

Medieval Variants of the Mass Ordinary

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Abstract

20th-century research mostly described the ordinary of the Mass in evolutionary terms and from the perspective of the Tridentine codification of its Roman tradition. Yet in the medieval context, texts and gestures of the *ordo missae* feature as questions of argumentation and even of bitter polemics. The patterns of variation reflect a twofold system, one of a regional and another of a historical nature: native traditions were rewritten due to ideological initiatives and ideologically conceived reforms became integral parts of local customs. In contrast to earlier typologies that concentrated on the earliest source material, the focus of our presentation is to offer a preliminary report of a synchronistic analysis of Mass ordinaries from the age of the invention of the printing press.

Key words: Middle Ages, liturgy, comparison, Mass ordinary, preparation, vesting

Until now, the research of Mass ordinaries has been primarily concerned with historical issues, and occasionally burdened by ideological considerations. With the aim of reconstructing a prestigiously ancient and authentic way of celebration, 20th-century scholars were interested in the earliest accessible source material¹ and rejected with bias everything that seemed to belong to the layer of ‘medieval additions’. In fact, a hostile attitude evolved towards the so-called apologies: the private prayers and gestures of preparation, the reading of the Gospel, the offertory, the communion and thanksgiving, spurning, in fact, all the elements that build up the ordinary beyond the Eucharistic Canon and the chanted Kyrie.²

¹ The classic example of this approach is: JUNGSMANN, Josef Andreas: *Missarum sollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*. Wien : Herder 1948 (revised in 1962), on the Mass ordinary: I. pp. 341-413.

² For an almost psycho-pathological presentation of the medieval spirituality see: ANGENENDT, Arnold: *Missa specialis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmassen*, pp. 151-153. Mit reinen Händen. Das Motiv der kultischen Reinheit in der abendländischen Askese, pp. 250-261. In: *Liturgie im Mittelalter*. Münster : Lit Verlag 2005. According to the report of Archbishop Annibale BUGNINI (*Res Secretariae* XXXIII (12 December 1967), all that remained of the ancient texts in the reformed Mass ordinary was preserved due to the personal intervention of Pope Paul VI. The document is cited by REID, Alcuin (ed.): *T&T Clark Companion to Liturgy*. London : Bloomsbury 2015, p. 309.

These are, however, the very parts on which a systematic classification of medieval Mass ordinaries can be based, both from a historical and from a typological perspective. Historically, such a research should focus on the gradual evolution of the ordinary's components, their interpretive position between private devotion and canonicity, and the theological, legal or spiritual factors that contributed to their acceptance or abandonment. Typologically, the question of distinctive features arises,³ namely if there were parallel ways of performing the unchanging parts of the Mass that deliberately distinguished dioceses, monasteries and religious orders from one another, and that can be informative on the origins of service books of uncertain origins. By combining the two approaches, regional liturgical styles and circles of influence may be exposed both in chronological and in geographical or institutional terms.

The source material

In contrast to typical 20th-century scholarship, our present survey is a synchronistic attempt to outline the means and range of variation. By comparing a representative sample of late medieval Mass ordinaries, we try to demonstrate which parts varied and to what degree. Accordingly, we suggest some research tools in order to enable a more large-scale and more systematic analysis with the help of database technologies.⁴ Although the source material comes from a relatively narrow period of time, it bears witness to the state of the Mass ordinary in its fullest bloom. It means that if some texts or gestures are missing from any of the sources, it cannot be the result of mere ignorance but is due to local or institutional decisions or at least to the attitude or ceremonial taste of certain communities.

The first source material we consulted was compiled taking into account the greatest and most proportionate geographical coverage. At least one diocese of each European country was included, and in case of large, politically fragmented and densely inhabited regions even more dioceses. Due to a special interest in the Norbertine tradition, the homeland of the Premonstratensian order in Northern France was more thoroughly examined. The selection of some dioceses against others of the same country or region followed the practical consideration of choosing the most informative representatives available.⁵ Accordingly, a sum total of 68 sources emerged, representing 63 Uses: 59 cathedrals and 4 religious orders. They were intended to serve as a basic orientation for a more detailed analysis by which the chief components and patterns of variation might emerge.

³ The concept of the “range of diversity” and other methodological considerations was explained in my conference paper FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *Regensburg and Hungary. Methodological Outlines of a Liturgical Interaction*, read on July 7, 2017 in Regensburg (Gottesdienst in Regensburger Institutionen. Zur Vielfalt liturgischer Traditionen in der Vormoderne); publication forthcoming in 2020.

⁴ The comprehensive list of the more than 300 sources can be consulted in our database *Usuarium. A Digital Library and Database for the Study of Latin Liturgical History in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, <https://usuarium.elte.hu/indexlabel/88/view> (Ceremonies, preparation and vesting for Mass).

⁵ A list of all the sources quoted in this paper can be consulted at pp. 149-159.

Transmission and context

The gathering of the information is, however, not a self-evident task either. Firstly, the Mass ordinary is usually dispersed even within the same book. As a rule, its bulk features at the beginning of the source or somewhere in the middle: between Holy Saturday and Easter, or between the Temporal and the Sanctoral. While the former is a logical arrangement, witnessed already by ancient Sacramentaries, the latter, more common in Missals, corresponds to the practical demand of opening the volume at a point where it opens most readily.⁶

The location of the preparatory prayers and the thanksgiving after Mass probably reflects the degree of their canonicity. When and where these were described along with the more stable and prestigious items of the offertory, the Prefaces and the Canon, they were considered integral parts of the tradition. On the contrary, their splitting into three or more sections reveals that the core of the Mass ordinary was surrounded by the more malleable confines between private devotion and official liturgy. Even some parts of the core of the ordinary can occur at unexpected points (e.g. the Gloria and the Creed, or the prayers and the blessing before the Gospel) and the preparatory prayers separately (e.g. those to be recited during vesting and in the sacristy separated from those during the entrance or at the foot of the altar).

A second challenge is that of the transmitting book types. A Mass ordinary or some of its elements frequently occur in service books other than the Missal or the Sacramentary. They form typical chapters of Pontificals and Rituals⁷ and occur in Breviaries as well. As handwritten supplements, they are practically ubiquitous in all types of liturgical sources, regardless of the main content of the book.⁸ In addition to the relatively unfixed, devotional nature of some prayers, the reason of this phenomenon is that priests knew the ordinary by heart, hence books served simply as memory-aids. Another explanation may be found in the fact that in some cases

⁶ A basic literature of the typology and structure of medieval and early modern service books: FIALA, Virgil – IRTENKAUF, Wolfgang: Versuch einer liturgischen Nomenklatur. In: KLOSTERMANN, Vittorio (ed.): *Zur katalogisierung mittelalterlicher und neuerer Handschriften. Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie. Sonderheft*. Frankfurt am Main 1963, pp. 105-137; HUGHES, Andrew: *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office. A Guide to their Organization and Terminology*. Toronto : University of Toronto Press 1982; BAROFFIO, Bonifacio: Appendice III. I manoscritti liturgici. In: JEMOLO, Viviana – MORELLI, Mirella (eds.): *Guida a una descrizione uniforme dei manoscritti e a loro censimento*. Roma : Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le Informazioni Bibliografiche 1990, pp. 143-192; LEBIGUE, Jean-Baptiste: Initiation aux manuscrits liturgiques. In: *École thématique: Ateliers du Cycle thématique de l'IRHT de l'année 2003–2004*, dirigé par Oliver Legendre et Jean-Baptiste Lebigue (cf. <http://aedilis.irht.cnrs.fr/liturgie/>) consacré aux manuscrits liturgiques (HAL 2007), <https://cel.archives-ouvertes.fr/file/index/docid/194063/filename/manuscrits-liturgiques.pdf>, (catalogue: 251-256).

