

XVII.—Processional Hymnody in the Later Middle Ages

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I. INTRODUCTION¹

Although the Latin hymn had been a feature of Christian worship from the fourth century, the chanting of psalms and biblical antiphons was at first used exclusively in processions. There is no record of non-scriptural hymns for this purpose earlier than the sixth century when the hymns of Fortunatus appeared in Gaul. The impulse toward a non-scriptural hymnology, initiated by Ambrose, was strengthened by the removal of old restrictions on hymn writing, favorable ecclesiastical legislation such as that of Isidore of Seville and, as far as processionals were concerned, the new freedom to appropriate earlier hymns for use on these occasions.

At the same time, processional practice, at first represented by litanies and other outdoor processions for the major seasonal feasts or more rarely, for festivals of saints, was developed in the form of hymns to accompany these ceremonials. Moreover, within the church edifice, processions such as those on Sunday at the Introit or accompanying the reading of the Gospel or at Baptism or Communion, were also furnished with appropriate hymns.

A contributing factor, in the opinion of Gautier, was the evolution of the *trope* to which is related the *versus*, a processional hymn cultivated in the tenth century at St. Gall, the great center of liturgical music and poetry. The ninth century revival of Latin hymnody, characterized by an extraordinary development of Ambrosian and related hymns, and by the origin and early evolution of the sequence, was also manifested in the field of the processional hymn. The Carolingian movements toward musical, literary and liturgical reform doubtless accelerated the production of a novel hymnody which found acceptance throughout western Christendom, not only for the great feasts but for extensive use in extra-liturgical ceremonies or even for purposes of honoring royalty.

¹ For a detailed presentation of the statements in this Introduction, see R. E. Messenger, "Medieval Processional Hymns Before 1100," *TAPA* 80 (1949) 375-392.

Toward the year 1100 the processional hymn had attained considerable popularity as an established feature of worship, already justifying the recognition of a third and separate group of hymns with distinctive features additional to the great hymns for the offices and to the sequences for the mass.

II. EVOLUTION IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

In his *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, written about 1286, Durandus, Bishop of Mende, describes the ecclesiastical procession as he observed it in his day. His very detailed account is supplemented by an explanation of the symbolism involved.²

The procession to the altar is made while the Introit is being sung. An incense-bearer leads the group. He is followed by two candle-bearers, then the sub-deacon carrying the Gospel codex and finally the celebrant between a priest and deacon. A station procession, *stationalis solemnitas*, calls for six orders of clergy, preceded by singers. Both of these processions suggest the entry of Christ into the world, leading his people to their heavenly home, as if returning from Egypt to the Land of Promise. The symbolism of the return is also suggested by a procession to a particular church. In some churches, according to Durandus, a much more elaborate procession takes place with additional participants including every rank of the clergy and even laity. Here the choirs and singers play an important role. No matter how detailed and diffuse the symbolic explanation may be, Durandus sums it all up in the following words: *Ipsa vero processio est via ad coelestem patriam*.³

After describing the more familiar types, Durandus turns to the four solemn processions accompanying the Feasts of the Purification, Palm Sunday, Easter and Ascension. He says that every Sunday procession is a memorial of the Resurrection and that the ancient procession on Thursday, in honor of the Ascension, was transferred to the Sunday rites by Pope Agapitus.⁴ Therefore, these events are memorialized weekly in addition to the annual feasts.

The procession for Ascension Day is inspired by the Gospel

² Gulielmus Durandus, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (Lugduni 1612), Bk. IV, ch. vi, "De Accessu sacerdotis ac pontificis ad altare et de Processione," fol. 98-103.

³ *Ibid.* fol. 102r.

