et quia idem terminus Aduentus
 Domini a V Kal. Dec. usque III Non. eiusdem mensis solet ex-
 225 tendi, ex his diebus quae de quarta ebdomada supercrescunt, unus
 aut duo dies uel tres uel aliquando integra ebdomada placuit an-
 tiphonnarii ordinatori per singulas noctes in illa quarta ebdomada
 cum supercrescere solet matutinales laudes componere, et ad
 uespertinales laudes ad inuitandum Deum antiphonas ordinare,
 230 incipiens a dominica et perueniens usque ad sextam feriam. Prima
 antiphona sic incipit 'O sapientia quae ex ore altissimi prodisti'
 quae in fine concluditur 'ueni ad docendum nos uiam prudentiae',
 secunda 'O Adonai', tertia 'O radix Iesse', quarta 'O clauis David',
 quinta 'O oriens splendor lucis eternae', sexta 'O rex gentium',
 235 septima 'O Emmanuhel', quae omnes per illud uerbum 'ueni' in
 fine clauduntur. Quas ideo notare curauit ut aperte daretur intel-
 ligi illas solas esse, quae regulariter ac recte compositae uidentur
 ad aduentum dominicum inuitandum pertinere. Illae uero quae
 ad harum similitudinem modulantur utrum sensu et uerbis con-
 240 eniant. Qui uoluerint uideant et intelligant.

In illa antiphona quae canitur in octaua Domini 'Mirabile mys-
 terium declaratur hodie', scriptum inuenimus 'innouantur natu-

231 O sapientia – prodisti] CAO 4081 (Ant., Hebd. 4 Adu.) 233 O Adonai] CAO 3988 (Ant., Hebd. 4 Adu.) O radix Iesse] CAO 4075 (Ant., Hebd. 4 Adu.) O clauis David] CAO 4010 (Ant., Hebd. 4 Adu.) 234 O oriens – eternae] CAO 4050 (Ant., Hebd. 4 Adu.) O rex gentium] CAO 4078 (Ant., Hebd. 4 Adu.) 235 O Emmanuhel] CAO 4025 (Ant., Hebd. 4 Adu.) 241/242 Mirabile – hodie] CAO 3763 (Ant., Oct. Nat. Dom.)

215 -um procedentem a matre] *H^{a.m.}* 218 sanctitum] sancctum *H* 219 praepotabilis] peroptabilis *g* 222/223 ebdomadarum dominicas] dominicas ebdomadarum *B^{a.c.}* 224 III] *scripsi*, in *BH g* (*uide adnot.*) 226 dies uel tres] uel tres dies *B* 232 quae in fine] *scripsi*, quae cum fine *ut uid.* *B*, quae ta fine *H, om. g* 235 Emmanuhel] Emanuel *H*, Emmanuel *g* omnes] in fine *add. BH* 239 harum] illarum *B*

rae'. Et mirari nequeo quae illae sint 'naturae' quae dicuntur
innouatae. Nam Deus ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus,
245 homo ex substantia matris in saeculo natus, apparuit inter homi-
nes uerus Deus et uerus homo, subsistens in duabus naturis, id est
diuina et humana, et in una persona. Vnde sic legimus in quadam
synodo in ciuitate Spalense habita: "Si quis igitur in Domino nos-
tro Iesu Christo aut duas naturas aut unam noluerit credere ac
250 praedicare personam, uel si quis noluerit confiteri eundem Deum
atque hominem, id est uerbum incarnatum de Maria Virgine pro
nostra salute ueraciter natum, tantum a catholica fide reprehendi-
tur ac demonstratur extraneus, ut sacramento redemptionis hu-
manae resistat ingratus." Apparet igitur quod diuina natura existat
255 inuisibilis, impassibilis, immutabilis, nec mutari nec reparari nec
innouari potuit. Humanam uero naturam uerus Deus Dei Filius
in unitate personae sine diuisione aut commixtione assumpsit, et
nos in ligno crucis redemit, reparauit, innouauit, ac per hoc in-
nouatio ad solam naturam hominis pertinet. Ideoque rectius dici 1150
260 poterat 'innouatur natura', uel, ut quibusdam placet, 'innouator
naturae Deus homo factus est'.

Illud responsorium 'In columbae specie Spiritus sanctus uisus
est, paterna uox audita est: hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi
bene complacui': ubi finitur et terminatur ei quidam adiciunt 'ip-
265 sum audite'. Quae uox non in baptismate est audita, sed in monte
ubi transfiguratus Dominus 'a Patre' est prolata, et ideo huic res-
ponsorio non est copulanda.

⟨IV. DE INTERMISSIONE ALLELVIAE ET EIVS CANTVVM VERBIS⟩

ap. 11

Nunc igitur necessarium uidetur aliquid tractandum de solem-
nitate quae 'Septuagesima' praetitulatur, quae ad uesperam incipit
et contra morem ecclesiasticum ad matutinas desinit. Igitur quae-

265 Quae – audita] cfr Matth. 3, 17 265/266 sed – prolata] cfr Matth. 17, 5

248/254 Si – ingratus] *Conc. Visig. Conc. Hispal. 2, 13 (p. 184), secundum FVLG. RVSP., Epist. 17, 3 (p. 564, 56-62)* 262/264 In – complacui] *CAO 6892 (Resp., Epiph.)*

243 illae sint] sint illae B 245 matris] *ins. sup. l. B* 248 Spalense] Spalensi PL
igitur] ergo B 249 ac] *sup. ras. B* 253 redemptionis humanae] humanae redemp-
tionis B 254 igitur] ergo B 256 uero] *ins. in marg. B* 260 uel ut] uelut H g
264 ei] et g

IV, 1 scripsi ex epistola ut supra, om. codd., om. g 2 igitur] ergo B

- 5 cumque festiuitates solemniter ad celebrandum sunt constitutae, a priori uespera solent inchoari, et per nocturnas et matutinas horas per regulares totius diei cursus conueniunt, et sic ad secundam uesperam pertingunt. Haec sola uero, ut supradictum est, ad uesperam incipit et uix ad matutinas horas peruenit. Hinc conicitur quod aliqui dulcedine canorae laudis attacti, hunc terminum
 10 posuerint alleluiae modulationi. Vnde huius nocturni officii auctor a quibusdam reprehenditur, eo quod sine Sacrae scripturae testimonio ad ipsum 'alleluia' quasi quandam personam alloquendo talem musicae cantilenae narrationem studuerit contexere.
- 15 Sed nos ea quae ex authenticis Scripturis aliquomodo sumpta cognouimus reticere nolumus. Nam in libro Iudicum legimus quod quidam generum suum, proficisci cupientem, ita sit allocutus: *Considera quod dies ad occasum decliuior sit et propinquet ad uesperam. Mane apud me etiam hodie et duc laetum diem, et cras*
 20 *proficisceris ut uadas in domum tuam.* Ex occasione huius sententiae exorsus est sic ad alleluia dicere 'Mane apud nos hodie' et caetera quae sequuntur. In libro Sapientiae legimus: *O quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate. Immortalis est enim memoria illius quoniam et apud Deum nota est et apud homines. Cum praesens est*
 25 *imitantur illam et desiderant eam cum se duxerit, et in perpetuum coronata triumphat.* Et in eodem libro: *Delectatio bona in operibus manuum illius, honestas sine defectione.* Et Tobiam legimus ad uxorem de filio suo dixisse: *Credo enim quoniam angelus Dei bonus comitetur ei et bene disponat omnia quae circa ipsum geruntur, ita*
 30 *ut cum gaudio reuertatur ad nos.* Illud responsorium 'Multiplicentur a Domino anni tui' de parabolis Salomonis ex occasione huius sermonis scriptum esse credimus: *Audi fili mi et suscipe uerba mea ut multiplicentur tibi anni uitae. Viam sapientiae demonstrabo tibi,*

IV, 18/20 Iud. 19, 9 22/26 Sap. 4, 1-2 26/27 Sap. 8, 18 28/30 Tob. 5, 27 32/34 Prou. 4, 10-11

IV, 21 Mane – hodie] CAO 6075 (Resp. 'Alleluia mane apud nos hodie', Dom. in LXX) 24/26 Cum – triumphat] cfr CAO 6071 (Resp. 'Alleluia dum praesens est', Dom. in LXX) 26/27 Delectatio – defectione] cfr CAO 6070 (Resp. 'Alleluia delectatio bona', Dom. in LXX) 28/30 Credo – nos] cfr CAO 6091 (Resp. 'Angelus Domini comitetur', Dom. in LXX) 30/31 Multiplicentur – tui] CAO 7188 (Resp., Dom. in LXX)

12 eo] om. B 13 quandam] quamdam g 19 apud me etiam] etiam apud me B 20 domum] domam B 25 duxerit] eduxerit g 26 eodem] uero ut uid. add. tum del. B 28 quoniam] quod B 29 ipsum] cum B 32 mi] me g

35 *ducam te per semitas aequitatis*. Item illud responsorium quod canimus ‘Alleluia nomen bonum melius est quam diuitiae multae’ similiter in parabolis Salomonis inuenimus. Caetera uero, exceptis his quae de Psalmis composita sunt, ex quibus Scripturae locis possint inueniri nondum reperi.

Igitur rectius mihi uideretur ut ipsius alleluiae cantus in sexta 1151
40 feria ad uesperam inciperetur, et per diem sabbatum celebraretur, et in uespera cum alleluiae cantu in Domini laude finiretur. Hoc enim secundum quod sentio ex me profero, non praeiudicans aliorum prudentiae quos in laude Dei studiosos cognosco existere. Quod quidam illa responsoria quae post resurrectionem Domini
45 in ordine sunt posita, quae ita incipiunt ‘Si oblitus fuero tui’, in hac dominica nocte quae ‘Septuagesima’ praetitulatur uolunt ponere, uidetur mihi ratione carere, quia si auctor antiphonarii in primis uoluisset ea tunc decantari, ibi utique ea scriberet et non post Pascha poneret.

50 In illa lectione de Ecclesiastico libro assumpta quae ita incipit ‘In omnibus requiem quaesiui’ quidam uersus in quibusdam codicibus sic habetur ‘sicut cinnamomum et balsamum aromatizans’, in quibusdam uero ‘sicut cinnamomum et aspaltum aromatizans odorem dedi’.

55 Illud responsorium ‘Salus nostra’ quod canitur in Quadragesima quidam ita concludunt ‘ut securi seruiamus tibi’, sed rectius canitur ut in Genesi habetur ‘respiciat super nos misericordia tua, ut securi seruiamus regi’.