⁷ FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István – SZASZOVSKY, Ágnes: Pontificals, Rituals, and Navigating among their Contents. In: *Questions Liturgique C* (2020), pp. 3-83.

⁸ The earliest examples from Hungary are the so-called Sacramentary of St Margaret (Zagreb, Knjižnica Metropolitana, MR 126) 78^v and the Esztergom Benedictional (MR 89) 114^v.

(especially in pontifical Masses) the non-sacrificial parts were recited far from the altar-Missal and thus needed a separate book in a small, portable format.⁹

Thirdly, the level of thoroughness in how elaborately a Mass ordinary is provided and furnished with rubrics is extremely variable. A defective source in itself does not always indicate a defective tradition. Lacking data may be discovered in further sources of the same Use, e.g. in Rituals and Breviaries, if the consulted Missal proves suspiciously laconic. Nevertheless, there are truly austere Uses in this respect where different book types agree on omitting gestures and unchanging texts,¹⁰ or even the ones that have been familiar up to the modern age.

The fourth and last problem consists in the isolation of the modules. Neither the well-defined divisions of the Tridentine Missals between the preparation, vesting, procession and the prayers at the foot of the altar can be required from their medieval antecedents, nor those between the closing *Placeat* oration, the final blessing, recession and thanksgiving. Furthermore, there are some common ceremonies at rather uncommon points (e.g. the mixing of wine and water before the Gospel, the *pax* before the introit) or unexpected ceremonies in surprising positions (e.g. the kissing of the crucifix after ascending to the altar).

In order to solve these problems, we read through hundreds of service books from every documented diocese and religious order of the Latin Rite, and indexed all the different types of ceremonies they contained.¹¹ As to the divergent parts of the Mass ordinary, respective labels were added to the preparation and vesting for Mass, to the Prefaces, the Canon, and to the thanksgiving after Mass. Only the remaining items were given the simple title of ‘Mass ordinary’. By this method, no component could remain hidden, regardless of its transmitting book type, its position within the source, or the

⁹ The primary source for the ceremonies of pontifical high Masses in the Roman Rite is the 8th chapter of the 2nd book of the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum iussu Clementis VIII. Pont. Max. novissime reformatum. Omnibus Ecclesiis, præcipue autem Metropolitanis, Cathedralibus, & Collegiatis, perutile, ac necessarium*. Roma : Ex typographia linguarum externarum 1600. Its facsimile edition: TRIACCA, Achille Maria – SODI, Manlio: *Ceremoniale Episcoporum. Editio princeps. (1600)*. Città del Vaticano : Libreria Editrice Vaticana 2000 (Monumenta Liturgica Concilii Tridentini 4).

¹⁰ A protagonist of a reduced Mass ordinary is Bernold of Constance in his *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*. Paris 1853 (Patrologia Latina 151), pp. 973-1022., see especially chapters 1 and 23. Other commentators like the Liber Quare, Ioannes Belet or Rupert of Deutz are silent about the precise form of the preparation, while Sicardus and Durandus both suggest a modest form with five psalms and vesting prayers, see: SARBÁK, Gábor – WEINRICH, Lorenz: *Sicardi Cremonensis episcopi Mitralis de officiis*. Turnhout : Brepols 2008 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 228), pp. 118-125 (2nd book, 8th chapter); DAVRIL, Anselme – THIBODEAU, Timothy: *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale divinorum officiorum*. Turnhout : Brepols 1995 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 140) I., pp. 258-292 (4th book, 2–10th chapters). The same Durandus provides a more detailed description in his Pontifical, see: Michel ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical Romain au moyen-âge III. Le pontifical de Guillaume Durand*. Città del Vaticano : Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 1940 (Studi e Testi 88), pp. 632-637 (18th chapter, 1 – 22nd paragraphs).

¹¹ SZASZOVSKY, Ágnes: Szentartáskönyvek és szertartási élet: Pontifikálék és rituálék tartalomindexelése. In: *Magyar Egyházzene* XXV (2017-2018); forthcoming.

fragmentary nature of the series of the ordinary, yet – as it will become clear from the following subdivisions – a more elaborate system is still desirable.

A case study: the preparation for Mass

The first and perhaps most complex part of the ordinary is the set of prayers and gestures prior to the priest's ascent to the altar and his recitation of the introit. As a presentation of our project, let us turn to this sample now!

It is labelled as the 'preparation and vesting for Mass', and consists of three basic modules: the mental preparation of the celebrant (prayers), his physical preparation (washing of hands and face, combing of hair, undressing of secular clothes, donning of vestments), and the preparation of the altar (access to it, placing of the offerings, incensation). The sequence of the three parts can vary, and theoretically each of them can be omitted, but their latency may also result from the defectiveness of the extant sources. The most typical way of deviating from the familiar concept of mental preparation first, physical second, is the mingling of the two. In Barcelona for instance, the vesting is surrounded by the preparatory prayers, while in Cambrai the washing of hands introduces the mental preparation.¹²

Mental preparation

At present, we can isolate four types of mental preparation: one defective, one short, one psalmodic, and one augmented psalmodic variant. (1) The defective type – with the reservation that new documents may bring new elements to light – is peculiar to France and only provides prayers for the private devotion of the celebrant.¹³ (2) The short variant includes an invocation of the Holy Spirit by means of a familiar commemoration with a hymn, antiphon, versicle and oration.¹⁴ (3) The psalmodic type is the most wide-spread and can be classified according to structural patterns and the number of psalms included. In terms of structure, the aesthetically less elaborate pattern merely juxtaposes one or more psalms and orations,¹⁵ (4) while the more elaborate type assigns the psalms to the opening part of a larger structure that resembles the commemorations or texts of sacramental rites.¹⁶ In the latter, the psalms are framed by antiphons and followed by a series of versicles (*preces*), sometimes a litany and orations. Generic overlaps can lead to a merging of modules, e.g. in Laon where the preparatory psalm is identical with the *Iudica* (Ps 42),¹⁷ otherwise emblematic of the access to the altar, or in Prague where the closing oration already belongs to the

¹² Barcelona (Missal) 158r, Cambrai 130v.

¹³ Beauvais 23, Bourges 18r, Noyon 63r.

¹⁴ Autun 53v, Kamien 156r, Salisbury 137r, Vannes 114r.

¹⁵ Barcelona (Missal) 158r.

¹⁶ Cambrai 130v, Liège 195v, Praha 62v, Viborg 4.