⁴ Agapitus I, d. 536, may be indicated here. References to individual processions occur as follows: Purification, *ibid.*, Bk. VII, ch. vii, f. 437r; Palm Sunday, Bk. VI, ch. lxvii, f. 325-7; Easter, Bk. VI, ch. lxxxviii, f. 377r; Ascension, Bk. VI, ch. civ, f. 397r.

narrative (Matt. 28:16; Luke 24:50) which tells of the disciples accompanying their master to the place of Ascension. The Feast of the Purification is celebrated by the whole people carrying lighted candles in their hands, a symbol of the wise virgins approaching the marriage feast. The Easter procession reminds the worshipper that the King of Glory has passed from the infernal prison of death to the celestial kingdom. The Palm Sunday procession dramatizes the Gospel narrative, as they all do. Hosannas are sung. The procession leaves the church entirely and at the re-entry, the *Gloria laus et honor* is sung by all those entering the church, especially the children. This is the only non-scriptural hymn mentioned by Durandus in his account of processions. Yet it is clear from the inclusion of processional hymns in liturgical manuscripts dating from the ninth century and from the greater number and variety in collections contemporary with the *Rationale* of Durandus, that such hymns were used.

The festivals mentioned by Durandus are founded in biblical origins and with the exception of the Purification require no further comment. Pope Sergius I, 687–701, imported into Rome the festival procession for Candlemas or the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin. The Feast of Ypapanti, or Presentation, originally observed in Jerusalem and later adopted in Constantinople, gained in the transfer a new feature, the carrying of lighted candles, which seems to have been added in Byzantine practice. The words spoken by Simeon of the infant Jesus, “a light to lighten the Gentiles” (Luke 2:32), made the symbolic use of lights almost inevitable. The date of the Feast of the Purification, February 2, was approximately that of the pagan *Amburbium* or *Amburbale*, an early Roman procession of lustration, annually observed in that month. Possibly the procession for the Feast is reminiscent of this pagan practice although the subject is in the field of controversy.⁵ It might be of interest to follow in closer detail the origin of the medieval Candlemas, both oriental and Roman, but a study of origins would take us too far afield from the subject in hand and would not add to our knowledge or appreciation of the Candlemas hymns mentioned below, which were to be written later and sung in procession at this Feast.

⁵ P. Batiffol, *Études de liturgie et d'archéologie chrétienne* (Paris 1919), ch. vi, “La Chandeleur.” See L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der Katholischen Liturgik*, 2 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau 1923) 1.582–586.

Although Durandus summarizes and describes the ceremonies of his day, we are not wholly dependent upon this source for our knowledge of the rites concerned. The rite of the procession had first been included in the *Rituale* or *Pontificale Romanum*. Later the increasing number of processions not provided for in the *Rituale*, led to the compilation of the *Processionale* or book containing the order of processions for a particular bishopric or monastic center, especially by those dioceses and abbeys having prestige in liturgical and musical affairs.⁶ The hymns to be sung in procession are, of course, designated. A *Versarius* or book containing *versus* was also employed.⁷ Manuscript citations in the *Analecta Hymnica* reveal the names of many processional books as well as hymnic collections in which processional hymns appear. Fifteen or more *Processionalia* were used by the editors of the *Analecta Hymnica*, having their origin in Salisbury, York, Winchester, Dublin and elsewhere in the British Isles, St. Gall and other continental centers. Many processional hymns are scattered in graduals, missals, troparies, rituals and a variety of miscellaneous collections from England, France, Italy, the Low Countries, Spain and German-speaking localities. Everywhere they are extraneous to the recognized hymnology of the church. They are standardized and collected in relatively few centers. Elsewhere they logically find a place in liturgical books associated with the missal rather than the breviary, or in unclassified sources.

For an approximate idea of the number of processional hymns extant when Durandus was engaged in his liturgical studies, the manuscript citations in the *Analecta Hymnica* are available. At that date, *Salve festa dies, toto venerabilis aevo*, the Easter processional of Fortunatus, with its early variants for Ascension and Pentecost, later for Epiphany, Nativity and a few other feasts, numbering about a dozen hymns in all, were in great vogue.⁸ At the same period, perhaps forty additional hymns for processional purposes were in circulation. They represented the *versus* and related types and may be illustrated by the Sunday processional in the form of a litany written by Ratpert of St. Gall (d. 884) who

⁶ Eisenhofer 1.100-2.