⟨V. DE VERSIBVS MINVS CVM RESPNSORIIS CONVENIENTIBVS⟩

cap. 12

Igitur nunc placet stilum uertere ad ea responsoria cum quibus uersus sui minime concordant sed sensu et uerbis multum discre-

51 In' – quaesiui] Eccli. 24, 11 52 sicut – aromatizans] Eccli. 24, 20 57/58 respiciat – regi] cfr Gen. 47, 25

35 Alleluia – multae] CAO 6076 (Resp., Dom. in LXX) 45 Si – tui] CAO 7653 (Resp., Dom. 5 p. Pasch.) 51 In' – quaesiui] Com. Murb. 123 (p. 48; Epist., Assumptio BVM); Com. Würz. 31 (p. 49; Epist., SS Agnetis et Agathae) (uide adnot.) 55 Salus nostra] CAO 7559 (Resp., Dom. in LXX)

36 Salomonis] Solomonis B 39 alleluiae] alleluia g 41 alleluiae] alleluia B g
42 secundum] om. B 43 laude Dei] Dei laude B 48 utique ea] ea utique B
57 Genesi] Genesi B

V, 1 scripsi ex epistola ut supra, om. codd., om. g 2 responsoria] responsa H g

pant. Illi responsorio 'Aue Maria gratia plena' illum uersum
 5 <quidam> aptant 'Tollite portas principes uestras et eleuamini por-
 tae aeternales et introibit', cum illae 'portae' et illi 'principes' et
 illae 'aeternales portae' quae eleuari iubentur magis ad alias
 personas pertineant quam sanctae Mariae semper Virgini conue-
 niant. Et quia angelus ad Mariam ait *Aue Maria gratia plena*, illa
 10 in uersu interrogando respondit:

V. *Quomodo fiet istud quoniam uirum non cognosco, et respon-
 dens angelus dixit ei. Spiritus sanctus.*

R. *Ecce Dominus ueniet. V. Ecce Dominus cum uirtute ueniet et
 regnum in manu eius et potestas et imperium. Super omnes.*

15 R. *Hierusalem plantabis uineam. V. Exulta filia Sion iubila Hie-
 rusalem. Surge Sion.*

R. *Bethleem ciuitas Dei summi. V. Loquetur pacem gentibus et
 dominabitur a mari usque ad mare. Et pax erit.*

R. *Suscipe uerbum Virgo Maria. V. Paries quidem filium et uir-
 20 ginitatis detrimentum non patieris efficieris grauida et eris semper
 Virgo intacta. Vt benedicta.*

R. *Aegypto noli flere. V. Ecce ueniet Dominus exercituum Deus
 tuus in potestate magna. Liberare.*

R. *Descendet Dominus sicut pluuiam. V. Et adorabunt eum omnes
 25 reges, omnes gentes seruiant ei. Orietur.*

R. *Ecce radix Iesse. V. Dabit ei Dominus sedem Dauid patris eius.
 Et erit.*

R. *Docebit nos Dominus uias suas. V. Venite ascendamus ad mon-
 tem Domini et ad domum Dei Iacob. Quia.*

30 R. *Canite tuba. V. Annunciate in finibus terrae et in insulis quae 1152
 procul sunt dicite. Ecce deus.*

V, 5/6 Tollite – introibit] Ps. 23, 7 9 Luc. 1, 28

V, 4/6 Aue – introibit] CAO 6157b (Resp., Dom. 1 Adu.) 11/12 CAO 6157a
 (Resp., Dom. 1 Adu.) 13/14 CAO 6586b (Resp., Dom. 2 Adu.) 15/16 CAO 7033b
 (Resp., Dom. 2 Adu.) 17/18 CAO 6254c (Resp., Dom. 3 Adu.) 19/21 CAO 7744b
 (Resp., Dom. 3 Adu.) 22/23 CAO 6056b (Resp., Dom. 3 Adu.) 24/25 CAO
 6408b (Resp., Dom. 3 Adu.) 26/27 CAO 6606b (Resp., Dom. 3 Adu.) 28/
 29 CAO 6481b (Resp., Dom. 3 Adu.) 30/31 CAO 6265b (Resp., Dom. 4 Adu.)

5 quidam] conieci, om. codd., om. g 6 et introibit] des. g 11/137 Quomodo –
 multis] omnes uersus cum notulis musicis BH 13 ueniet] adueniet B 15 uineam]
 deest B 17 summi] deest B 19 Virgo Maria] des. B Paries] pies ex Suscipies corr. B
 22 Aegypto] Aegipte B 24 sicut pluuiam] des. B 28 uias suas] des. B

R. *Virgo Israhel reuertere.* V. *In caritate perpetua dilexi te, ideo attraxi te miserans. In saluationem.*

R. *Iurauit dicit Dominus.* V. *Iuxta est salus mea ut ueniat et iustitia mea ut reueletur. Et testamentum.*

R. *Clama in fortitudine.* V. *Super montem excelsum ascende tu quae euangelizas Sion, exalta in fortitudine uocem tuam. Ecce Deus.*

R. *Orietur stella ex Iacob.* V. *Et adorabunt eum omnes reges, omnes gentes seruiant ei. Et erit omnis.*

40 R. *Egredietur Dominus.* V. *Et eleuabitur super omnes colles et fluent ad eum omnes gentes. Et stabunt.*

R. *Praecursor pro nobis ingreditur.* V. *Ipse est rex iusticiae cuius generatio non habet finem. Pontifex.*

R. *Videbunt gentes.* V. *Et eris corona gloriae in manu Domini et diadema regni in manu Dei tui. Et uocabitur.*

R. *Radix Iesse.* V. *Super ipsum continebunt reges os suum ipsum gentes deprecabuntur. Et erit.*

R. *Congratulamini mihi.* V. *Beatam me dicent omnes generationes. Quia.*

50 R. *Continet in gremio.* V. *Maternis uehitur qui matrem uexerat ulnis, angelici proceres quem stipant agmine fido. Per quos.*

R. *Patefactae sunt.* V. *Mortem enim quam saluator dignatus est pro omnibus pati hanc ille primus reddidit saluatori. Et ideo.*

R. *Qui uicerit faciam illum.* V. *Vincenti dabo edere de ligno uitae quod est in paradiso Dei mei. Et scribam.*

R. *Magi ueniunt.* V. *Vidimus stellam eius in oriente. Et uenimus.*

R. *Omnipotens adorande.* V. *Te confiteor labiis, te corde, te totis uisceribus concupisco. Quia.*

60 R. *Agathes laetissima.* V. *Nobilissimis orta natalibus ab ignobili gaudens trahebatur ad carcerem. Et quasi.*

32/33 CAO 7903b (Resp., Dom. 4 Adu.) 34/35 CAO 7045b (Resp., Dom. 4 Adu.) 36/37 CAO 6292a (Resp., Hebd. 4 Adu.) 38/39 CAO 7338b (Resp., Hebd. 4 Adu.) 40/41 CAO 6640b (Resp., Hebd. 4 Adu.) 42/43 CAO 7421b (Resp., Hebd. 4 Adu.) 44/45 CAO 7854a (Resp., Hebd. 4 Adu.) 46/47 CAO 7508b (Resp., Hebd. 4 Adu.) 48/49 CAO 6322b (Resp., Nat. Dom.) 50/51 CAO 6333e (Resp., Nat. Dom.) 52/53 CAO 7358a (Resp., S. Steph.) 54/55 CAO 7486b (Resp., S. Ioh. Euang.) 56 CAO 7112a (Resp., Epiph.) 57/58 CAO 7318b (Resp., S. Agnetis) 59/60 CAO 6061b (Resp., S. Agathae)

32 reuertere] deest B 37 quae] qui H g (uide adnot.) tuam] meam H Deus] deest B 38 ex Iacob] des. B 39 omnis] deest B 42 ingreditur] deest B 48 mihi] deest B Beatam] Beata H 54 faciam illum] des. B 55 scribam] deest H g 60 carcerem] carcere H

R. *Alleluia dum praesens est.* V. *In amicitia illius delectatio bona quoniam immortalis est memoria illius. Et in perpetuum.*

R. *Erit mihi.* V. *Si reuersus fuero prospere ad domum Patris mei. Decimas.*

65 R. *Audi Israhel.* V. *Obserua igitur et audi uocem meam et inimicus ero inimicis tuis. Et dabo.*

R. *Opprobrium factus.* V. *Locuti sunt aduersum me lingua dolosa et sermonibus odii circumdederunt me. Adiuua.*

R. *O Iuda.* V. *Corpore tantum cum cenantibus recumbebas et*
70 *mentem inuidiae furore armabas. Et pacis.*

R. *Surgens Iesus.* V. *Vna ergo sabbatorum cum fores essent clausae, ubi erant discipuli congregati uenit Iesus, stetit Iesus in medio et dixit* 1153
eis. Pax uobis.

R. *Isti sunt agni.* V. *In conspectu agni amicti sunt stolis albis et*
75 *palmae in manibus eorum. Modo.*

R. *De ore prudentis.* V. *Sapientia requiescit in corde eius et prudentia in sermone eius. Fauus.*

R. *Locutus est ad me.* V. *Et sustulit me in Spiritu in montem magnum et altum. Et uidi.*

80 R. *Haec est Hierusalem.* V. *Portae eius non claudentur per diem, nox enim non erit in ea. Quoniam.*

R. *Non conturbetur.* V. *Ego rogabo Patrem et alium paraclitum dabit uobis. Et.*

R. *Priusquam te formarem.* V. *Posui uerba mea in ore tuo. Et*
85 *ante.*

R. *Praecursor Domini.* V. *Hic est enim Propheta et plusquam Propheta sicut saluator ait. Nullus.*

61/62 CAO 6071a (Dom. in LXX) 63/64 CAO 6668b (Dom. 2 Quad.) 65/66 CAO 6143b (Dom. 4 Quad.) 67/68 CAO 7325c (Resp., Dom. in Palmis) 69/70 CAO 7272b (Resp., Fer. 5 in Cena Dom.) 71/73 CAO 7734b (Resp., Hebd. p. Pasch.) 74/75 CAO 7012a (Resp., Hebd. p. Pasch.) 76/77 CAO 6396b (Resp., Hebd. p. Pasch.) 78/79 CAO 7096b (Resp., Oct. Pasch.) 80/81 CAO 6803b (Resp., Dom. 2 p. Pasch.) 82/83 CAO 7225b (Resp., Ascens.) 84/85 CAO 7435 (Resp., S. Ioh. Bapt.) 86/87 CAO 7420b (Resp., S. Ioh. Bapt.)

62 Et in perpetuum] om. Hg 66 dabo] deest Hg 67 factus] V. Corpore tantum cum cenantibus recumbebas add. tum del. B (ob homoioteleuton: uide uersum infra) 68 Adiuua] om. Hg 70 furore] forore g 72 ubi – Iesus¹] om. B, sine notulis musicis H ubi – congregati] H^{a.m.} 73 uobis] deest Hg 75 eorum] eorum B 77 in] om. H 78 ad me] des. Hg 82 Ego] Ergo H 84 formarem] deest Hg, puncta subter B 86 Hic] Haec H 87 Nullus] Non g

R. *Puer meus*. V. *Liberabo te de manu pessimorum et eruam te de manu fortium*. Et odor.

90 R. *O Hippolyte si credis*. V. *Si dictis inquit facta compensas faciam quod hortaris, cui beatus Laurentius dixit*. Et.

R. *Hic est uir*. V. *Strinxerunt corporis membra posita in craticula, subicientibus prunas exultat leuita Christi*. Quia.

R. *In conspectu gentium*. V. *Cantate Domino canticum nouum, bene psallite ei in iubilatione*. Angelus.

R. *O beatum uirum*. V. *Oculis ac manibus in caelum semper intentus, inuictum ab oratione Spiritum non relaxabat*. Qui.

R. *O beata Caecilia*. V. *Beata es Virgo et gloriosa et benedictus sermo oris tui*. Quae.

100 R. *Virgo gloriosa*. V. *Cilicio Caecilia membra domabat, Deum gemitibus exorabat*. Et non.

R. *Cilicio Caecilia*. V. *Non diebus neque noctibus uacabat a colloquiis diuinis*. Tiburtium.

R. *Beata Caecilia*. V. *Sicut enim amor Dei fratrem tuum mihi coniugem fecit, ita te mihi cognatum*. Quia.

R. *Caecilia me misit*. V. *Inueniens Valerianus pauperes dixit: ostendite mihi sanctum Vrbani*. Quia.

R. *Dilexit Andream*. V. *Elegit eum Dominus et honestum fecit illum*. Quem.

110 R. *Exaudisti Domine*. V. *Domine qui custodis pactum et misericordiam seruis tuis, qui ambulant coram te in toto corde suo*. Benedic.