¹⁷ Laon aa2r.

washing of hands.¹⁸ Some parts, e.g. the invocation of the Holy Spirit can occur in the same form, yet in a later part of the preparation, too.¹⁹

The number of psalms ranges from one to ten, five being the most typical. The psalms involved are selected by two themes: their relationship with the temple and the altar, and their penitential character.²⁰ The latter, however, remains always subordinate and mostly restricted to the closing *De profundis*. Still, the penitential motifs are underlined by the antiphon, if there is any, given that the most popular antiphons are the same as those of the seven penitential psalms (*Ne reminiscaris, Intret in conspectu*).²¹ Along with the doxology, each psalm can be followed by short prayers like the Hail Mary, or the *Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori*.²²

In case of augmentation, the usual structure of psalms and orations is prepared by invocations, enriched by versicles, or supplemented by other prayers and chants. Popular items are the office-opening versicle *Deus in adiutorium* and some liturgical poems in honour of the Holy Spirit (the hymn *Veni Creator*, the prose *Sancti Spiritus*, or the antiphon *Veni Sancte Spiritus*).²³ Nevertheless, the most popular addition is a series of versicles, also known as preces. The number, choice and order of such verses tend to be fixed and are peculiar to the given diocese or religious order. Sometimes the augmented form resembles a minor hour of the Divine Office, consisting of an opening versicle, hymn, antiphon, psalms, chapter etc. In such cases it proves to be a stylized Terce in honour of the Holy Spirit, preceding the high Mass of the day.²⁴

Not only the mental preparation for Mass, but also the communion of the priest and the thanksgiving after Mass often include lengthy private prayers in a highly emotional language.²⁵ Some of them are recurrent but plenty of them seem to be unique or at least the property of a limited group of Uses. As some service books emphasise,²⁶ special indulgences were secured by popes for those who recited them, yet it is the very necessity of indulgences which testifies that they were habitually neglected in practice. In the majority of the Uses, however, the corpus of such prayers splits into two distinct categories: one of them is a historically solid, probably obligatory series that is specific to the related tradition, the other is a loose appendix of additions.

¹⁸ Praha 62v.

¹⁹ Basel (Breviary) 135v, OSPPE 106r.

²⁰ The basic four psalms are: *Quam dilecta* (Ps 83), *Benedixisti* (Ps 84), *Inclina* (Ps 85), *Credidi* (Ps 115). The most popular additions are: *Appropinquet* (Ps 118, 169-175), *De profundis* (Ps 129), *Laudate* (Ps 116). Occasionally, *Fundamenta* (Ps 86), *Memento* (Ps 131), *Ecce quam* (Ps 132), *Ecce nunc* (Ps 133), *Laudate* (Ps 150), *Levavi oculos* (Ps 120), *Domine exaudi* (Ps 142) may also be used in this context.

²¹ Basel (Missal) 165r, Cambrai 130v, Esztergom (printed Missal) a9v, Lund 163r, Magdeburg 1v, OPraem 135v, Praha 62v, Viborg 4.

²² Trondheim h1r.

²³ Aix 172, Bourges 34, Magdeburg 1v, Olomouc 166, OSPPE 22, Trondheim h1r, Vannes 114r, Würzburg 1r.

²⁴ Basel (Missal) 164v, Chur 3v, Halberstadt 77r, Meissen 1r, Ratzeburg 10, Strasbourg 180v.

²⁵ E.g. *O bone et dulcissime Iesu...*, *Ecce benignissime Domine Iesu...* *Transfige dulcissime Domine Iesu medullas...* (the main characteristics are the many superlatives, the exceeding dimensions of the prayers and the Marian themes).

²⁶ Aix 168, Lausanne 164, St. Andrews xci.

Physical preparation

The second component is physical preparation, i.e. the gestures of preparing the priest's body for the sacred action. Of course, the donning of vestments requires the most attention, but there are several other movements that must not be underestimated. A salutation is said when entering the sacristy, profane clothes are taken off, the hands and sometimes also the face of the priest are washed and dried, his hair is combed.²⁷ All these are associated with purification as in a medieval context combing often meant the removal of dandruff and perhaps lice.

As to the texts, differences arise both in their genres and dimensions. Some Uses prefer a short, formulaic uttering for each gesture. Such formulas are typically derived from the psalms and do not address God directly, but comment on the parallel action by interpreting it as a spiritual deed, a bodily expression of moral duties, or the re-enactment of precedents from salvation history. Other Uses have orations, addressing God and closing with the regular conclusions. They can also vary from short prayers of a single sentence to long and flamboyant ones.²⁸ If a text is not closely connected to the actual vestment or gesture, the same prayer or formula can be assigned to different functions. The oration *Interius et exterius*, for example, was recited both in Liège and Viborg, yet in the former it accompanied the combing, while in the latter the washing of the priest's face.²⁹

Obviously, such prayers were known by heart and recited as a daily routine of clerics. Accordingly, their selection and arrangement is informative in terms of enduring traditions, be they the distinctive Uses of institutions or the fashions of special periods or ecclesiastical circles. Doubtless, a high percentage of these is wide-spread throughout Europe and remained popular until the modern age, yet a considerable amount is unique or known only by a narrower cluster of traditions. Their collection and comparison deserve a systematic research in its own right and promises to be instrumental in classifying Mass ordinaries.

In Beauvais, even the bodily preparation can be interrupted by elements of the preparation of the gifts: the priest places the host on the paten and pours the wine and water into the chalice.³⁰ It is, however, most probably a concession for private Masses

²⁷ Prayer or formula while entering the sacristy: Calahorra 6, Córdoba 171v, OCarm 52, Utrecht 13v. Prayers for undressing are very common, especially in Spain, Germany and Scandinavia, e.g. Barcelona (Ritual) 81v, Liège 195v, Lund 163v, Magdeburg 2r, Meissen 5r, Münster 5r, OSPPE 105r, Pamplona 154v. The prayer for the washing of hands is universal, but those for the washing of the face are more restricted: Barcelona (Missal) 158r, Basel (Missal) 165v, Chur 3v, Die 75r, Viborg 4, and so is their drying: Esztergom (manuscript Missal) 130r, Meissen 6r, Münster 5, Salamanca 290, Speyer 125v, Strasbourg 181r. Prayers for combing are relatively rare (usually with the rubric *pectendo* or *pectinando caput*, but also as *ad pectinem* or *ad caput*): Calahorra 6, København 188r, Liège 195v, Lund 163v, Praha 62v, Ratzeburg 11.

²⁸ The longest vesting prayers so far could be found in Barcelona (Missal) 161v.

²⁹ For combing: Calahorra 6, Liège 195v, Ratzeburg 11, Salamanca 124v. For washing the priest's face: Viborg 4.

³⁰ Beauvais 160r.

when no melismatic chants are sung before the Gospel, which is, also for Beauvais, the regular time for preparing the offerings.

Albeit most of the vestments are familiar to the modern reader, bishops and abbots wore more than simple priests, and also ordinary priests could wear extraordinary vestments according to the peculiarities of their own Use.³¹ For instance, in Barcelona or Orléans a surplice was worn under the amice.³² The local nomenclature of customary ecclesiastical garments enables a further, philological distinction, e.g. *humerales* or *amictus*, *cingulus* or *zona*, *phanon* or *manipulus*, *casula* or *planeta*, *tunica* or *subtile*, and notice that in some Spanish Uses *tunica* means *alba* and is not the garb of the subdeacon or the bishop. It is unfixed whether the maniple or the stole is donned first,³³ and, as mental preparation, physical preparation alike can be interrupted by some elements that already belong to the preparation of the altar.³⁴

Access to the altar

The third and last component of preparatory rites is the access to the altar and its preparation for the sacrifice. Its modules are the entrance procession, confession with absolution, a series of versicles (*preces*) that immediately precedes the ministers' ascent to the altar, subsequent orations, and incensation. In some Uses the preparation of the offerings follows here,³⁵ i.e. the priest places the host on the paten and pours wine and water into the chalice, still the exact position of these gestures varies on a large scale and the action, at least logically, belongs to the offertory rites. As belonging to the extra-sacrificial part of the Mass and being themselves of a preparatory nature, the private prayers before the Gospel are also worth mentioning in this context.