⁷ Du Cange; see also C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, *The Old Service Books of the English Church*, 2nd ed. (London 1910) 208.

⁸ See R. E. Messenger, "Salve festa dies," *TAPA* 78 (1947) 208-222, for a detailed account of the origin and influence of this hymn.

is said to have been an innovator in this field. The opening stanza is as follows:

Ardua spes mundi solidator et inclite caeli,
Christe, exaudi nos propitius famulos. (AH 50.237)

For some reason not clear to the present writer, hymns of the *Salve festa dies* type became increasingly popular from the twelfth century onward both for the older and more recent festivals. At the same time, the influence of the older types of processionals or *versus* associated with St. Gall and the musical centers so active in the Carolingian period, appears to wane although not to disappear. Judging by the distribution of the two groups in liturgical manuscripts from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, the *Salve* hymns are in almost complete possession of the field by the close of the Middle Ages, when there were in existence more than fifty versions, adaptations or imitations of the original.

The later Middle Ages were marked by pageantry both in secular and religious celebrations. Knightly sports and tournaments regaled the aristocracy. Crusades and pilgrimages were accompanied by banners and armorial display. It is likewise the period of the liturgical drama. Processional rites now take on a new variety and splendor. The outdoor procession, in the spirit of the age, became a gala occasion with full participation by peasants, burghers, students, guildsmen or other inhabitants of the town or countryside. When the medieval period closed, lay singers and musicians took their appropriate places. The hymns, psalms and antiphons of the choirs mingled with the popular religious lyrics accompanied by, or alternated with, instrumental music.

The later group of seasonal festivals included the Feasts of Trinity, Invention of the Holy Cross, Name of Jesus and Corpus Christi. A fine hymn for Trinity from a sixteenth century manuscript, appears in the form:

1. Salve, festa dies, toto venerabilis aevo,
Qua colitur trinus unus ubique Deus.

8. Summa Deo trino sit gloria sitque potestas,
Imperium, virtus, laus, decus, hymnus, honor. (AH 11.12)

A Sarum processional from a manuscript of the sixteenth century celebrates the Name of Jesus.

- R. Salve, festa dies, toto venerabilis aevo,
Qua Jesus hoc nomen flectere cuncta facit.

1. Caelica namque pavent, terrestria quoque verentur,
Et baratri prope consistere taetra vetat. (AH 52.23)

The Feast of Corpus Christi, established by Pope Urban IV in 1264, attained an unexampled popularity and diffusion. It was provided with the immortal sequence and hymns of St. Thomas Aquinas. Of these, the *Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium* was always a favorite in processions. Modeling his verse upon the hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis*, one of those which Fortunatus had dedicated to the Holy Cross, Aquinas yielded to the influence of a recognized processional tradition although writing an office hymn. Its use in processions affords one of the most striking instances of the suitability of the trochaic pattern as Fortunatus employed it, for the processional hymn.

A specific hymn of the *Salve* type for the Corpus Christi procession appears as early as 1285:

1. Salve, festa dies, toto venerabilis aevo,
Qua nova dat Christus munera christicolis.
2. Cena paschali ritu typico celebrata
Agnum se verum dans removet typicum. (AH 43.33)

The development of feasts for saints and incidentally of hymns in their praise, is nothing less than spectacular. At the same time, the well established feasts for saints long honored, gained here and there processional hymns. Thus Sts. Peter and Paul, St. Augustine (Africa), St. James of Campostella, St. Nicholas, St. George, St. Dunstan, St. Hugh of Lincoln, St. Kyneburga, St. Patrick, St. Ositha, St. Lupus and St. Othmar are celebrated, many of whom were patron saints of the establishments where their praises were sung. These hymns were of the *Salve* type except those for St. Nicholas and St. Lupus, which were, however, elegiac in form like the original *Salve*, and the hymn for St. Othmar, which opens thus:

1. Festum sacratum psallimus
Christo canentes laudibus;
Qui dat coronam testibus,
Nobis det indulgentiam.
2. Othmarus abbas vocibus
Orandus est concordibus,
Quem factor ipse caelitus
Donavit hic virtutibus. (AH 51.215)

The feasts of the Blessed Virgin, the Nativity, Annunciation, Visitation, Purification and Assumption, were also widely observed with processional honors. The quality of the hymnody, in general, varies from that which is worthy of the theme, to the obviously decadent. A fine Assumption hymn from a manuscript of the fifteenth century (*AH* 11.55) emanates from the Augustinian Priory of St. Osyth in Essex, a twelfth century foundation;⁹ and an attractive hymn for the Purification appears in a manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century from Kremsmünster. The latter, twenty stanzas in length, follows the biblical account:

1. Laetatur omne saeculum
Veritatis reditum,
Diei penset pretium,
Retractet mysterium,
Templo Deus pro homine
Praesentatur hodie.

The lighted candles borne in the procession are mentioned:

14. Ferte lumen in cordibus
Hoc diebus omnibus,
Luceat corpus actibus,
Ferte lumen manibus,
Candelas manus teneant,
Ut obscura pereant. (*AH* 4.54)

In the early centuries the translation of the bodies of martyrs from their original burial place to churches erected in their honor had taken place at Milan and Rome, commemorated in Rome by the station processions, first to the scenes of martyrdom, then to the memorial churches. The Gallican Rite too included a ceremony of translation of relics with hymns.¹⁰ An extension or adaptation of ceremonies of translation inspired many later processions which in turn were accompanied by singing. Pope Callistus II (d. 1124) is the author of the *Versus Calixti papae, cantandi ad processionem sancti Jacobi in solemnitate passionis ipsius et translationis ejusdem* (*AH* 17.194). The translation of St. Kyneburga (d. 680), royal founder of the Abbey of Castor in Northamptonshire, is commemorated in the fifteenth century. Her relics were originally buried in

⁹ *History of Essex II, Victoria History of the Counties of England*, edited by H. A. Doubleday and W. H. Page (London 1903) 157.

¹⁰ L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, translated as *Christian Worship* from the 3rd French edition by M. L. McClure (London 1904) 413.

Peterborough Minster. After several translations they were returned to Peterborough in the reign of Henry I.¹¹

Salve, festa dies, toto venerabilis aevo,
Qua Kineburga suo tollitur ex tumulo.
Consilio sanus praesul metropolitani
Transferri docuit, sicut eam decuit. (AH 43.218)

A further stage in the evolution of the ceremonials for martyrs is reached when their relics are carried in processions. It is recorded in connection with an early fifteenth century manuscript from the Benedictine Convent of Barking, that on the feast days of saints of whom the church possessed relics, these were carried in procession around the choir for veneration during mass. Evidently the Convent was rich in relics, for St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Barnabas, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Anne, St. Lawrence, St. George, St. Francis and St. Thomas of Canterbury were thus honored.¹²

A processional hymn from an eleventh or twelfth century manuscript of Exeter, *In festo reliquiarum Exoniensis ecclesiae*, may be assumed to refer to the wonder-working power of relics borne in procession:

Gaudeat Exonia tot sanctos concelebrando
Per quos est votis saepe potita suis.
His favet, ipse Deus, horum meritis et amore
Saepe nociva fugat, dat bona, mira patrat. (AH 43.277.5-8)

By far the most imposing hymn of the group is the earliest, a tenth century processional from St. Gall, *In Susceptione Reliquiarum Sancti Magni*, which opens

Aurea iam resonant redimitis carmina bombis.

The following stanzas reflect both the occasion and the spirit of the piece:

3. Hic tibi perpetuis resonant concentibus aedes,
Ossibus et sacris semper habetur honos,
Dum laeti famuli celebrant hic festa benigni
Laudibus instantes nocte dieque tuis.