R. *Domine si conuersus*. V. *Si peccauerit in te populus tuus et conuersus egerit poenitentiam, ueniens orauerit in loco isto*. Libera.

88/89 CAO 7449b (Resp., S. Laur.) 90/91 CAO 7271a (Resp., S. Laur.) 92/93 CAO 6831 (Resp., S. Laur.) 94/95 CAO 6895b (Resp., S. Mich.) 96/97 CAO 7258 (Resp., S. Mart.) 98/99 CAO 7253b (Resp., S. Caec.) 100/101 CAO 7902b (Resp., S. Caec.) 102/103 CAO 6284a (Resp., S. Caec.) 104/105 CAO 6161c (Resp., S. Caec.) 106/107 CAO 6258 (Resp., S. Caec.) 108/109 CAO 6451b (Resp., S. Andr.) 110/111 CAO 6688a (Resp., De Regum) 113/114 CAO 6514a (Resp., De Regum)

89 Et odor] om. Hg 90 Hippolyte] scripsi (iam g), Ypolite BH si credis] des. B 93 prunas] prunis B exultat] insultat g Quia] Qui g 94 gentium] gentitum seu gemitum H 95 Angelus] A H, Adorate g 97 ab] iter. B^{a.c.} 101 gemitibus] ex gentibus corr. H non] deest H g 102 Cilicio] Caecilio B^{a.c.} Non] Sicut enim amor praem. tum del. B (ob homoioteleuton: uide uersum infra) noctibus – colloquiis] usque Hg 107 Quia] om. Hg

- 115 R. *Initium sapientiae*. V. *Dilectio illius custodia legum est quia omnis sapientia timor Domini. Laudatio.*
 R. *Peto Domine*. V. *Omnia iudicia tua iusta sunt et omnes uiae tuae misericordia et ueritas. Ne reminiscaris.*
 R. *Tempus est*. V. *Benedicite Deum caeli et coram omnibus uiuentibus confitemini ei. Et enarrate.*
 120 R. *Domine rex omnipotens*. V. *Exaudi Domine orationem nostram et conuerte luctum nostrum in gaudium.* (Libera.) 1154
 R. *Spem in alium*. V. *Domine Deus caeli et terrae respice ad humilitatem nostram. Qui irasceris.*
 125 R. *Tua est potentia*. V. *Creator omnium Deus terribilis et fortis iustus et misericors. Da pacem.*
 R. *Tu Domine uniuersorum*. V. *Tu Domine cui humilium et mansuetorum placuit deprecatio. Conserua.*
 R. *Disrumpam uincula*. V. *Reuertar ad Hierusalem in misericordia, domus mea aedificabitur in ea. Et.*
 130 R. *Muro tuo inexpugnabili*. V. *Erue nos in mirabilibus tuis et da gloriam nomini tuo. Libera.*
 R. *Ciuitatem istam*. V. *Auertatur furor tuus Domine a populo tuo et a ciuitate sancta tua. Exaudi.*
 135 R. *Qui caelorum contines*. V. *Non enim in iustificationibus nostris prosternimus praeces ante faciem tuam, sed in miserationibus tuis multis. Exaudi.*

cap. 13

- Inter haec sciendum quia, etsi quidam uersus cum suis responsoriis conueniunt, ex nimia tamen assiduitate qua saepius ponuntur quodammodo uilescunt et fastidium ingerunt. Sicut sunt 'Deus a Libano ueniet', 'A solis ortu', 'Qui regis Israhel' multique
- 140

141 Deus a Libano ueniet] cfr Hab. 3, 3 A solis ortu] Ps. 106, 3 Qui regis Israhel] Ps. 79, 2

115/116 CAO 6967b (Resp., De Sapientia) 117/118 CAO 7381a (Resp., De Tobia)
 119/120 CAO 7759a (Resp., De Tobia) 121/122 CAO 6511a (Resp., De Esther)
 123/124 CAO 7684a (Resp., De Esther) 125/126 CAO 7793a (Resp., De Machab.)
 127/128 CAO 7786 (Resp., De Machab.) 129/130 CAO 6461b (Resp., De Machab.)
 131/132 CAO 7192a (Resp., De Prophetis) 133/134 CAO 6291a (Resp., De Prophetis)
 135/137 CAO 7471a (Resp., De Prophetis) 140 fastidium ingerunt] cfr BERNI, *Epist.* 6 (p. 27): ne fastidium lectori uideamur ingerere

116 Laudatio] Laudere ut uid. B, Lauda g 118 Ne reminiscaris] scripsi, Vere (fortasse loco Ne re) B, Ne H g 120 enarrate] scripsi, enarate B, deest H g 121 nostram] meam H g 122 Libera] scripsi, om. codd., om. g 124 irasceris] deest H g 126 Da pacem] Da H, om. g 127 cui] ins. sup. l. B et] om. g 129 uincula] uicula H 131 inexpugnabili] deest B

huiuscemodi. Vnde et nos non solum eos uersus quos in emendationibus antiphonariis inuenire potuimus emendationis causa posuimus, uerum etiam alios pro superioribus nouiter conditos
 145 annotare curauimus.

Ille uersus qui ad illud responsorium pertinet quod 'In sudore uultus tui' canitur, qui ita oritur 'Pro eo quod oboedisti uoci uxoris tuae': quidam cantant 'plusquam me', cum rectius dicatur 'plusquam meae', id est magis deberes meae uoci oboedire quam
 150 uoci uxoris tuae.

Ille uersus 'Cumque abisset Ruben ad puteum et non inuenisset eum' a quibusdam modulatur 'scissisque uestibus', sed 'que' coniunctio ibi superflua est, et magis regulariter dicitur 'scissis uestibus pergens ad fratres ait'.

155 Restat adhuc unum responsorium quod mihi uidetur non praetereundum, quod taliter incipit 'Dum deambularet Dominus in paradiso', cui uersus supponitur 'Domine audiui auditum tuum et timui' et adiungitur quod in Abacuc Propheta habetur 'consideraui opera tua et expaui', cum rectius illa dictio subsequeretur
 160 quae in Genesi legitur 'Domine audiui auditum tuum et timui, eo quod nudus essem et abscondi me'.

Nec praetereundum quod Dominus perditum hominem ad auram post meridiem quaesiuit ac nudum reperit. In meridie solet sol feruentior esse et postmodum in auram declinare. Primus
 165 homo a feruore solis iustitiae defecit quando in amore conditoris non stetit, ad auram post meridiem declinauit quando in perfidia culpam ruit. Sed nos, diuino amore feruentes, semper ueste nuptiali induti incedentes, caelestem sponsum quaeramus in meridie, dicentes cum sponsa *Indica mihi quem diligit anima mea, ubi pas-*
 170 *cas, ubi cubes in meridie*, quatenus in feruore geminae dilectionis manentes, semper cum Christo laetemur ouantes 'Deo gratias'.

146/147 In sudore uultus tui] cfr Gen. 3, 19 147/148 Pro – tuae] cfr Gen. 3, 17
 151/152 Cumque – eum] cfr Gen. 37, 29 153/154 scissis – ait] cfr Gen. 37, 30
 156/157 Dum – paradiso] cfr Gen. 3, 8 157/158 Domine – timui] cfr Gen. 3, 10
 158/159 consideraui – expaui] cfr Hab. 3, 2 160/161 Domine – me] cfr Gen. 3, 10
 167/168 ueste – incedentes] cfr Matth. 22, 11 169/170 Cant. 1, 6

146/148 In – tuae] CAO 6937a (Resp., Dom. in LXX) 151/152 Cumque – eum]
 CAO 6477a (Resp. 'Dixit Iudas fratribus', Dom. 3 Quad.) 156/159 Dum – expaui]
 CAO 6537b (Resp., Dom. in LXX)

142 uersus] om. B 147 oritur] orditur g, uersus add. Hg 159 cum] unam litt.
 add. tum del. B 162 Dominus] Deus g 171 Deo gratias] om. Hg

APPENDIX

RATIO GENERALIS
DE INITIO ADVENTVS DOMINI

INTRODUCTION

I. TEXTUAL TRADITION

a. Filiation of sources

The sources of the *Ratio generalis de initio Aduentu* (henceforth *Adu. Dom. rat.*) divide cleanly into two families. That division is exemplified by a small disagreement over how to express the distance between Septuagesima and Easter, also discussed above in the General Introduction. This disagreement divides the transmission into two main groups: *He A* (sixty-three days) and *TV* (sixty-four days). Although there is a third family *Ma Mb Md* (seventy-three days), that total is simply incorrect and must be excused as an accidental deviation from one or other group:

p. 159, 4 LXIII *He A*] LXXIII *Ma Mb Md*, LXIII *TV c Q*

Excluding the late and partial witnesses (*c W Q*), which do not show strong affiliations to either side, a basic familial division remains clear throughout the text:

p. 159, 7	x et xi <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] xviii <i>TV</i>
p. 159, 11	inchoationis <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] inchoantis <i>TV</i>
p. 159, 14	dominicam <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] dominicas <i>TV</i>
p. 160, 25	Vigilia Domini <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] Vigilia <i>TV</i>
p. 160, 29-30	Aduentu Domini <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] Aduentu <i>TV</i>
p. 160, 39	obseruentur in Aduentu Domini <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] in Aduentu obseruentur <i>TV</i>
p. 161, 50	sit <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] esset <i>TV</i>
p. 162, 70	II <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] pridie <i>TV</i>
p. 162, 71	ex more concurrerent <i>He Ma Mb Md^{p.c.}</i>] amore occurrerent <i>TV</i> , ex more concurrent <i>Md^{a.c.} A</i>
p. 162, 75	suspendebat <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] ex suspendat corr. <i>TV</i>
p. 162, 80	auctorite armati <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] armati auctoritate <i>TV</i>
p. 162, 80	indigliabiliter <i>Mb TV</i>] inde gliabiliter <i>He Md A</i> , ingliabiliter <i>Ma</i>
p. 163, 85	unanimitas <i>He Ma Mb Md A</i>] ex unimitas corr. <i>T</i> , unitas <i>V</i>

The brevity of the text makes it difficult to delve much deeper into the tradition, but the overlapping transmission of *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Obseru. ieiun.* does suggest the value of recording three further patterns. One is the occasional tendency of *A* to side with *TV*:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| p. 162, 72 | celebraremus <i>TV A</i>] celebramus <i>He Ma Mb Md</i> |
| p. 162, 79 | quippe nos <i>TV A</i>] nos quippe <i>He Ma Mb Md</i> |

Another is the grouping of *Ma Mb*:

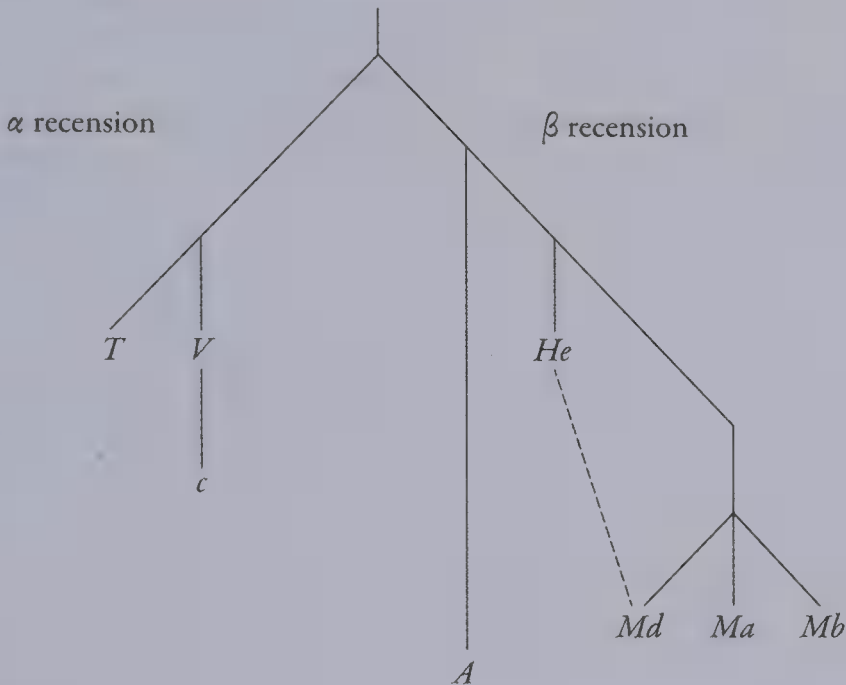
- | | |
|------------|---|
| p. 161, 46 | aduentu <i>He Md TV A</i>] aduentum <i>Ma Mb</i> |
| p. 162, 74 | incuriae <i>He Md TV A</i>] incaute <i>Ma Mb</i> |

A third is the related tendency of *Md* to share unique readings with *He*:

- | | |
|------------|---|
| p. 161, 49 | quid <i>Ma Mb TV A</i>] quod <i>He Md</i> |
| p. 161, 54 | maiestatis <i>Ma Mb Md^{p.c.} TV A</i>] magestatis <i>He Md^{a.c.}</i> |

A final area of note is the remarkable epilogue transmitted solely in source *A*. This text probably is by Bern, because we also encounter it as the epilogue to his *Tonarius*.¹ Given that the narrator of *Adu. Dom. rat.* was probably an emigré, the epilogue's sentiment of estrangement is extremely appropriate to the events being described. In particular, its quotation from Psalm 136 is brilliantly suited to its punning adaptation in *Adu. Dom. rat.*, such that the memory of 'Sion' (as found in the *Tonarius*) becomes the memory of a 'synod' (the theme with which *Adu. Dom. rat.* concludes). However, there are also reasons to be cautious. On one level, *Adu. Dom. rat.* already comes with an epilogue, or 'confirmatio', in which there is space to reflect on the central argument. On another level, the Admont library possessed at least one copy of Bern's *Tonarius*, making it entirely possible that a later scribe was responsible for flagging the clever resonance. Conscious that further research might be able to confirm or deny Bern's involvement, I include the full text in the apparatus.

¹ *Ton.* (p. 114-115).

b. Stemma codicum

2. EXISTING EDITIONS

Adu. Dom. rat. has only been edited once before, by Bernhard Pez, who considered it to be an authentic work of Bern. Both the text and its attribution were later reproduced in *PL*. Pez edited his text from a 'Codex Emmerammensis' (*Mb*), with extra readings from an 'alter codex' (identifiable as *Ma*), both of which include *Adu. Dom. rat.* between works attributed to Bern. Although not strictly an edition, Bessel's *Chronicon Gotwicense* (1732) included a short quotation of the text as found in the lost Werden manuscript (*c*). Since Bessel's quotation bears witness to the familial behaviours described above, we collate it to its fullest extent. As before, readings from Pez's edition are also noted wherever they depart from the main text.

3. PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

This text is established principally from the Reichenau-affiliated manuscript *He*, which we consider to transmit a 'published' version of *Adu. Dom. rat.*, as revised by Bern and disseminated in

the 1030s or 1040s. Readings are taken from other manuscripts wherever that text appears to be deficient. Manuscripts *TV* are considered to be the best witnesses to the original version, tentatively attributed above to Theodoricus of Amorbach, which may have been composed in the late 990s or early 1000s. The apparatus also records the concordant portions in *W*'s copy of *Off. miss.*, whose fourth chapter includes a short extract.

RATIO GENERALIS
DE INITIO ADVENTVS DOMINI

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

codices

<i>A</i>	ADMONT, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 296, f. 43va-44vb (s. XII ¹)
<i>He</i>	codex olim Toerring-Gutenzell 58, nunc in bibliotheca priuata Heluetica asservatus, f. 7v-10r (s. XI ^{2/3})
<i>Ma</i>	MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14477, f. 72v-74v (s. XI/XII)
<i>Mb</i>	MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14708, f. 18r-19r (s. XII ¹)
<i>Md</i>	MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 27300, f. 66v-67v (s. XI/XII)
<i>Q</i>	PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms Latin 2265, f. 168r (s. XIII)
<i>T</i>	AUSTIN, University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, HRC 29, f. 101r-102v (s. XI ^{2/4})
<i>V</i>	WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 701, f. 1r-v (s. XI ^{2/4})
<i>W</i>	WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 131 Gud. Lat., f. 77v-78r (s. XII ⁱⁿ)

editio

<i>c</i>	G. BESSEL, <i>Chronicon Gotwicense, seu annales liberi et exempti monasterii Gotwicensis</i> , Tegernsee, 1732, p. 37 (ex codice Werdinense nunc perduto, s. XI)
<i>p</i>	B. PEZ, <i>Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus seu veterum monumentorum, praecipue ecclesiasticorum, ex Germanicis potissimum bibliothecis adornata collectio recentissima</i> , IV.2, Augsburg, 1721, col. 49-52 (= PL, 142, col. 1085-1088)

RATIO GENERALIS DE INITIO ADVENTVS DOMINI SECVNDVM AVCTORITATEM HILARII EPISCOPI

PL 1085

Sciendum sane est, et omnibus orthodoxis fidelibus memoriter retinendum, quia sicut praecipua currentis anni tempora propriis sunt terminis praefixo tenore contenta – hoc est Septuagesimale, quod sexaginta trium dierum spatio conficitur, et Quadragesimale, quod quadragenis binisque constat diebus, necnon et Paschalis solemnitatis terminus, qui a XII Kal. Apr. usque in XIV Kal. Mai. per decem et nouem annos uariatur; Rogationum quoque, quarum terminus omni tempore a Pridie Non. Mai. quaeritur, et est luna uicesima mensis Maii; Pentecostes terminus a XIII Kal. Iun. semper requiritur, qui est luna quarta mensis Iunii – ita ergo terminus inchoationis Aduentus Domini immobili limite constat secundum fidem Niceni concilii a V Kal. Dec. usque in III Non. eiusdem mensis. Nam septem dies in medio uariantes ostendunt, procul dubio, singulis annis dominicam in qua absque refragatione aliqua sancta per orbem ecclesia Aduentum Domini praeconando aggrediatur.

Et ita contingit ut si quarundam more ecclesiarum a VI Kal. Dec. idem terminus figatur, proxima ebdomada Natiuitatis Do-

3/10 hoc – Iunii] cfr Ps. BEDA, *Arg. lun.* (col. 712; col. 715-716)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md TVc(expl. post 4 conficitur) A Q p*

Tit. 1/2 *om. TVc*, Item de Aduentu Domini *A*, Argumentum de sancti Hylarii libris excerptum super Aduentus Domini termino *Q* 1 Ratio] Item *praem. He Ma Mb Md sed deleui (iam p)* 2 Hilarii] Hylarii *He*

1 orthodoxis] orthodis *Ma*, ordodoxis *V* 4 quod – Quadragesimale] *ins. in marg. Md* sexaginta trium] septuaginta trium *Ma Mb Md p*, sexaginta quartum (quattuor) *Q TVc Q(uide adnot.)* 5 constat diebus] diebus constat *Q* constat] *om. A* necnon] nec tamen *Ma* 5/6 et Paschalis solemnitatis] et Paschae *Q*, uel Paschalis solemnitatis *ins. sup. l. Q^{a.m.}* 5 Paschalis] ex Pascalis *corr. V* 6 in] *om. Ma Mb Md* 7 XIV] IIII *He*, XIII ex IIII *corr. Md* decem et nouem] *scripsi*, x et ix *He Ma Mb Md A p*, xviii *TVQ* 8 Pridie Non.] VII Kal. *ut uid. sup. ras. Q* Pridie] II *Mb* 9 Maii] Mai *A He* 10 XIII Kal. Iun.] VII Id. Mai. *ut uid. sup. ras. Q* requiritur] inquitur *Ma* qui] quia *Q* 11 ergo] *om. Q* inchoationis] inchoantis *TV* immobili limite] immobilitate *A* 13 septem] sex *T* 14 dominicam] dominicas *TV* 15 per orbem ecclesia] ecclesia per ordinem *T* 16 aggrediatur] aggreditur *Ma^{a.c.} p* 17 more] in more *T* 18 figatur] figuratur *A T*

mini superflua tota inueniatur ac nequaquam uacillans. Sanctum
 20 quippe a patribus mystica auctoritate est, quatenus ille praeopta-
 bilis Domini Aduentus nonnisi trium ebdomadatum praestolati-
 one suppleatur. At si quarta, propter uarietatem septem dierum
 qui in praefato termino uersantur, succrescat per speciem sinedo-
 25 chae, id est tota ex parte computetur, eo quod non tota uacando
 expendatur sed in sabbato eius tandem Vigilia Domini celebretur,
 quae, inquiunt, ratio est ut quatuor ebdomadae in praeconio Ad-
 uentus Domini funditus expleantur, et quinta intrante Vigilia
 Domini habeatur? Si in III Non. Dec. inchoatur ubi ultima domi-
 30 nica eiusdem termini inuenitur, non expenduntur in Aduentu
 Domini nisi tres ebdomadae plenae. Etiam celebratis legalis ieiun-
 nii solemnibus, quarta demum accrastinante Vigilia Domini in do-
 minica occurrit.

Haec autem causa est qua praefata patrum sententia fulcitur.
 Omnis enim omnipotentis uerbi humanati dispensatio sanctae
 35 Trinitatis indiuidua est operatio. Et quamquam ad solum filium
 respiciat humanitatis assumptio, tamen ad totam Trinitatem per-
 tinet effectiua nostrae redemptionis consummatio. Quapropter
 aequum per omnia fore et conducibile censetur, quatenus tres tan-
 tum ebdomadae obseruentur in Aduentu Domini. Quodsi ali-

23/24 per – computetur] cfr AMALAR., *Off.* 3, 40, 8 (p. 376, 41-42); BERNO, *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (p. 17, 146-147)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md TV AW* (inc. ab 33 Haec) *Qp*

19 superflua] superflua *Ma*, lacunam paruum habet *Q* uacillans] uacillas *Q* Sanctum] Sanctum *Ma Md p*, in ras. *Mb*, ex Sanctum corr. *TV* in marg., Sanctum *A*
 20 quippe] ins. in marg. *Mb* auctoritate] ex auctoritate corr. *He* ille praeoptabilis] praeoptabilis ille *A* 21 Domini Aduentus] Aduentus Domini *Q* non nisi] nonni (uel fortasse non ni) *T* 22 At] Et *A* 23 uersantur] ex uersatur corr. *Ma*, ex uersantur (ut uid.) corr. *Q* sinedochae] sinedochae *A T Q*, synedochae *V*, synedochae *p* 24 non tota] tota non *Ma* 24/25 uacando expendatur] ex parte expandatur uacando *A* 25 Domini] om. *TV Q* 26/28 quae – habeatur] om. *Q* 28 habeatur] habetur *A* 28/29 dominica eiusdem termini] eiusdem termini dominica 29 expenduntur] expanduntur ut uid. *T^{a.c.}* 30 Domini] om. *TV* plenae] esse ut uid. praem. *Q* legalis] legalibus *Q* 31 accrastinante] -astinante in ras. *Mb^{a.m.}*, accrescente *A* (sed uide adnot.) dominica] ex domica corr. *Md* 33 qua] quia *Ma p*, ut uid. *V* praefata] om. *W* 34 humanati] ex humnati corr. *V* 35 est] ins. sup. l. *V*, om. *A* 37 effectiua] affectiua *T* 38 per omnia fore] fore per omnia *T* conducibile] condecibile *He Ma Mb Md V^{a.c.}* *p*, concedibile *AW*, cum ducibile *Q* quatenus] ut *Q* tres] iii (uel fortasse in) *A* 39 obseruentur in Aduentu Domini] in (ins. sup. l. *V*) Aduentu obseruentur *TV Q*

40 quid supercreuerit, sinedochicos accipitur, ne tanti mysterii regula praesumptiue quod absit annulletur.