The entrance of the celebrant is primarily connected with the emblematic *Iudica* (Ps 42), framed by its verse *Introibo ad altare Dei*. The latter is usually interpreted as an antiphon, yet it is actually never sung and may also feature in the form of a versicle, i.e. in a verse-response structure, returning – though not indispensably – after the psalm. The most common way of reciting the psalm is after having arrived in front of the altar, as in the mature Roman Rite, but not infrequently it accompanies the entrance itself: the priest begins the psalm already in the sacristy and recites it during the procession.³⁶

³¹ A first terminological orientation: *amictus* is common enough but often replaced by *amicta* in Germany and Scandinavia, while *humerales* is especially popular in present-day Hungary and Switzerland; *alba* is common but *tunica* may be its Spanish variant; *cingulum* is the dominant form yet *zona* is used in its stead especially in South-Burgundy, Denmark and some French sources; *manipulus* prevails but *manipula* or even *mappula* are its equivalents where *amicta* was preferred to *amictus*, and *phanon* characterizes e.g. Lotharingia and Praha; *stola* is unrivalled; *casula* is the general form but *planeta* occurs several times in Spain. Extra pontifical vestments are: *anulus*, *balteum*, *cirothecae*, *crux pectoralis*, *dalmatica*, *infula* (more common than *mitra*), *pallium*, *rationale*, *sandalia*, *tunica*/*tunicella* or *subtile*.

³² *Superpellicium*: Bazas 94v, Barcelona (Missal) 161v. *Rochetum*: Orléans 111v, Rouen 179, Tournai 576.

³³ Maniple donned after the stole: Arras 9v, Barcelona (Missal) 162r, Lyon 72v, Magdeburg 2v.

³⁴ Beauvais 160r, Noyon 63r, Orléans 113r, Rouen 180.

³⁵ Esztergom (manuscript Missal) 131r, Halberstadt 79v, Laon aa2v, Lyon 73r, OPraem 136v.

³⁶ Arras 11r, Auxerre 143r and 298r, Barcelona (Missal) 162v, Chartres i5v, Dol 112, Lausanne 177, Magdeburg 2v, Marseille 100r, Mende 157v, Speyer 126r, Strasbourg 181v, Toul 68v, Trier 105r. The access module is more developed in Bazas 95r, Calahorra 8, Esztergom (manuscript Missal) 130v, Liège

Between the psalm and the confession, a variable set of versicles may be inserted. Some elements are wide-spread, while others are special. They are akin to the preces of the Divine Office, especially to those of the Prime.³⁷ Some Uses have a longer series, others retain only the opening formulas or borrow a shorter selection.

Semantically, such preces belong already to the confession which is also an integral part of Prime or Compline. Moreover, many Missals only hint at the confession by incipit, and in such cases one has to look for the full text in related Breviaries. Other sources for the full text could be the seven penitential psalms or the Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday ceremonies.³⁸ As an immediate preamble, the most popular text is the versicle *Confitemini* which makes use of the double sense of the Latin word *confiteor* (both 'praise' and 'confess') in a creative manner.³⁹ At some places, a special priestly apology is added, variable in its precise wording, but typically containing the words *ego reus*.⁴⁰ No less is the text of the confession variable. Even in the sources of the same Use, plenty of variants may occur from very short ones to those that list all the types of sins and invoke a host of intercessors.⁴¹ In Strasbourg, Basel and Chur, the absolution is administered not only to the ministers but another absolution is given for the sake of all the faithful.⁴² In some dioceses of southern Europe (mostly South-Burgundy), a stylized satisfaction follows the absolution, consisting of a penitential formula, the Lord's prayer and the Hail Mary.⁴³

Before the ascent to the altar which consists of a series of versicles in front of the steps and another series of orations recited during and immediately after the ascent, some parts of the mental preparation may return, thematically connected with the invocation of the Holy Spirit or with prayers for spiritual fitness and purity, familiar also from the office of Prime or, more precisely, from the Chapter Office. This point seems to be rather malleable: special devotions, e.g. to the Blessed Virgin, may also be expressed here.⁴⁴

196r, OSPPE 106r, Salamanca 125v.

³⁷ On the origin of the Prime: TAFT, Robert: *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*. Second Revised Edition. Collegeville Minnesota : The Liturgical Press 1993, pp. 206-207. On its structure, the preces and the chapter office: BATTIFOL, Pierre: *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*. Paris : Picard 1893, pp. 101-102. A more detailed analysis is provided by my unpublished study FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *Interpreting Latin Liturgical Psalters*. https://www.academia.edu/33655039/Interpreting_Latin_Liturgical_Psalters.pdf, pp. 11-12.

³⁸ See the following labels in the "Ceremonies" menu on *Usuarium* (note 4): Confession, penitential psalms, Ash Wednesday, reconciliation of penitents.

³⁹ The text comes from the opening verse of Psalm 117 and relies on the polysemy of the Hiphil tense of the Hebrew root *yd(b)*.

⁴⁰ Auxerre 298r, Basel (Missal) 166r, Bayeux 67r, Chartres i5v, Chur 4r, Grenoble 6, Die 75r, Dol 112, Kamien 157v, Liège 196r, Limoges 70r, Meissen 7r, Noyon 63v, Orléans 113v, Rouen 180, Soissons 141v, Strasbourg 181v, Tournai 576, Valence 100v, Vannes 114v, Vic 170r. The formula is undoubtedly widespread but statistically more popular in France than elsewhere.

⁴¹ The two extremes are Laon aa2v (very long) and Salisbury 137v (very short).

⁴² Basel (Missal) 166v, Chur 4v, Strasbourg 182r (*absolutio super populum* or *generalis*).

⁴³ Bazas 95r, Lyon 170r, Mende 157v, Sion 29r, Valence 100v, Vic 170r.

⁴⁴ Here I refer only to the ascent module since the same topics may more freely emerge in the mental preparation. Marian devotions take the shape of a full commemoration in Basel (Missal) 136r, Meissen 5r, Zagreb 630; and of a single versicle in Arras 115v, Barcelona 83r, Córdoba 172r, Dol 112,

The versicles at the foot of the altar are variable and not at all indispensable. However, we will find them in the majority of sources. The most representative ones are *Adiutorium nostrum*, *Deus tu conversus*, and *Non nobis Domine*. Among the orations, the most popular is the ancient *Aufer a nobis*, but it can be followed and even replaced by others. If it is so, the alternatives come from the same store of penitential and invocative orations as the aforementioned preparatory prayers.⁴⁵

Various bodily gestures of salutation can follow the ascent, usually kisses, but these are not at all restricted to the kissing of the altar. In Sarum, the dominant Use of late medieval Britain, the *pax*, i.e. the reconciliation of the ministers is anticipated here.⁴⁶ In Basel, the priest kisses the crucifix and the Gospel book. Instead of the Gospel book, the Missal (or Sacramentary) can be opened at the picture of crucifixion before the Canon and the kiss delivered to that image in a similar fashion.⁴⁷

The incensation of the altar before the introit is a rarity in a medieval context, although there are some instances.⁴⁸ It seems, however, that the restriction typical to funeral Masses in the Roman Rite that allows incense at the offertory but not at the introit reflects a once prevailing custom. Where it is practiced, textual formulas tend to be recorded for the blessing, the incensation and the priest while receiving the incense himself.