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7. Adveniunt pariter necnon comitantur euntem
Perspicui fratres, angelici proceres.
Qui sancti feretrum circumvolitando beatum
Alarum expansu undique membra tegunt. (AH 50.261)

¹¹ D. Attwater, *Dictionary of Saints* (London 1938) 180.

¹² *Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 66, London 1928) 383, note 175.

Aside from the evidence of writers on liturgical subjects and the appearance of processional hymns in liturgical books, notices and descriptions of processions which occurred in specific places are available. For the early medieval period contemporary accounts of processions in Jerusalem, Constantinople, Seville, Poitiers and elsewhere are in existence. For the later period, the procession of the Holy Cross at Tournai, instituted by Ratbod in 1092, has been described as it developed in succeeding centuries.¹³ The *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, a twelfth century medieval guide book, described the papal processions at Rome.¹⁴

At Strasburg in the same century, *Gloria laus et honor* was heard in the Palm Sunday procession and the *Salve festa dies* hymns for Easter and Ascension.¹⁵ In Nuremberg, the Corpus Christi procession is described as observed in 1343, when the sequence *Lauda Sion Salvatorem* of Aquinas was sung.¹⁶ The *Rituale Romanum* of Paul V describes the same procession as celebrated in Rome, where again the sequence was heard, together with *Pange lingua* and several other hymns.¹⁷ As early as the tenth century sequences were appropriated, though rarely, for processional use, possibly in the dearth of processional hymns, for a variety of feasts.¹⁸ As sequences multiplied for new festival occasions very rapidly in the later Middle Ages, indeed much more rapidly than the corresponding processional hymns, it would seem natural to borrow the sequence. There was economy of effort, too, in this procedure, for the choir, already familiar with the antiphons and sequence for the mass, could render the same music in the procession. Unfortunately Aquinas did not write a processional hymn for the Feast of Corpus Christi. His prestige was so great and his poetic skill so distinguished that it would, no doubt, have dominated the field. By the same token, his sequence, *Lauda Sion*, and his hymn, *Pange lingua*, were unchallenged.

With the exception of the Sunday procession at the Introit and

¹³ F. Desmons, "Cortèges anciens," *Revue tournaisienne histoire, archéologie, art, folklore* (Tournai 1913) Année 9, no. 4, 97-104.

¹⁴ See translation, F. M. Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome* (London 1889) 160.

¹⁵ J. Walter, "Les Processions etc.," in *L'ancien cantatorium de l'église de Strasbourg*, edited by A. Wilmart (Colmar 1928) 100, 104.

¹⁶ X. Haimerl, *Das Prozessionswegen des Bistums Bamberg im Mittelalter* (München 1937) 51.

¹⁷ O. Sengspiel, *Die Bedeutung der Prozessionen etc., Germanistische Abhandlungen* 66 (Breslau 1932) 15-17.

¹⁸ Wetzer und Welte, *Kirchenlexicon*, s.v. "Sequenzen," 11.159 f.

station processions to altars within the church, Durandus fails to mention all the processional rites which were observed in his day, already in familiar use since the tenth century and in some cases earlier, for example, the procession in connection with the reading of the Gospel, Communion, the Blessing of the Font, the Consecration of the Chrism and the ceremony of *Mandatum*. Manuscript evidence attesting the singing of hymns as a part of these observances, from 1100 onward, may be cited as follows: Beginning with the Sunday procession, Ratpert's hymn, already cited, *Ardua spes mundi* (AH 50.237) was used in the fourteenth century at Prague, where Hartmann's hymn for a similar purpose, *Summus et omnipotens genitor qui cuncta creasti* (AH 50.253), was also heard.