Est autem et alia eiusdem negotii ratio haudquaquam uilipendenda, qua gloriosus ecclesiae auctor et doctor eximius Hilarius in libro utitur officiorum: “Sicut,” inquit, “pater ille familias in
45 Euangelio trino aduentu infructuosam ficulneam uisitauit, sic sancta mater ecclesia saluatoris aduentu annuo recursum per trium septimanarum secretum spatium sibi incitauit. *Venit enim filius hominis quaerere et saluum facere quod perierat*. Venit ante legem, quia per naturalem intellectum quid unicuique sequendum
50 quidue agendum sit innotuit. Venit sub lege, quia Patriarcharum exemplis et Prophetarum praeconiis semini Abrahae legalia confirmauit decreta. Venit tertio post legem per gratiam ad aduocationem gentium, ut *a solis ortu usque ad occasum* laudare discerent pueri *nomen Domini*, quousque ad finem mundi ad suae maiestatis cultum exhortari non desinit.”

Haec sunt quae apud Gallos positus ex libro officiorum sancti Hilarii non inutiliter mihi corras.

45 trino – uisitauit] cfr Luc. 13, 7 47/48 Luc. 19, 10 53/54 Ps. 112, 3

44/55 Sicut – desinit] HIL., *Lib. off. (incognitus est)*

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md TV AW* (expl. post 55 desinit) *Q* (expl. post 55 desinit) *p*

40 supercreuerit] supercreuit *p* sinedochicos] sinedochycos *A*, per sinedocheos *Q*, synecdochicos *p* accipitur] accipiat *Q* 42 Est] Item de eodem *rubr. praem. Q* haudquaquam] nequaquam *Q* 43 qua] ex quae corr. *T* gloriosus] eximius *Q* auctor et doctor] auctor *A*, doctor *Q* eximius] om. *Q* Hilarius] Hylarius *He Ma Mb Md A Q* 43/44 in libro utitur officiorum] sic utitur in libro officiorum *Q* 44 pater ille familias] ille (*ins. sup. l. Mb, om. A Ma p*) paterfamilias *Ma Mb T A p* 46 aduentu] aduentum *Ma Mb W Q p* annuo] ex anno corr. *Md* 46/47 per trium septimanarum] per (*ins. sup. l.*) ebdomadatum trium *A*, per trium ebdomadatum *Q* 47 spatium] spatia (spatium *add. in marg. p*) *Ma p* incitauit] nuntiauit *A* 48 ante] ex autem corr. *W* 49 quid] quod *He Md* 49/50 sequendum ... agendum] agendum ... sequendum *Ma p* 50 sit] esset *TV Q* innotuit] inuenit *A*, intonuit *Q* Venit] *litt. primam om. A* 51 semini] ex sequimini corr. *Ma* Abrahac] Abrachae *Ma* 52 ad] in *A, om. Q* 53 discerent] discernent *Ma p^{in marg.}* 54 maiestatis] magestatis *He Md^{a.c.}* 55 exhortari non desinit] non desinit exhortari *Q* desinit] desinat *A* 56 Haec] *litt. primam om. A* 56/57 apud Gallos positus ... mihi corras] mihi ... corras *A* 57 Hilarii] Hylarii *He Ma Mb Md* inutiliter] in- *ins. sup. l. A*

CONFIRMATIO EIVSDEM SENTENTIAE

Sed ne ea quae hactenus patrum uestigia sequendo retulimus
 60 amphibola fortasse uideantur, operae pretium duximus ut qualiter
 eadem auctoritas in nostra quoque praesentia apud urbem Aure-
 lianensem multorum conuentu episcoporum atque spiritualium
 patrum diffinitive subnixa sit referamus.

Contigit namque quodam anno mediante decennouenalis cy-
 65 cli curriculo ut Aurelianenses canonici causa agente neglegentiae
 in VI Kal. Dec. Aduentum Domini inchoarent. Transacta quippe 1088
 illa ebdomada exstitit octaua dies, quae est III Non. Dec. Et nos
 Floriacenses fratres, monachi uidelicet beatissimi patris Benedicti,
 initium fecimus Aduentus Domini. Cumque in crastinum quod
 70 est II Non. Dec. festum haberetur illationis eiusdem patris et
 praefati canonici tantae festiuitati ex more concurrerent et nos ex
 consuetudine monastica matutinalem celebraremus missam de
 Aduentu Domini quem pridie inchoauimus, coeperunt ipsi Aure-
 lianenses ualde inter se mussitare et nos incuriae arguere.

75 Sed quia tanta tanti patris solemnitas nos a responsione suspen-
 debat in crastinum res admodum uentilata est. Et quia sine
 praesentia eiusdem urbis episcopi finiri non potuit, placuit sine
 mora omnibus Francigenis episcopis apud iam dictam urbem con-
 cilium super Aduentu Domini agere. Ibi nos quippe Floriacenses
 80 patrum auctoritate armati et indiglabiliter parmatis affuimus, et

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md TV Ap*

58 Confirmatio – sententiae] *om. T* Confirmatio] Affirmatio *V* 59 hactenus] *ex*
 actenus *corr. He* 60 amphibola] amphibula *A* 63 referamus] differamus *A*
 64 quodam] quodo *Ma* decennouenalis] *ex* decenouelis *corr. V* 65 cycli] cicly *A*
 65 curriculo] circulo *Mb*, curriculo *ins. sup. l. Mb^{a.m.}* 66 quippe] quoque *V*
 67 exstitit] *iter. (ut uid.) tum del. cum ras. He* 68 Floriacenses] Floacenses *A* mo-
 nachi – Benedicti] *om. A* 70 est] *om. T* II] Pridie *TV* 71 more] amore *TV*
 concurrerent] concurrent *Md^{a.c.} A*, occurrerent *TV* 72 monastica] monachica *A*
 celebraremus] celebramus *He Ma Mb Md p* 73 pridie inchoauimus] inchoamus (-ui-
ins. in marg.) Ma Aurelianenses] *ex* Aurelianensis *corr. V* 74 incuriae] incaute
Ma Mb p 75 tanta tanti patris] tanti patris tanta *A* suspendebat] *ex* suspendat *corr.*
TV 76 uentilata est] *in ras. Ma* 77 eiusdem] eius *ut uid. Mb^{a.c.}* 78 Francigenis]
 Francienis *A* iam] *in ras. Mb* dictam urbem concilium] dictum concilium *A*
 79 super Aduentu Domini agere] agere super Aduentum Domini *A* Aduentu] Ad-
 uentum *Ma A* nos quippe] quippe nos *TV A* Floriacenses] Floacenses *A* 80 pat-
 rum] pariter *V* auctoritate armati] armati auctoritate *TV* indiglabiliter] inde
 gladiabiliter *He Md A*, ingladiabiliter *Ma p (uide adnot.)*, -bi- *ins. sup. l. T* parmatis]
 perarmati *Mb p, om. A*

ita contradicentes in omnibus conuicimus ut aeternum eis silentium super hoc negotio imponeremus. Ex illo die et deinceps non est apud Gallos uel Germanos praesumptor inuentus qui huic tam sanae diffinitioni uellet contraire. Quapropter si est unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, sit et una ecclesiae unanimitas.

85 app. crit. quomodo – aliena] Ps. 136, 4 terra – hostili] Is. 1, 7 defecit – peccauimus] Thren. 5, 15-16

85 app. crit. Haec – obedire] BERNO, *Ton.* (p. 114-115) *sed synodo*] Sion Vacat – flere] FVLG., *Myth.* II (p. 3, 9-10)

Trad. text.: *He Ma Mb Md TV Ap*

81 aeternum eis] in *praem.* *Ma p*, aeternum eius *T* 82 imponeremus] *ex* imponemus *corr. T* illo] illa *TV* 82/83 non est] *ins. sup. l. Md* 83 Gallos] Callos *Ma* Germanos] *ex* Geminos *corr. T* 85 una] *u- ins. sup. l. V* unanimitas] *ex* unimitas *corr. T*, Amen *add. T*, unitas *V*, Haec in nostra quondam synodo animo exultante, prout potuimus, concinendo depromisimus: nunc autem uelut super flumina Babylonis sedentes malis amaricati iam organa nostra suspendimus, lacrimabiliter clamantes ac dicentes: *Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena?* Terra quippe nostra nobis facta est aliena, quandoquidem nec uiuere nec dicam cantare licet in ea. Impleta in nobis prophetia quae olim miserae ac infelici Iudaeae taliter est comminata: *Terra uestra deserta, ciuitates uestrae succensae igni, regionem uestram in conspectu uestro alieni deuorant, et desolabitur sicut in uastitate hostili.* Propterea defecit gaudium cordis nostri, uersus est in luctum chorus noster, cecidit corona capitis nostri, ita ut compellamus dicere: *Vae nobis quia peccauimus.* Et ut quidam sapiens dicit: “Vacat hoc tempore potentibus opprimere, priuatis perdere, miseris flere.” Sed quid inter haec aliud restat agendum nisi ut in illo prophetico uolumine, in quo scriptae sunt lamentationes, carmen et uae, die noctuque meditemur ut dum filia Babylonis, hoc est, iniqua persequentium, nos multitudo tribuente Domino recipiet retributionem quam retribuit nobis, scilicet uae perenne, nos per lamentationes dignas potentiae iterum mereamur cantare carmen laetitiae, suffragantibus principis Apostolorum meritis, cuius amore tuis, beatissime Pater, in hoc opere studuimus praeceptis obedire *add. A*

ADNOTATIONES

QVALITER ADVENTVS DOMINI
CELEBRARI DEBEAT

2/3 area – mensura] Bern is playing on the similarity of ‘Aribo’ and ‘area bona’ (literally the ‘good threshing floor’). The reference to wheat (‘tritici’) leaves little doubt that Bern is referencing Matth. 3, 12 and Luc. 3, 17, in which John the Baptist prophesies an eschatological separation of wheat and chaff. This image reappears in the penultimate line of the letter, just before Aribo’s response.

49/53 propter – sanctificaret] The author is referring to the six Augustinian ages of the world, comprising five of captivity, one of Christ’s coming, with the seventh still to come.

148/156 Astipulatur – ualebit] The author preempts the modern designation ‘Pseudo Bede’ with his wariness about attribution. Some scholars have taken this as evidence of the author’s superior computistical credentials, on the assumption that most writers would have taken a ‘Bede’ attribution at face value. However, the text remains unattributed in a contemporary Reichenau copy (KARLSRUHE, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. Fr. 106, f. 7r). The portion in question also circulated widely as an unattributed dictum in eleventh-century liturgical sources, including calendars and graduals.

159 Adalboldum episcopum] Adalbold, Bishop of Utrecht (1010–1026)

160 scriptis nostris pulsatus] If we accept that Bern had some responsibility for the *Ratio generalis*, as discussed in the introduction, it is possible that he is referring to this text as one of the ‘writings’ which impelled Adalbold to research the topic. No other record of communication between the two scholars survives.