Conclusion

In sum, we can conclude that there is an established set of texts and a not any less established sequence of ritual actions, but their relationship can be manifold and sometimes even puzzling. The observation renders the research of Mass ordinaries more similar to that of the occasional rites than to the comparative analysis of Mass Propers. It means, perhaps surprisingly, that the methods applied in the description and comparative analysis of Mass ordinaries are not peculiar to the Mass as a distinct and prevalent type of liturgical activity, but resemble the methods that answer the purpose of researching Sacraments, sacramentals, processions and other occasional rites beyond

Esztergom (manuscript Missal) 131r, Noyon 63v, Orléans 113v, Salamanca 127v, Soissons 142r, Vannes 114v, Zaragoza 199v.

⁴⁵ Besides the most popular *Aufer* and *Oramus* prayers, examples for such invocative orations are: *Actiones nostras* (Lund 164r, Trondheim h1v), *Consientias nostras* (Noyon 63v, Orléans 113v, Rouen 180, Toul 68v, Valence 100v), *Ure igne* (Chartres i5v, Bayeux 78, Mende 157v). *Exaudi ... supplicum preces* comes forth in a penitential context and is mostly used in Germany and its neighbourhood).

⁴⁶ Reconciliation is commonly linked to the *Pax Christi* formula of the kissing of the Gospel book but means an independent gesture with a real kiss of peace (*Habete osculum pacis et dilectionis*) in Salisbury 137v.

⁴⁷ The object of the kiss is the Crucifixion before the Canon in Autun 54r, Noyon 63v, Orléans 113v, Tournai 577; the Gospel book in Basel (Missal) 166v, Esztergom (manuscript Missal) 131r, Halberstadt 80r, Lund 164r; the cross of the altar in Bayonne 114v, Bazas 65v, Chartres i5v, Limoges 70v.

⁴⁸ The first incensation is documented from Basel (Missal) 166v, Salisbury 137v, Zagreb 632. In Viborg 5, however, it does not happen at the beginning of the Mass but follows the Gloria.

the daily routine of Mass and Divine Office. The similarity manifests itself in two respects.⁴⁹

Firstly, both the Mass ordinary and the so-called occasional rites have a soft textual structure. It cannot be precisely predicted how many textual items will follow one another, to which liturgical genre they will belong, and what the exact order of their series will be. This ambiguity is basically alien from the textual structure of the Mass and the Office which are both constructed according to a constantly recurring grid of textual genres. Instead of such a grid, occasional rites – and the Mass ordinary – can be arranged into ceremonial modules that organize the loose textual material into soft but recognizable morphologic patterns. E.g. an oration or a series of orations regularly closes a module, while ‘lyric’ items (psalms, antiphons, hymns or other emblematic chants) tend to open it, and versicles, preces link the two ends together.

Secondly, the organizing principle of the modules is an action, not a text. While the Propers of the Mass and the Office, i.e. the hard-structured rites are based upon a sequence of uttering texts and may assign gestures to each; occasional rites are centred around a sequence of performing gestures and assign texts to each. Of course even in the latter case there is a more or less well-defined cluster of texts that may accompany specific gestures, but they occur in very different contexts. From this perspective, one can differentiate between text-driven and gesture-driven ritual structures, and, obviously, Mass ordinaries can be compared and interpreted in the latter context.

⁴⁹ These considerations were expressed in more detail in my workshop proposal FÖLDEVÁRY, Miklós István: *Systema liturgiae. Towards a Typology and Organization of Liturgical Evidence*, on September 19, 2019 in Berlin (Patterns of Liturgical Prescriptions).

List of all the sources quoted in the studies of Csaba Frigyes Orbán – Miklós István Földváry, Balázs Horváth and Katalin Suba

Good Friday	preparation and vesting for Mass	Temporal Masses	Use	Book
		+	Agde	Manuscript. Montpellier, Médiathèque, Ms. 28, 1300 – 1400.
+		+	Agen	Missale ecclesiae Agenensis. Iacobus Colomiez, Toulouse 1531.
+		+	Aix-en-Provence	Manuscript. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 2661. 1466.
+		+	Amiens	Ad almae Ambianensis ecclesiae usum missale completum, Parisiis sollerti diligentia correctum atque luculenter impressum. Ioannes de Prato, Paris 1487.
+			Anagni	Manuscript. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. S. Pietro Ms. F. 13. 1100 – 1300.
+		+	Angers	Missale Andegavense. Ioannes Higman – Wolfgang Hopyl, Paris 1489.
		+	Aosta	Amiet, Robert (ed.): Missale Augustanum. Édition synthétique de 22 missels du diocèse d'Aoste XIe-XVIe siècles I. – II. Les Soins des Archives Historiques Régionales, Aoste 1986. (Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Augustanae 8–9)
		+	Aquileia	Missale Aquileiensis ecclesiae cum omnibus requisitis atque figuris nuper quam emendatissime perlustratum. Petrus Liechtenstein, Venezia 1517.
		+	Arles	Manuscript. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 00839. 1200 – 1300.
	+	+	Arras	Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Atrebatensis quam optime ordinatum ac diligenti cura noviter castigatum. Martinus Morin, Rouen 1508.
+			Astorga	Missale secundum consuetudinem sanctae ecclesiae Astoricensis. Augustinus de Paz, Astorga 1546.
+		+	Auch	Missale secundum ecclesiam Auxitanam. Franciscus Girardengo, Pavia 1495.
		+	Augsburg	Missale secundum ritum Augustensis ecclesiae. Erhardus Ratdolt, Augsburg 1510.
+		+	Autun 1530	Missale insignis ecclesiae Eduensis. Paris, Ioannes Petit – Ioannes Kaerbriand, Paris 1530.
	+		Autun 1503	Officiarium curatorum insignis ecclesiae Eduensis ... seu manuale secundum usum dioecesis Eduensis. Henricus I. Estienne, Paris 1503.
	+	+	Auxerre	Manuscript. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17316. 1366 – 1400.
		+	Ávila	Missale secundum consuetudinem cathedralis ecclesiae civitatis Abulensis. Ioannes Ponius, Salamanca 1510.
+		+	Avranches	Missale ad usum ecclesiae Abrincensis. Ricardus Hamillon, Rouen 1534.