The hymn *Ad Descensum Fontis*, for the Blessing of the Font on Holy Saturday, *Rex sanctorum angelorum, totum mundum adiuvā* (AH 50.242-3), appears in sources from Schaffnaburg (Aschaffenburg?) and Emmerau of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. At the Consecration of the Chrism on Holy Thursday the hymn *O redemptor, sume carmen temet concinentium* (AH 51.80) was used in Italy, notably in Rome in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Its contemporary prestige in the north is attested by evidence from Canterbury, Sarum and Dublin. The ceremony of *Mandatum* or foot-washing was widely observed on Holy Thursday. At this rite the ancient hymn *Tellus et aethra iubilant* (AH 51.77), which had been a favorite for centuries, is noted in several sources from the later medieval period. In the fifteenth century *Processional of the Nuns of Chester* the hymn is designated to be sung during the washing of the feet of the prioress.¹⁹ A later hymn of the Carolingian period, *Congregavit nos in unum Christi amor* (AH 12.24), had an extensive circulation especially in monastic centers.²⁰ Evidence of a similar type is lacking for hymns sung in connection with processions at the reading of the Gospel and at Communion.²¹

The *versus*, fully exemplified in the product of the St. Gall school, for festivals of every variety, reached its climax in the first half of the Middle Ages. As an extra-liturgical hymn it was to

¹⁹ *Processional of the Nuns of Chester*, edited by J. W. Legg (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 18, London 1899) 10.

²⁰ Dom A. Wilmart, "L'hymne de la charité pour le Jeudi-Saint," *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen-Age latin* (Paris 1932) 26-36; B. Bischoff, "Caritas-Lieder," in the forthcoming *Liber Floridus: Mittellateinische Studien Paul Lehmann . . . gewidmet* (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag).

²¹ Except for the *Conductus*. See below.

some extent superseded in the later medieval centuries by the *cantio* or the *conductus*. The *cantio*, like the *trope*, is a liturgical interpolation but in it no liturgical text is amplified, as Dreves observes.²² *Cantiones* may appear in collections with secular as well as religious poetry. They are apt to exhibit the refrain and the extra-liturgical usage, both marks of the processional hymn. The following *cantio* for the Nativity is found in a fourteenth century processional of Prague, where its presence indicates its use. While this *cantio* has no formal refrain, a repetition of the first stanza after each of the following may have been substituted.

1. Haec est dies salutaris,
 In qua nobis stella maris
 Dat gaudere
 Nec habere
 Terminum,
 Hinc cantemus
 Et laudemus
 Dominum. (AH 20.66, 41a)

As lyrics, to judge from the specimens edited by Dreves, they suggest a secular treatment of religious themes and in some cases, the carol, as for instance in a *cantio* for the Nativity which is found in a processional from Schöenberg of 1533:

1. Nova vobis gaudia refero,
 Natus est rex virginis utero,
 In puero mira considero,
 Nunquam de cetero
 Fient haec, psallite.
- R. Noel, Noel iterando,
 Noel triplicando, Noel
 Ah, Noel psallite. (AH 20.114)

It would seem that the *cantio*, strictly so-called, must be questioned as a stage in the evolution of the processional. The *conductus* or *conductum*, on the contrary, has its origin in the singing of a hymn to accompany the ceremony of carrying the Gospel codex to its appropriate position before the lesson is read. The word originally revealed the action; later it acquired a general meaning and a much wider significance. Like the *cantio*, the *conductus* is not an expansion of the liturgical text. Present-day musicologists have investigated these forms for light upon the problems of musical

²² *Cantiones et Muteti*, edited by G. M. Dreves, AH 20, Intro., p. 6.

history.²³ The most recent study of the *conductus* has been made by Dr. Leonard Ellinwood, who defines it thus: "A conductus was a Latin metrical poem set to music in from one to four parts during the 12th and 13th centuries, used for festival or processional purposes both within and without the church."²⁴ A *conductus* for the festival of St. James of Campostella illustrates the successful employment of this style, characteristic of the late Middle Ages:

1. Salve, festa dies, veneranda per omnia fies,
Qua coelos subiit Jacobus, ut meruit.
Gaudeamus.
2. Hic decus est terrae, quam terminat ultima Thile,
Hoc satis est regnum Galleciis habile.
Gaudeamus. (AH 17.199)

It should be noted that an innovation in processional music is here combined with the most ancient of poetical traditions, the *Salve festa dies* model. At the same time, the refrain is consonant with the later lyric style.