162/163 ut – seruantibus] The reported experience in Piacenza probably took place in Advent 1021, as part of Bern’s trip to Italy in 1021–1022.

164/168 Sed – contendunt] Heriger of Lobbes (990–1007). The libellus does not survive, but was later described as having been co-authored with the aforementioned Adalbold of Utrecht, Heriger’s erstwhile pupil. See SIGEBERT. GEMBL., *Vir. ill.* 138 (p. 90–91): ‘Herigerus abbas Lobiensis ... scripsit sub sua et Adelboldi episcopi persona dialogum de dissonanti ecclesiae et adventu domini.’

176/177 sicut – uidimus] This refers to Bern’s trip to Italy in 1021–1022, described above.

182/187 Introitus – lectiones] For the same point about music on ‘Vacat’ Sundays see BERNO, *Off. miss.* 4 (p. 77, 8-10).

187/188 quibus – Euangeliorum] When he describes the lections of the four ‘Vacat’ Sundays as ‘barely lacking’ (‘minime desunt’), Bern presumably has in mind the ‘Vacat’ Sunday in September, for which the lessons *are* lacking. See, for example, the contemporary Reichenau lectionary HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX,49, where the September Ember Saturday on f. 143r-145r is not followed by a Sunday liturgy. The author deals with the specific problems of the September configuration in BERNO, *Off. miss.* 4 (p. 84, 147-85, 171).

193 deinde – Domini] The question of how to number the Sundays between Pentecost and Advent is addressed in greater detail in BERNO, *Off. miss.* 5 (p. 92-94).

197/198 de – summam] This is Bern’s only mention of Trinity Sunday in all of his liturgical writings, and from the wider context it appears that he is referring to a feast which is still without a fixed calendrical place. The continued existence of the Pentecost Octave is presupposed by the content of BERNO, *Off. miss.* 3-5 (p. 73-94).

201/202 post² – celebrandum] The author also discusses these two examples of ‘extra’ Mass provision (that after the Pentecost Octave and that for the September Ember Days) in BERNO, *Off. miss.* 4 (p. 76, 2-77, 8; p. 84, 147-85, 171).

203/206 non – adunetur] The claim apparently being made, that the five ‘extra’ Masses in the authentic sacramentary are united by the theme of ‘supplication’ (‘deprecatio’), is certainly sustained by the post-Pentecost Mass ‘Deprecationem nostram’, as discussed in BERNO, *Off. miss.* 4 (p. 76, 2-77, 23). However, it is not clear which other Mass prayers are being referring to.

235/239 ritum – diuinae] The debt to Cassiodorus is hypothetical, but is supported by the fact that a fully adjacent passage of Cassiodorus is mentioned in BERNO, *Modul. Ps.* 3 (p. 133, 40-45). Depending on our view of its authorship, it may be significant to note that the *Ratio generalis* also contains Cassiodorus’ image of a reckless ‘praesumptor’ contravening ecclesiastical authority. See *Adu. Dom. rat.* (p. 163, 82-84).

237 Hilario] Absent from the two sources in which *Adu. Dom. celeb.* appears on its own, this isolated mention of Hilary of Poitiers must be understood as an anticipation of the complementary arguments about Advent in the *Adu. Dom. rat.* – a text which follows without a break in the majority of sources.

251 in horreum suum] The reference to a barn returns us to Bern’s opening metaphor of wheat and chaff (l. 2/3, above).

DE OBSERVATIONE
IEIVNII QVATVOR TEMPORVM

Prol., 5 rationali] This word refers not to a manner of intellectual enquiry but to the ‘rationale’, a symbolic episcopal garment modelled after descriptions in the book of Exodus, which was popular with German bishops of the period.

170/176 Sed – gignere] This sentence concerns the number of Wednesdays (‘quartae feriae’) which precede the Ember Days in a given month. It has already been stated that the Saturday of the March Ember Days must be preceded by a Wednesday in the same month; Gerung’s question here is whether the pattern is replicated later in the year, i.e. two preceding Wednesdays in June and three in September.

188/196 Si – difficile] Since Ember Days always fall within the same week, an Ember Wednesday on the second Wednesday of the month ought to be followed by an Ember Saturday on the second Saturday of the month. But the author’s point is that there are two exceptions: if September begins on a Thursday or a Friday, the Ember Wednesday is the ‘second’ of the month, but the Ember Saturday is actually the ‘third’; and if June begins on a Friday, the Ember Wednesday is the ‘first’, but the Ember Saturday is actually the ‘second’. No other exceptions apply.

200/202 De – septima] For further discussion of the December Ember Days see *Adu. Dom. celeb.* For discussion of the variant Ember Day practice found in Italy, according to which the December Ember Saturday may coincide with Christmas Eve, see below.

216 Simplicium] Pope Simplicius (468–483)

230 tesserescedecades] The same spelling is also found in AMALAR., *Off.*, which is Bern’s source. More correct, however, would be ‘tessarescedecades’, i.e. with alpha as the second vowel.

289/292 Enimuero – acciderint] Bern is not making a recommendation here, so much as explaining how Amalar’s advice plays out in practice. When the March Ember Days fall on their earliest possible dates, beginning on Wednesday 1 or 2 March, the following Ember Days may fall on Wednesday 7 or 8 June, and then on Wednesday 13 or 14 September. This in turn permits a run of 14 weeks (rather than the usual 13) through to 20 or 21 December. Christmas then follows on the Sunday or Monday. However, as Bern clarified earlier and will repeat immediately below, Frankish practice does not allow the December Ember Saturday to coincide with Christmas Eve.

307/308 Quid – dedisci] Once again Bern is answering a question that does not relate to current practice. Frankish custom does not allow the

performance of the June Ember Saturday on the eve of Pentecost, as he has already stated, and he says the practice has long since been unlearned ('dedisci'). Thus the mixed liturgy which follows is included purely for interest. According to Bern's own rules for staging Ember Days, this conjunction would have last taken place in the year 1014, when Easter fell on 25 April and the Pentecost Vigil on 12 June.

309 *inscriptio ... in libris nostris*] Note that Bern does not identify the text or book genre from which he is quoting. This may be significant because the only known contemporary concordance for the quoted texts that follow is *Pont. rom.-germ.*, an eclectic compilation which has defied modern classification and went unnamed in its own time.

310/329 *Si – Vltimo*] The fact that *Pont. rom.-germ.* preserves the only known contemporary concordance for these lines is not a guarantee that the author had such a source before him. The quoted material is *not* found in the oldest group of *Pont. rom.-germ.* manuscripts (sigla BGKL), of which source L is thought to have been copied in early eleventh-century Reichenau (LUCCA, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, Cod. 607). For this reason it would be no less plausible to imagine a situation in which *Pont. rom.-germ.* was later expanded using the text that Bern provides here.

313 *Lect.*] The reading 'uel' for 'lectio' (as found in *p*) can only be explained by the mistaken expansion of the abbreviated letter 'l'.

326 *et Benedicite*] The fifth of the five 'Graduals' on Ember Saturdays was in fact a *sui generis* chant with multiple internal repetitions, often rubricated as a Tract or Hymn. The manuscript tradition here discloses four possible realisations, three of which are liturgically plausible: 'Benedictus es Domine', 'Benedictus es in firmamento' and 'Benedicite opera omnia' (cfr Dan. 3, 52; 3, 57). Although the fourth variant 'Benedicam' points towards a widely known Gradual chant, this would be out of place liturgically. The local Reichenau lectionary does not disclose the particular form of Pentecost practice, but it does prescribe the singing of 'Benedicite opera omnia' after the fifth lesson on the Ember Saturday of Lent (HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX,49, f. 35v-36r).

336/337 *Qui – ecclesia*] One of the earliest graduals of the Old Roman tradition, i.e. that which we presume would have been known in Rome in Bern's time, includes a rubric for the Saturday after Pentecost which appears to confirm this statement: it explains that Graduals are to be sung if this week coincides with Ember Days, and asks that the reader find the relevant materials in the month of December. Another hand later added five Alleluias into the margin, thus confirming the point of contention which Bern is addressing. See VATICANO, Biblioteca Apos-

tolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5319, f. 109v-110r (from the late eleventh or early twelfth century), transcribed in *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale Vat. lat. 5319* – ed. B. Stäblein (*Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, 2), Kassel, 1970, p. 659.

345/348 Non – decantari] Bern is respectfully disagreeing with the decision of the recent Council of Seligenstadt in 1023, over which his dedicatee Aribio had presided.

375/376 usque – ebdomadas] The chosen reading appears only in *W*. It is favoured here not only because it fills a logical gap in the sentence, but also because of its ability to explain the omission in all other codices: the two instances of ‘quatuordecim ebdomadas’ present the ideal conditions for eyeskip.

DE QVIBVSDAM REBVS AD MISSAE OFFICIVM PERTINENTIBVS LIBELLVS

I, 5/6 cum ... tum] Both the reversal of the correlatives in *W* and the substitution of ‘ritum’ in *A* are awkward, suggesting that these copies derive from a single problematic source.

24/25 Alexandro ... papa] Pope Alexander I (ca. 107–ca. 115)

27 Leo papa] Pope Leo I (440–461)

28/29 Gregorius ... papa] Pope Gregory III (731–741)

38 Celestinus papa] Pope Celestine I (422–432)

44 Gelasio praesule Romano] Pope Gelasius (492–496)

45 beato Gregorio papa] Pope Gregory I (590–604)

53/57 Vbi – appellauit] The title of ‘ordinator’ presumably applies to both Jerome and Gregory, i.e. ‘just as we believe Gregory is ⟨the orderer⟩ of the sacramentary and antiphoner ... so too do we believe Jerome is the orderer of the lectionary’. In *BERNO, Off. miss.* 3 there are two comparable examples in which the verb of a ‘sicut ... ita’ construction has been delayed: ‘sicut ⟨oporteret celebrare⟩ Dominicae Natiuitatis ac Resurrectionis ita oporteret celebrare et Octauas Pentecostes’ (p. 73, 5-7); ‘Sicut enim sabbatum ⟨significat⟩ requiem animarum, sic dominicus dies qui est primus et octauus significat resurrectionem corporum’ (p. 75, 59-60).

58/72 Postea – lectionibus] In this paragraph Bern draws upon two canons from the Fourth Council of Toledo (633). Although Bern’s argument appears to build on that of his predecessor Walahfrid, his direct quotation of the twelfth canon indicates either that he has gone back to

Walahfrid's own sources or, more controversially, that both authors were working from a now lost common source.

69 hymnus trium puerorum] This refers to the Benedicite canticle from Dan. 3.

73/79 Symbolum – decantari] Bern is entirely correct: although the Nicene Creed was first promulgated at Nicaea in 325, it was later revised at Constantinople in 381. In mentioning the requirement that the Creed be sung each Sunday, as determined by the Third Council of Toledo (589), the author is clearly foreshadowing his argument in the next section. See BERNO, *Off. miss.* 2 (p. 71, 108-72, 125).

80 Sergius papa] Pope Sergius I (687-701)

88 Xistum papam] Pope Sixtus I (ca. 115-ca. 128)

91/94 Verum – ordinavit] This statement about patristic liturgical authority invites comparison with the closely related proclamation above (l. 53/57). Whereas the previous sentence presents Gregory as an orderer of chants ('ordinator'), but not necessarily a composer ('quicumque has uel has cantilenas composuisset'), this one names him as both orderer ('ordinavit') and composer ('composuit'). However, there is not necessarily a contradiction. Either we can read the verb 'componere' as closer in meaning to 'ordinare', i.e. both statements concern the arrangement of chants, not their creation in the modern sense of 'compose'. Or we can make the distinction between the composition of texts ('quicumque', in the first sentence) and the composition of melodies (Gregory, in the second).