Good Friday	preparation and vesting for Mass	Temporal Masses	Use	Book
		+	Badajoz	Missale secundum almae Pacensis ecclesiae consuetudinem. Ioannes Croberger, Sevilla 1529.
+		+	Bamberg	Liber missalis secundum ordinem ecclesiae Bambergensis. Ioannes Sensenschmidt, Bamberg 1490.
		+	Barcelona 1498	Missale secundum consuetudinem almae sedis Sanctae Crucis Barcinonae. Didacus de Gumiel, Barcelona 1498.
	+		Barcelona 1521	Missale secundum consuetudinem novam almae sedis sanctae Crucis Barcinonae. Bernardus Lescuyer, Lyon 1521.
	+		Barcelona 1501	Ordinarium sacramentorum valde copiosum ideo sacerdotibus maxime curatis utilissimum cum suis additamentis. Petrus Posa, Barcelona 1501.
	+		Barcelona 1569	Ordinarium Barcinonense. Claudius Bornat, Barcelona 1569.
+	+	+	Bayeux	Missale secundum usum ecclesiae Baiocensis. Petrus Violette, Rouen 1503.
+	+	+	Bayonne	Missale ad usum ecclesiae cathedralis Baiocensis. Ioannes Kaerbriand, Paris 1543.
+	+	+	Bazas	Missale completum ad usum ecclesiae Vasatensis. Petrus Besson, La Réole 1503.
+	+	+	Basel	[Missale Basiliense]. Michael Wenssler, Basel before 1479.
	+		Basel	[Breviarium Basiliense.] Michael Wenssler, Basel 1490.
	+	+	Beauvais	Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Belvacensis peroptime ordinatum ac diligenti cura castigatum cum additione plurium missarum. Martinus Morin, Rouen 1514.
		+	Besançon	Secundum Bisuntinae metropolitanae ecclesiae missarum annualium opus clarissimum. Ioannes de Prato – Benedictus Bigot – Claudius Bodram, Salins 1485.
		+	Bordeaux 1399–1498	Manuscript. Bordeaux, Archives départementales de la Gironde, G903. 1399 – 1498.
		+	Bordeaux 1475 (after)	Missale secundum rubricam Cracoviensem. Georgius Stuchs, Nürnberg after 1493.
		+	Wroclaw	Missale secundum ordinationem sive rubricam ecclesiae Wratislaviensis. Petrus I der Ältere Schöffler, Mainz 1483.
	+	+	Bourges 1547	Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesiae Bituricensis. Ioannes Garner, Bourges 1547.
	+		Bourges 1481	Ordo septem annorum ad ordinandas antiphonas Kyria et alia in Adventu Domini secundum ecclesiae Bituricensis. Petrus de Piasi – Bartholomaeus de Blavis – Andreas I. Torresanus de Asula, Venezia 1481.
+	+	+	Braga	Ordo missalis secundum ritum et consuetudinem almae Bracaraensis ecclesiae. Germão Gallus Galharde, Lisszabon 1538.
		+	Brandenburg	Ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae

Good Friday	preparation and vesting for Mass	Temporal Masses	Use	Book
				Brandeburgensis. Georgius Stuchs, Nürnberg 1494.
+		+	Bremen	Ordo missalis secundum ritum laudabilis ecclesiae Bremensis per circulum anni. Renatus Beck, Straßburg 1511.
+		+	Bressanone	Missale secundum ritum ecclesiae Brixinensis. Iacobus de Pfortzheim, Basel 1511.
		+	Burgos	Ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae Burgensis. Fridericus de Basilea, Burgos 1507.
	+	+	Calahorra	Missale secundum ordinem Calagurritanae et Calciatensis ecclesiarum. Casparus Trechsel, Lyon 1554.
	+	+	Cambrai	Missale parvum secundum usum venerabilis ecclesiae Cameracensis. Henricus Stephanus, Paris 1507.
+			Cassino	Missale monasticum secundum morem et ritum Casinensis congregationis. Lucantonius I. senior Florentini Giunta, Venezia 1506.
+			Chalons-sur-Saône	Missale ad usum Cabilonensis dioecesis. Boninus de Boninis de Raguxia natione Dalmata, Lyon 1500.
		+	Châlons-en-Champagne	Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Cathalaunensis noviter emendatum ex iussu reverendi in Christo patris et domini domini Aegidii de Lucemburgo episcopi ac comitis Cathalaunensis parisque Franciae. Henricus I. Estienne, Paris 1509.
+	+	+	Chartres	Missale iuxta morem Carnotensis ecclesiae expletum. Ioannes de Gorliczs Highman, Paris 1490.
+	+	+	Chur	Ordo missalis secundum chorum Curiensem per circulum anni. Erhardus Ratdolt, Augsburg 1497.
		+	OCist	Missale secundum consuetudinem Fratrum Ordinis Cisterciensis. Ioannes Grüninger, Straßburg 1486 – 1487.
		+	OCist	Manuscript. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 232, 1100 – 1200.
		+	Clermont-Ferrand	Ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae Claromontensis ac Sancti Flori. Ioannes-Antonius Beretta, Venezia 1492.
		+	Cluny	Missale Ordinis Cluniacensis ex antiquioribus et authenticis exemplaribus sacri monasterii Cluniacensis. Michael Wensler, Basel 1493.
+	+	+	Córdoba	Missale Cordubensis ecclesiae. Simon Carpintero – Alexis Cardaña, Cordoba 1561.
			Coutances	Ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae Constanciensis. Robertus Valentin, Rouen 1557.
+			Cuenca	Missale mixtum secundum consuetudinem almae ecclesiae Conchensis. Ioannes de Cánova, Cuenca 1559.
	+	+	Die	Ad usum insignis ecclesiae Dyensis missale. Ioannes I. Du Pré, Paris 1499.
	+	+	Dol-de-	Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesiae Dolensis. Ioannes I. Du Pré,

Good Friday	preparation and vesting for Mass	Temporal Masses	Use	Book
			Bretagne	Paris 1502.
		+	Embrun	Missale ad usum Ebredunensis dioecesis. Ioannes de Moylin, Lyon 1512.
+		+	OP 1500	Missale secundum Ordinem Sancti Dominici. Ioannes de Spira Emerich, Venezia 1500.
	+		OP 1484	Missale secundum Ordinem Fratrum Praedicatorum. Nicolaus de Frankfordia, Venezia 1484.
		+	Dubrovnik	Manuscript. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Liturg. 342. 1100 – 1200. Edition: Gyug, Richard Francis: Missale Ragusinum. The Missal of Dubrovnik (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 342). Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto 1990. (Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana 1, Studies and Texts 103)
		+	Eichstätt	[Missale Eystetense]. Michael Reyser, Eichstätt 1486.
	+	+	Esztergom 1484	Missale divinorum officiorum tam de tempore, quam etiam de sanctis, cum certis officiis annexis, utputa ... secundum chorum almae ecclesiae Strigoniensis. Antonius Koberger, Nürnberg 1484. (Edition: Déri Balázs (ed.): Missale Strigoniense 1484. Argumentum Kiadó, Budapest 2008. (Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica 1))
	+		Esztergom 1341 (before)	[Missale notatum Strigoniense.] Manuscript. Bratislava, Archiv Mesta EC Lad. 3 & EL 18. 1341 (before). Edition: Szendrei Janka – Richard Ribarič (ed.): Missale Notatum Strigoniense ante 1341 in Posonio. MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, Budapest 1982. (Musicalia Danubiana 1)
		+	Évora	Missale secundum consuetudinem Elborensis ecclesiae noviter impressum. Germanus Galhardus, Lisszabon 1509.
		+	Évreux	Sacri missalis officium ad usum Ebroicensis ecclesiae. Martinus Morin, Rouen 1497.
		+	Freising	Ordo missalis secundum breviarium chori ecclesiae Frisingensis. Erhardus Ratdolt, Augsburg 1502.
		+	Genève	Missale secundum usum Gebennensem noviter revisum et emendatum tam correctione, quam devotarum missarum et cantus munitione. Genf 1508.
		+	Gniezno	[Missale Gnesnense]. Mainz 1492.
+			Granada	Missale Romanum accuratissime emendatum iuxta consuetudinem sanctae ecclesiae Granatensis. Xantus Nebrija – Sebastianus Nebrija, Granada 1541.
+	+		Grenoble	Missale secundum usum Gratiannopolitanum maximo tum labore tum studio emendatum ... s. n., Grenoble 1532.
	+	+	Halberstadt	Missale celeberrimi Halberstattensis episcopatus. Petrus III. Drach der Jüngere, Speyer 1511.
+			Hamburg	Ordo missalis secundum ritum laudabilis ecclesiae Hamburgensis. Hermannus Emden – Ioannes Prütz, Straßburg 1509.