To estimate fairly the circulation and influence of the *Salve festa dies* processional hymns in the later Middle Ages and at the same time determine which ones of this and other types held a secure position in ecclesiastical usage, it is advisable to consult the *Processionalia* of the period. For this purpose the processional collections of Salisbury and York have been chosen with additional hymns from the rites of St. Ositha, Bridlington, Dublin and other centers in the British Isles.

If inquiry be centered about the *Processionale ad Usum Sarum*, the student has at least the vantage point of the influential Sarum Rite, essentially a Roman Rite, the ceremonies of which in all their variety and relevance for every ecclesiastical occasion were developed and ornamented by great liturgists beginning with Osmund, Bishop of Sarum, 1078-1099.²⁵

Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, must also be numbered with the Norman churchmen who entered England at the period of the Conquest, entrusted with the responsibility of integrating the varied religious practices of the land, as William I sought to integrate its political structure. Formerly Prior of Bec and Abbot

²³ G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York 1940) 201.

²⁴ "The Conductus," *Musical Quarterly* 27 (1941) 2, 165.

²⁵ *Processionale ad usum . . . Sarum*, edited by W. G. Henderson (Leeds 1882). See also C. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge 1901).

of St. Stephen's at Caen, Lanfranc was the author of the work, *Consuetudines* or *Statuta*, which includes directions for processional use intended for cathedrals as well as monasteries.²⁶ Osmund and Lanfranc were contemporaries, influential as administrators in the later medieval period.

As one studies the hymns and sequences, especially of the Sarum Rite, one is impressed by the restraint and discrimination which governed the selection of its hymnody. The Sarum Processional is marked by a similar reserve. It contains, in the Rouen edition of 1508, only eleven hymns used in processional ceremonies. Of these, two are the ancient hymns, *Inventor rutili dux bone luminis* (AH 50.30),²⁷ and *O redemptor sume carmen* (AH 51.80), sung respectively at the lighting of the Easter Candle and at the Consecration of the Chrism. A third hymn, *Quem aethera et terra atque mare*, was used at the Feast of the Circumcision.²⁸ The Palm Sunday processional of Theodulphus, *Gloria, laus et honor*, is, of course, included. The remaining seven are the Easter processional of Fortunatus, *Salve festa dies*, with its variants for Pentecost and Ascension; and four others, essentially new poems of the *Salve* type, for the Feasts of Corpus Christi, Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Name of Jesus and the Dedication of a Church.

The York Processional is very similar to the Sarum in the use of a minimum number of hymns, the employment of certain ancient hymns, and its dependence upon the *Salve* model.²⁹ In the latter group the Easter cento is new, and wholly original versions have been written for Ascension, Pentecost and Corpus Christi. The later versions used in Sarum and York and other English centers appear from the twelfth century onwards, for example, at Bridlington, where new Easter, Ascension and Pentecost processional hymns are found in a manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century.³⁰

The Processional used by the Augustinian canons at St. Osyth is remarkable for the variations of the *Salve* type, written for the Feasts of the Trinity, Nativity, Visitation, Epiphany, All Saints,

²⁶ See *Decreta pro ordine S. Benedicti*, MPL 150, col. 468-473; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge 1940) 123, a discussion of the title and influence of this work.

²⁷ A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* (Cambridge 1922) 134.

²⁸ *Processionale . . . Sarum* (above, note 25) 22.

²⁹ *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiae eboracensis*, edited by W. G. Henderson (*Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol. 63, London 1882).

³⁰ *Collect. Bridlingtonien.* ms. saec. 12/13. Cod. Oxonien. Digby 53. See AH 43.27, 28, 31.