II, 19/20 Sed – interdixisse] By asserting that Gregory's authority on the 'Gloria in excelsis' is found 'nowhere', Bern is implicitly responding to the claim that it is to be found *somewhere*. At the end of the chapter we find out why: there is in fact a proclamation about the 'Gloria in excelsis' at the head of the Gregorian Sacramentary.

25 Thelesphorus papa] Pope Telesphorus (ca. 126-ca. 137)

28 Symmacho ... papa] Pope Symmachus (498-514)

45/69 De – ausi] Bern has returned to the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) from his discussions above, this time the thirteenth canon.

57/58 Pro – finem] Into the midst of the council text Bern has interpolated the observation that local practice is different. The manner in which he does so, complete with the words 'nos canimus', closely resembles the language employed throughout BERNO, *Modul. Ps.* 1 (p. 111, 114-126, 526).

66/69 Sicut – ausi] The quoted text encourages the singing of hymns in honour of God. This may explain why three names for God (Sabaoth,

Emmanuel, Sother) were placed within a box in the margin of *A* (f. 33v), the work of the main hand or a contemporary. These names appear consecutively in the liturgical sequence 'Alma chorus Domini', in honour of the names of God, a French composition which is also recorded in German sources from the eleventh century onwards.

78/82 Cui – suscepit] Bern quotes from the second of two surviving letters written by Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis, to the emperor Louis the Pious (813–840) in the years around 835. This letter accompanied Hilduin's new *Passio sancti Dionysii*, commissioned by the emperor, in which the saint was identified with Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.

87 Augustino] Augustine of Canterbury, Pope Gregory's envoy to the English in 597.

108/125 Nam – tuam] This paragraph narrates the now celebrated encounter between Henry II of Germany (1002–1024) and Pope Benedict VIII (1012–1024) in Rome in 1014, which reportedly resulted in the permanent adoption of the Nicene Creed into the Roman Mass. Since the topic of heresy appears in the argument, it is generally accepted that the 'filioque' clause of the Creed was germinal to the discussion. If so, the king's actions would have framed him as a successor to Charlemagne, a valuable honour for a monarch who struggled to project his legitimacy. However, attention to these historical matters can easily overshadow the key role played by the anecdote within Bern's liturgical argument. Having previously discussed the ancient place of the Nicene Creed within the Mass, Bern is not telling the history of the genre, so much as pivoting from one kind of ancient liturgical text abandoned in certain quarters (the Creed, in Rome) to another (the Gloria, among priests).

111/112 diuae memoriae] With these words Bern reveals that he is writing after Henry II's death in 1024.

121/122 Sed – tenemus] Bern's inability to say whether this custom persists in Rome underlines that which is deduced in the note above, namely that he is writing long after the event.

123/125 Eo – tuam] Bern notes that 'many accretions' ('multa ... adducta') to the post-Gregorian liturgy could be removed. The use of the plural suggests that he is referring not only to the Creed (just discussed) and Gloria (to be discussed momentarily), but to the many 'new' kinds of musical decoration which appear in liturgical books from the tenth century onward, i.e. tropes, sequences and locally composed proper chants.

146/148 cum – praetitulatum] At last Bern has admitted the evidence to which he alluded above: the Gregorian Sacramentary only permits priests to sing the 'Gloria in excelsis' at Easter. Bern's avoidance of this point thus far suggests that he knows it creates a contradiction in his

argument. Having previously gone to great lengths to show how the liturgical books of the Mass are imbued with patristic authority, now he is skirting round an inconvenient instance of that same authority. This is a characteristic tension in Bern's writing: he wants the work of the Church Fathers to be treated as authoritative, but not as *absolutely* authoritative, immune from criticism or betterment.

III, 54/57 Vnde – celebrantur] Bern's source may not be Leo's letters *per se*, since the advice was also widely transmitted in capitularies and canon law collections. Two such examples are the canons with incipits 'Unde quia manifestissime' and 'Haec duo tempora'.

IV, 1 Note that throughout this section Bern is relatively consistent in distinguishing between 'officium' (a set of proper chants) and 'missa' (a set of proper prayers).

4/8 primo – dicatur] These details permit us to deduce that Bern is referring to Gregorian Sacramentaries containing the 'supplement' attributed to Benedict of Aniane. For a local, contemporary example of the 'Deprecationem nostram' Mass placed twice, as Bern describes, see ST. GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 339, p. 336-339.

8/9 Nam – officio] The 'Vacat' Sundays following Ember Days have no 'authentic' proper chants, as the author explains in more detail in BERN, *Adu. Dom. celeb.* (p. 18, 181-189).

29/31 ita – reddant] Note the language of music theory, one of Bern's specialisms, both here and in the chapter's overarching metaphor of 'concordia'.

40 in hac conuallae lacrimarum] As Barré noted in relation to two other instances of the phrase in Bern's work, 'it is remarkable to find this expression from the *Salve Regina* at Reichenau, home of the master Hermann the Lame'. See H. BARRÉ, 'Sermons marials de Bernon de Reichenau', *Ephemerides Mariologicae*, 14 (1964), p. 39-62, at p. 51, n. 10 (my translation).

75/77 Dominus – pauit] There was more than one Gospel story about a miraculous mass feeding, but for this Sunday the pericope was always Marc. 8, 1-9, as listed in *Capit. euang.* D197 (p. 157). In that story four thousand people were fed by seven loaves, hence the editorial emendation here from 'septem milia' to 'quatuor milia'.

82/83 Sicut – tibi] Since Bern is referring to a chant composition, not to pure scripture, the reading 'tibi' (unique to the offertory chant 'Sicut in holocausto') is here preferred to 'sibi' (widely found in scriptural sources). The fact that in *W* the syllable 'si-' has been copied over erasure leaves open the possibility that an earlier version of the text preserved the musical variant 'tibi'.

120/121 Benedicam – mea] While ‘Benedicam Domino’ (the chosen reading) and ‘Benedicam Dominum’ were both viable variants, surviving graduals indicate that the former was the norm in southern Germany.

147/171 Haec – ebdomas] In this complex but revealing part of his argument, Bern advises against repeating the chant propers for the Wednesday of the September Ember Days (‘Exultate Deo’ and others) on the following Sunday, one of the four so-called ‘Vacat’ Sundays. This is because the September ‘Vacat’ has no proper lessons, and thus the different liturgical components may get out of synchrony – the very synchrony to which this chapter of *Off. miss.* is devoted. If no feast day otherwise falls on the ‘Vacat’, Bern’s preference is a repetition of the previous Sunday’s liturgy, as the French reportedly do, and as is already customary for the Pentecost Octave and for the Divine Office in the Summer months.

177/178 Super – Pharisei] Bern’s citation of Matth. 23, 2 implies the use of the Gospel pericope Matth. 23, 1-12. Although this passage was never assigned on its own to any post-Pentecost Sunday, it *was* sometimes combined with the preceding pericope or pericopes (Matth. 22, 23-33 and/or Matth. 22, 34-46), as described in R.-J. HESBERT, ‘Les séries d’évangiles des dimanches après la Pentecôte’, *La Maison Dieu*, 46 (1956), p. 36-59, at p. 42-45. Hesbert found no obvious geographical pattern to this so-called ‘A+18+F’ pericope, but a variant was known at Reichenau during Bern’s lifetime: the lectionary now HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX,49, f. 146v-147r presents a reading for this Sunday drawn from Matth. 22, 23, and Matth. 22, 35-23, 12.

232/233 Dominus – sanat] The pericope being referred to here (Ioh. 4, 46-53) is an unusual choice when compared to the survey of early lectionary traditions in *Capit euang.* However, by the eleventh century it had become a common choice for the post-Pentecost season, as is evident from the near-contemporary Reichenau lectionary HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX,49, f. 150v-151r, and from other sources surveyed in HESBERT, ‘Les séries d’évangiles’, p. 40-43.

295/296 epistola – composui] Bern is referring to his own *Adu. Dom. celeb.*

V, 10 embolismales annos] Embolismic years are those in which the solar and lunar calendars get out of step to the point that an extra (thirteenth) lunar month is intercalated. The consequence is that while the Easter dates in each successive (solar) calendar year normally get earlier and earlier, the appearance of an extra lunar month periodically pushes it forwards again into April. This happens seven times during the nineteen-

year Metonic cycle, and thus we get to Bern's point: in these years the season between Pentecost and Advent feels unusually curtailed.

13/15 paschalis – exemplo] Those sources with an added 'est' (*EF D*) have punctuation which implies that this sentence ends after 'dicamus sub exemplo', not 'consuevit prouenire'.

15/24 Dicamus – lectionarii] In these examples Bern is describing the limits of the possible dates for Easter. The dates he lists are as follows: the latest date for a paschal full moon, 18 April, which translates into a latest possible Easter on the Sunday one week later, 25 April; and the earliest date for the paschal full moon, 21 March, which translates into an earliest possible Easter date the next day, Sunday 22 March. These permutations demonstrably occurred during Bern's life, the former in 1014 and the latter in 1041, but experience was hardly necessary to make these calculations. Note also the interest in calendrical limits in *Adu. Dom. celeb.* and *Adu. Dom. rat.*

27 huius mundi sapientes] Note the double resemblance to *Modul. Ps. Epist.* (p. 105, 23): 'huius mundi diuites'; and *Modul. Ps. 3* (p. 133, 28): 'huius mundi sapientes'.

DE VARIA PSALMORVM ATQVE CANTVVM MODVLATIONE

Epist., 18/19 Sermones – Mariae] Sermons matching Bern's description survive, although it is impossible to know if these are the ones being referred to. See H. BARRÉ, 'Sermons marials de Bernon de Reichenau', *Ephemerides Mariologicae*, 14 (1964), p. 39-62.

28 orbis – mitissime] The epithet matches those for Henry III in BERNON, *Epist.* 7 (p. 60): 'regum mitissime'; and BERNON, *Epist.* 31 (p. 69): 'regum mitissime ac terrarum rector aequissime'.

Prol., ■ Meginfrido] Possibly Meginfred of Magdeburg (*fl.* 1020-1050), as discussed in the General Introduction.

Bennoni] The most likely dedicatee is Benno, later Bishop Benno II of Osnabrück (1020-1088). This explains the emended spelling.

I, 94/95 Gallicanum – Hebraeum] A triple psalter fitting this description survives from Reichenau (now KARLSRUHE, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 38), and was presumably known to Bern. However, in what follows there is no strong evidence that this was the author's actual source.

202/203 In illa offerenda – eum] Bern (or one of his scribes) has clearly confused his chants. The divergent scriptural passage in question

(Ps. 33, 7) appears only once in the Romano-Frankish chant repertory, as part of the third verse of the offertory 'Immittit angelum'. However, Bern's unamended text refers to an introit chant, implicitly 'Clamauerunt iusti', which is based on a very similar passage (Ps. 33, 18) that does *not* diverge in its Roman and Gallican translations.

287/290 In – tua] In the Gallican Psalter the words 'Exaltare super caelos Deus' are sung twice, first with 'et in omnem terram gloria tua' and then with 'et super omnem terram gloria tua'. Bern's point is not spelled out, but he is presumably drawing attention to the fact that the Roman Psalter uses only the second of those responses. It is possible that an extra sentence has been lost.