Good Friday	preparation and vesting for Mass	Temporal Masses	Use	Book
+			Havelberg	[Missale Havelbergense]. Leipzig 1489.
		+	Hereford	Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis. Petrus Olivierius – Ioannes Mauditier, Rouen 1502. (edition: Henderson)
+			Hildesheim	Missale Hildensemense. Nürnberg 1499.
	+	+	Kamień	Ordo missalis secundum ordinarium ecclesiae Caminensis. Georgius Stuchs, Schneeberg 1506.
+			OCarm 1490	Missale secundum ordinem Fratrum Carmelitarum. Boninus de Boninis, Brescia 1490.
	+		OCarm 1621	Missale fratrum Carmelitarum Ordinis Beatae Dei Genitricis Mariae. Iuntae, Venezia 1621.
		+	OCart	Missale secundum ordinem Carthusiensium noviter impressum cum novo et perutili repertorio. Lucantonius de Giunta, Venezia 1509.
+		+	Konstanz	Ordo missalis secundum chorum Constantiensem per circulum anni. Erhardus Ratdolt, Augsburg 1505.
		+	København 1484 (about)	[Missale Hafniense]. Petrus I der Ältere Schöffner, Mainz 1484 (about).
	+	+	København 1510	[Missale Hafniense]. København 1510.
+		+	Köln	[Missale Coloniense.] Michael Wenssler, Basel 1487.
		+	Kraków	Missale secundum rubricam Cracoviensem. Georgius Stuchs, Nürnberg after 1493.
		+	Langres	Missale secundum verum usum insignis ecclesiae Lingonensis nunc demum cum variis novellarum festivitatum et prosarum additionibus numquam antehac impressioni mandatis. Ioannes Lecoq, Troyes 1520.
	+	+	Lausanne	Missale ad usum Lausannensem. Ioannes Belot, Lausanne 1493.
		+	Lebus	[Missale Lubucense]. Conradus Kachelofen, Leipzig – Bartholomaeus Ghotan, Lübeck 1484 – 1491 (about).
+		+	Liège 1495	Missale secundum ordinarium Leodiensem. Christianus Snellaert, Delft 1495.
	+	+	Liège 1499	Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesiae Leodiensis. Ioannes de Gorlicz Hgman, Paris 1499.
		+	Jaén	Missale secundum morem et consuetudinem sanctae ecclesiae Giennensis. Meynardus Alemanus Ungut – Stanislaus Polonus, Sevilla 1499.
		+	La Seu D'Urgell	Feriale missarum secundum ordinem Urgellensis ecclesiae. Bernardinus I. Stagnino, Venezia 1509.
	+	+	Laon	Missale ad usum Laudunensis ecclesiae. Ioannes I. Du Pré, Paris 1491.
		+	Le Puy-en-Velay	Missale ad usum Aniciens ecclesiae. Theobaldus Payen, Lyon 1543.

Good Friday	preparation and vesting for Mass	Temporal Masses	Use	Book
+	+		Limoges	Missale secundum usum ecclesiae cathedralis beati protomartyris et archilevitae Stephani a dioecesis Lemovicensis fideli studio revisum et peroptime ordinatum et completum ... Leonardus de La Nouaille – Guillelmus de La Nouaille, Limoges 1537.
		+	Linköping	Manuscript. Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 97. 1400 – 1500.
		+	Lisieux	Ordinatio missalis secundum usum ecclesiae Lexoviensis. Petrus I. Regnault, Caen 1504.
		+	Lleida	Missale secundum ritum et consuetudinem almae ecclesiae Illerdensis. Georgius Cocus, Zaragoza 1524.
	+	+	Lund	Missale Lundense. Wolfgang Hopyl, Paris 1514.
		+	Lübeck	[Missale Lubicense]. Matthaeus Brandis, Lübeck 1486.
		+	Lyon 1487	Missale impressum secundum usum archiepiscopatus Lugdunensis. Ioannes Alemannus de Moguntia, Lyon 1487.
	+	+	Lyon 1510	Missale ad usum Lugdunensis ecclesiae. Claudius de Troyes Davost, Lyon 1510.
		+	Mâcon	Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesiae Matisconensis noviter emendatum ac summa diligentia castigatum pluribus novis officiis hactenus non visis decoratum. Dionysius de Harsy, Lyon 1532.
+		+	Magdeburg 1503	[Missale Magdeburgense]. Georgius Stuchs, Nürnberg 1503.
	+		Magdeburg 1514	Canonicarum horarum liber secundum ordinem rubricae sanctae ecclesiae Magdeburgensis. Georgius de Sulzbach Stuchs, Nürnberg 1514.
		+	Mainz	[Missale Moguntinum]. Würzburg 1482.
		+	Palma de Mallorca	Missale secundum usum almae Maioricensis ecclesiae. Lucas Antonius de Giunta, Venezia 1506. (edition: Seguí i Trobat)
+	+		Marseille	Missale secundum usum ecclesiae cathedralis Massiliensis numquam antea impressum. Dionysius de Harsy, Lyon 1530.
		+	Meaux	Ad laudem Dei omnipotentis eiusque intemeratae Genitricis et Virginis necnon beati protomartyris Stephani in cuius honorem intitulata est Meldensis ecclesia actum exstat et completum arte impressoria. Ioannes I. Du Pré, Paris 1492.
	+		Meißen	Diurnale horarum secundum rubricam insignis ecclesiae Misnensis. Melchior Lotter senior, Leipzig 1511.
+	+		Mende	Missale ad honorem Virginis Mariae et beati Privati patroni nostri ecclesiae Mimatensis. Dionysius de Harsy, 1530.
		+	Merseburg	[Missale Merseburgense]. Melchior Lotter, Leipzig 1502.
		+	Messina	Ordo missalis bene reformatus et de novo correctus multis superadditis, et praesertim in sanctuario et communi, ac etiam bene rubricatus, secundum