Corpus Christi, St. Augustine (Africa), Sts. Peter and Paul, and the patron, St. Ositha. Probably they sang the traditional forms for Easter, Ascension and Pentecost, and the familiar *Gloria, laus et honor* for Palm Sunday.³¹

Detailed descriptions of processional ceremonies illustrated with diagrams and cuts render the late medieval guides to worship at Salisbury and York both graphic and informative. A general treatment of this subject was made by J. D. Chambers, Recorder of Salisbury, in 1877, who collated in his *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries etc.* the processional practices of Sarum, York, Wells, Exeter, Canterbury and other centers, with documentation.³² Influences from the continent are noted especially with reference to continuity of observance. Fascinating as these descriptions are, they must be set aside in favor of the hymnological texts which constitute the theme of this study. Here the student meets with the same brief and somewhat standardized list of hymns which have been noted for Sarum and York. An occasional "prose" is sung at the festival of a saint but the term is obscure since a *Salve* hymn may also appear as a prose. One must conclude that the psalms and antiphons with which these ceremonies are liberally provided were found more satisfactory as a musical accompaniment for processional rites. Durandus in his day had made scant mention of hymns, being chiefly concerned with the symbolic meaning of the acts performed. On the whole, perhaps, the generalization might be advanced that diocesan centers did not in medieval times possess the resources of processional hymns which were familiar to the more important monastic centers. In England, even St. Osyth had more processional hymns than Sarum. In the earlier centuries, St. Gall was the leader for all Christendom.

In the later Middle Ages the popularity of the earlier processionals appears to have waned. They are lacking in the English collections and scanty upon the continent. Yet many fine, if not outstanding hymns, were in existence from which to choose. Nor had Roman liturgical reform yet frowned upon the trope, limited and revised the breviary hymns and almost entirely banished the

³¹ *AH* 11.12, Trinity; 11.13, Nativity; 11.51, Visitation; 43.18, Epiphany; 11.62, All Saints; 11.27, Corpus Christi; 11.218, Sts. Peter and Paul; 11.81, St. Augustine; 11.209, St. Ositha.

³² London 1877. See also Wordsworth-Littlehales (above, note 7) 167 f., Plates XVI-XVII.

sequence as it did in the sixteenth century. While it is impossible to solve the problem of the disuse of earlier hymns, perhaps new evidence is thus afforded of the impermanent and transitory nature of processional hymnody, never an essential but always an ornament of worship.

The music which accompanied the later medieval processional hymns is available from many manuscript sources. A detailed treatment of the subject is impossible here for it requires the skill and knowledge of the specialist in medieval musicology. This much may be said: traditional melodies for processional hymns, as far as we know them today, are characteristic of the liturgical chant.³³ In no way do they suggest an accented marching rhythm nor have we any right to suppose that the medieval procession without the church attained the precise or regulated order of martial display. The modern practice in European and Latin American outdoor processions reflects, no doubt, the medieval original. Processions within the church edifice may be observed in present-day Roman Catholic and other churches and these ceremonies are sometimes accompanied by traditional music.

CONCLUSIONS

To enumerate the features of processional hymnody, one should consider first the dramatic representation and re-enactment of biblical or other scenes. Of equal interest is the pilgrimage motive, which to Durandus embodied the symbolism of all processions. Again, the motive of supplication is fundamental in all litanies and related rites.

The procession with its psalms, antiphons and hymns marks a special occasion intended for a unique celebration. The hymns, therefore, are specialized in subject matter and relatively few in number. Metrical characteristics have been noted, such as the prevalence of the elegiac couplet and the recurrence of a refrain.

Finally, the processional hymn oversteps the boundaries of the hymnody associated with the offices and the mass, opening up new areas in which the worshipper may offer appropriate praises to God and to the Saints.

³³ For a lively account of popular lyrics and instrumental music in late medieval processions, see M. Brenet, *La Musique dans les Processions* (Paris 1896).