308 qui] Both 'Deus inhabitare' (source *H*) and '[Deus] qui inhabitare' (source *B*) are valid Vulgate readings. However, there are two arguments in favour of preserving the latter version here: Bern characteristically provides the variant reading at the *end* of a quotation, not at the beginning; and the 'qui inhabitare' reading is found locally as an emendation to the Reichenau triple Psalter (KARLSRUHE, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 38, f. 94v). Compare the similar editorial decision made for Ps. 143 (l. 501, below).

363/364 Illi – meridiano] To clarify, Bern is juxtaposing 'perambulante in tenebris a ruina [et daemónio meridiano]' (Roman) with '[perambulante in tenebris] ab incursu et daemónio meridiano' (Gallican).

501 redemisti] Both 'redemit' (source *H*) and 'redemisti' (source *B*) are valid Vulgate readings, but the latter is found locally as an emendation to the Reichenau triple Psalter (KARLSRUHE, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 38, f. 94v). Compare the similar editorial decision made for Ps. 67 (l. 308, above).

II, 27/40 Et – Madian] 'Primo tempore alleuiata' was famously the incipit of the opening reading at Christmas Matins (Is. 9, 1-10, 4), and this is presumably why Bern chooses the passage for discussion. However, the final sentence of the paragraph describes a textual variant ('sicut in diebus Madian', rather than the expected 'sicut in die Madian') which was sometimes sung in a different position at the same service, within the first of the three Old Testament canticles (Is. 9, 2-8). A local example of this 'liturgical' variant can be found in ST. GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 413, p. 104.

79/95 Et¹ – rediamur] In this unusually knotty argument the author offers four different readings of Is. 60, 4: 'lac sugent' (Bern's preference); 'de late resurgent' (an unknown variant, justified by the parallelism with 'de longe uenient'); 'in latere sugent' (found in Jerome and the Vulgate); and, latterly, 'de latere surgent' (found in 'certain codices'). Ultimately Bern offers his support for the same two possibilities mentioned in

HAIMO, *Is.* 60 (p. 727, 117-728, 151): 'de latere surgent', implicitly the model from which 'de late resurgent' mistakenly deviates; and 'lac sugent', the version with which he began, which he justifies theologically using words drawn from HAIMO, *Is.* 60 (p. 728, 139-151). Note that in the Vulgate the verb 'sugent' is surrounded by *obeli*, which is to say, it appears in the Septuagint but not in the Hebrew.

79 Filii – sugent] Bern does not clarify which liturgical genre he is referring to, and I can find no liturgical source of the first three readings he provides ('lac sugent', 'de late resurgent', 'in latere sugent'). However, the fourth and final variant 'de latere surgent' can be found in the responsory verse 'Filii tui' (*CAO* 7833a), which makes sense of the author's claim that it appears in 'certain codices' (i.e. antiphoners). This reading also appears widely in medieval bibles, as per the critical apparatus of *Vulg.*

83 in latere sugent] The most recent critical editions of HIER., *In Is.* and the Vulgate do not allow 'lac sugent' as a possible reading; this phrase is also non-sensical in the context of Bern's argument. Thus I have replaced 'lac sugent' with 'in latere sugent', following Jerome. In the light of many similar mistakes in the transmission of *Modul. Ps.*, it is not difficult to imagine that 'lac sugent' was accidentally repeated as a reminiscence of the previous line.

96 Dixi – Dominum] The canticle of Ezechias (*Is.* 38, 10-20) was customarily sung at Lauds on Tuesdays.

133 sed' – aeuo] This offending passage can be found in the near-contemporary Reichenau lectionary, HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX,49, f. 6r.

III, 5 libitus carnalium] 'Libitus' is a fourth declension noun, here to be translated as something like 'desires' or 'lusts'. Although an unusual word in Latin literature, relevant examples abound in medieval prayers. See, for example, 'Exstingue in nobis, domine, omnes libitus carnalis' (*Corp. orat.* 2567); 'nostras voces post libitus carnis ... exaudi' (*Corp. orat.* 6533).

8/12 ut preces – compositum] The canon is attributed to multiple sources, including the Council of Milevis (402, canon 12) and the Council of Carthage (13 June 407).

22/27 Quomodo – praeceptum] Bern leaves his question unanswered, but the answer is implicit: the mind *cannot* be in harmony with the voice when one sings in 'high', 'shrill' or 'loud' tones ('uocem in altum'). Compare the very similar sentiments of HERM. AVGIENS., *Mus.* 15 (p. 111): 'But how do these persons sing discerningly ... who praise only the high note?'

49/51 aduortite – similia] These words are readily locatable across the Classical corpus, although I know of no one work which includes them all. Bern correctly cites Terence, Virgil and Tullius Cicero, though he may have encountered these examples via later grammatical texts. Possible sources of the latter kind include the aforementioned Donatus and Priscian: DON., *Gramm. Ars. mai.* 1, 2 (p. 604, 3; ‘optumus’); DON., *Ter. Andr.* 2, 2, 23 (p. 130, 11; ‘ipsus’); PRISC., *Gramm.* 1, 6 (vol. 1, p. 7; ‘optumus’), 1, 33 (vol. 1, p. 25; ‘olli’), 3, 3 (vol. 1, p. 84; ‘ipsus’), 6, 32 (vol. 1, p. 224; ‘animum aduortite’). See also these commentaries of south German provenance: *Gloss. sup. Prisc.* (vol. 1, p. 109-110; ‘optumus’, ‘maxumus’); and GVNZO, *Epist. Aug.* (p. 27, 10-13; ‘olli’). I can find no grammarian who reports on ‘diunt’ and no Classical source for this word besides PLAVTVS, *Truc.* 5.

49/51 app. crit. animaduortite] The scribal abbreviation in source *B* leaves open the possibility of ‘-uertite’, but Bern’s comments appear to have been occasioned by unusual spellings, hence the preference here for ‘-uortite’ as found in source *H*. The discrepancy between sources *B* and *H* is easily explained by the contraction of their likely source phrase ‘animum aduortite’ to ‘animaduortite’.

131 quo – uti] Bern also cites John Chrysostom in BERN, *Serm.* (ed. Becker, p. 190, 115-117).

198/200 Ait – denominata] The gloss in source *H* makes the valid point that the imagery of a personified virginity, to which Bern is objecting, is also found in the ‘Communicantes’ prayer for Mass on Christmas Day.

224 III Non.] Since Bern argues at length in *Adu. Dom. celeb.* that Advent should not start any later than 3 December, the manuscript reading ‘in Non.’ (i.e. Advent Sunday on 5 December) simply cannot be correct. This was clearly a scribal error, with ‘iii’ accidentally transmuted into ‘in’.

248/254 Si – ingratus] Bern’s source appears to be the thirteenth canon from the Second Council of Seville (619).

IV, 13 ad ipsum alleluia] Although this phrase appears to imply a masculine ‘alleluia’, previously referred to as feminine, it is possible to read ‘ad ipsum’ as a secondary object for ‘contexere’ (referring back to ‘nocturni officii’), and thus we may read the undeclined ‘alleluia’ as the quotation to which ‘alloquendo’ refers.

44/49 Quod – poneret] Bern appears to be criticising the practice which had recently been adopted in contemporary St. Gallen, whereby the Eastertide *historia* that begins with the chant ‘Si oblitus fuero’ (see ST. GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 391, p. 56) is borrowed for use at Septuagesima (see ST. GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 390, p. 134).

51/54 In' – dedi] The near-contemporary Reichenau lectionary HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX,49, f. 132v records Bern's second variant ('sicut cinnamomum – odorem dedi') in a lesson for the feast of the Assumption. However, since Bern has just dealt with Septuagesima and is about to deal with Quadragesima, it would make more sense if he were referring to a reading from a similar point in the calendar. One such candidate exists: the Würzburg *comes* has this lesson in the context of the late-January/early-February feasts of Saints Agnes and Agatha, which often occur shortly after Septuagesima.

V, 37 quae euangelizas Sion] See *Modul. Ps. 2* (p. 128, 54-61), above, for Bern's reasoning about the relative merits of 'quae' and 'qui'.

RATIO GENERALIS DE INITIO ADVENTVS DOMINI

3/10 hoc – Iunii] Note that in these calculations the author uses 'Quadragesimale' to refer to Quadragesima Sunday (the first Sunday of Lent), not the beginning of Quadragesima as commonly measured from Ash Wednesday.

4 sexaginta trium] Sixty-three days, or nine weeks, is the distance between Quadragesima Sunday and Easter Sunday. The variant total of sixty-four can be attained by including both Sundays; seventy-three is incorrect and may be explained via a slipped Roman digit, i.e. 'lxxiii' mis-copied in place of 'lxiii' or 'lxiiii'.

12 constat – concilii] There is no recorded Nicaean decision on the date of Advent. Although it is possible that the author is drawing our attention to the comparable limits for Easter, established at the First Council of Nicaea (325), there *was* a medieval school of thought that Advent went back to the same roots. A ninth- or early tenth-century addition to a text on the limits of Advent, found in a manuscript from ninth-century Lorsch (VATICANO, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1449, f. 161r), explains: 'Note that this [rule] has not been instituted by the moderns ... but has been bequeathed and contrived by the same fathers at the Council of Nicaea' ('Sciendum quod hoc non a modernis ... primo institutum, sed ab ipsis Nicaeni concilii patribus traditum est et inuentum').

31 accrastinante] The unusual stem 'accrastinare' is presumably derived from 'crastinare' (to procrastinate), itself from 'crastino' (tomorrow). In context it makes good sense, since 'celebratis legalis ieiunii solemniiis' refers to the conclusion of the Ember Day celebrations on the Saturday, i.e. the day before the fourth Sunday of Advent.

47 sibi incitauit] The verb ‘incitare’ should technically take a direct accusative object, but the manuscripts are unanimous on the dative ‘sibi’. We have no means of knowing whether this reading corresponds to the now lost work of Hilary, and thus I have left it unaltered, with the resulting connotation of the church ‘awakening herself’ reflexively through the three weeks of Advent.

59/85 Sed – unanimitas] This anecdote concerns events which can be dated to Advent 993, with a church council held at Orléans shortly thereafter, perhaps in early 994. An older dating to 999 or 1000 was overturned in A. VAN DE VYVER, ‘Les œuvres inédites d’Abbon de Fleury’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 47 (1935), p. 125-169, at p. 143, n. 2.

70 festum – patris] The author is referring to the feast of the burial (*illatio*) of St Benedict, Fleury’s patron, held each year on 4 December.

80 indiglabiliter] A neologism formed from the adjective ‘diglabilis’, meaning fierce or savage. The prefix ‘in-’ is rare, and thus it is exceptionally interesting to find this form in a letter from Ebo of Worms to the pupils of St Martin’s, Mainz, dated *ca.* 1032, in *Epist. Worm.* 25 (p. 47, 3): ‘Non preterisse vos putamus indiglabile litis odium’. This places the language in the orbit of both Archbishop Aribio of Mainz († 1031), the dedicatee of other works by Bern, and Theodoricus of Amorbach, one of the possible authors of this text.

85 app. crit. Haec – obedire] For more on this curious epilogue, apparently borrowed from BERN, *Ton.* see the introduction above. Here we may briefly note that the unique reading ‘synodo’ (for ‘Sion’, which more properly belongs to this discussion of Ps. 136, 4) helps to join the epilogue to the foregoing narrative, thus justifying its incorporation into the *Ratio*.

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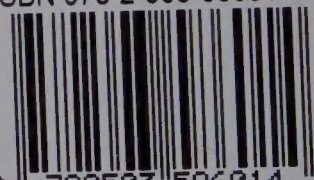
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