Good Friday	preparation and vesting for Mass	Temporal Masses	Use	Book
				consuetudinem Gallicorum et Messinensis ecclesiae. Ioannes Emericus Alemanus, Venezia 1499. (facsimile: Sorci – Zito)
		+	Metz 1348	Manuscript. Metz, Médiathèque du Pontiffroy, Ms. 10. 1348.
+			Metz 1597	Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesiae Metensis. Abraham Faber, Metz 1597.
		+	Minden	Missale secundum verum ordinarium ecclesiae Mindensis. Georgius Stuchs, Nürnberg 1513.
	+	+	Münster	Missale ad usum dioecesis Monasteriensis noviter impressum ac emendatum. Franciscus Birchman – Goffredus Hat, Köln 1520.
		+	Nantes	Missale secundum usum dioecesis Nannetensis ecclesiae. Andreas I. de Asula Torresanus – Bartholomaeus de Blavis – Mapheus de Salodio Paterbonis, Venezia 1482
		+	Narbonne	[Missale Hafniense]. Petrus I der Ältere Schöffner, Mainz 1484 (about).
		+	Naumburg (Saale)	[Missale Numburgense]. Nürnberg 1501.
+		+	OT (Ordo Teutonicorum)	Missale secundum notulam Dominorum Teutonicorum. Georgius Stuchs, Nürnberg 1499 (about).
+			Nevers	Missale ad usum ecclesiae Nivernensis. Ioannes de Prato, Paris 1490.
+	+		Noyon	Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Noviomensis noviter impressum ac emendatum per deputatos a reverendo in Christo patre et domino domino Ioanne ab Hangesto Noviomensi episcopo et comite Franciae ... Petrus Attaignant – Hubertus Jullet, Paris 1541.
		+	Norwich	Manuscript. London, British Library, Add. Ms. 25588. 1400 (about).
		+	Olomouc 1400–1500	Manuscript. Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, M III 8. 1400 – 1500.
+			Olomouc 1488	Liber missalis secundum ordinem ecclesiae Olomucensis. Ioannes Sensenschmidt, Bamberg 1488.
	+		Olomouc 1499	[Breviarium Olomucense.] Ioannes Grüninger, Strassburg 1499.
		+	Ourense	Liber, missale tam dominicarum, quam sanctorum totius anni secundum usum Auriensis ecclesiae. Bundisalvus Rodericus de la Passera – Ioannes de Porres, Monreale 1494.
+		+	Orléans	Missale ad usum ecclesiae Aurelianensis. Ioannes Guiard – Ludovicus Boulengier, Paris 1522.
+			Paderborn	Manuscript. Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek, Pad. 156. 1400 – 1425.
		+	Palencia	Missale Pallantinum. Sebastianus Martínez, Palencia 1567.
+			Palermo	Manuscript. Palermo, Biblioteca centrale della Regione siciliana Alberto Bombace, XIV.F.16. 1100–1150.

Good Friday	preparation and vesting for Mass	Temporal Masses	Use	Book
	+	+	OSPPE	Missale fratrum eremitarum ordinis divi Pauli, primi eremitae, sub regula beati Augustini doctoris eximii summo Deo militantium. Petrus Liechtenstein — Stephanus Heckel, Venezia 1514.
	+	+	Pamplona	Missale mixtum per totum anni circulum secundum usum ecclesiae et dioecesis Pampilonensis. Ernestus Guillelmus de Brocar, Pamplona 1501 (about).
		+	Paris	Missale secundum usum ecclesiae Parisiensis. Ioannes de Prato, Paris 1481.
		+	Passau	Liber missalis secundum chorum Pataviensem. Passau 1491.
		+	Pécs	[Missale Quinqueecclesiense]. Michael Wenssler, Basel 1487.
		+	Plasencia	Missale secundum consuetudinem almae ecclesiae Placentinae elimatius quam antea ac iam nulla ex parte confusum. Andreas Spinelli – Iacobus Spinelli, Venezia 1554.
		+	Plock	Missale dioecesis Plocensis. Ioannes Haller, Kraków 1520
		+	Poitiers	Missale insignis ecclesiae Pictavensis. Ioannes Higman, Paris 1498.
	+	+	Poznań	Missale ecclesiae Posnaniensis. Ioannes Haller, Kraków 1524.
	+	+	Praha 1498	Missale emendatum iuxta rubricam Pragensis ecclesiae. Conradus Kachelofen, Leipzig 1498.
	+		Praha 1502	Breviarius horarum canonicarum secundum veram rubricam ecclesiae archiepiscopatus Pragensis. Georgius de Sulzbach Stuchs, Nürnberg 1502.
		+	OPraem 1510	Ordo missalis secundum ritum Ordinis Praemonstratensis. Straßburg 1510 (about).
	+		OPraem 1578	Missale secundum ritum et ordinem Sacri Ordinis Praemonstratensis. Iacobus Kerver, Paris 1578.
	+	+	Ratzeburg	Missale integrum tam de tempore, quam de sanctis secundum rubricam ecclesiae Raceburgensis cum omnibus suis requisitis. Antonius Koberger, Nürnberg 1492 – 1493.
	+	+	Regensburg	Liber missalis secundum breviarium chori ecclesiae Ratisponensis. Regensburg 1485.
		+	Reims	Missale ad consuetudinem insignis ecclesiae Remensis nuper cum dictae ecclesiae institutis consuetudinibusque elimatissime impressum. Wolfgangus Hopyl, Paris 1505.
		+	Rennes	[Missale Redonense.] Ioannes Bouyer – Petrus Bellescullée, Poitiers 1485 (about).
		+	Rīga	Manuscript. Rīga, Latvijas Universitātes Akadēmiskajā bibliotēkā, Ms. 1 (R 2665). 1450 (about).
		+	Roma 1481	Ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae. Franz Renner, Venezia 1481.

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	+		Roma 1515	Missale Romanum. Bernardinus I. Stagnino, Venezia 1515.
+			Rouen	Ordo missarum per totum annum secundum usum Rothomagensis. Martinus Morin, Rouen 1495.
		+	Saint-Malo	Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Macloviensis. Ioannes Mauditier – Petrus Olivier, Rouen 1503.
+			Saintes	Akad. Riga, Ms. 1 (R 2665). 1450 (about).
+	+		Salamanca	Missale ad usum almae ecclesiae Salmanticensis. Ioannes Iunte, Salamanca 1533.
		+	Salzburg	Missale integrum tam de tempore, quam de sanctis secundum rubricam ecclesiae Salzburgerensis. Georgius Stuchs, Nürnberg 1498.
		+	Salisbury	Missale ad usum Sarum. Ioannes Kerbriant – Ioannes Adam, Paris 1516.
	+		Salisbury	Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum. Ioannes Petit – Ioannes Bienayse – Ioannes Adam, Paris 1521.
		+	Schleswig	Missale secundum ordinarium et ritum ecclesiae Slesvicensis. Stephan Arndes, Schleswig 1486.
		+	Schwerin	[Missale Sverinense]. Fratres Domus Horti Viridis ad sanctum Michaellem, Rostock 1480 (about).
+			Sées	Ordo missarum per anni circulum tam de tempore, quam de sanctis secundum usum ecclesiae Sagiensis. Petrus Regnault, Rouen 1500.
		+	Segovia	Missale secundum consuetudinem Segobiensis ecclesiae. Guido de Lauczariis et socii, Venezia 1500.
		+	Senlis	Missale ad usum et consuetudinem insignis ecclesiae Silvanectensis nuspiam antea impressum. Desiderius Maheu, Paris 1524.
		+	Sens	Manuscript. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 00864. 1400 – 1500.
		+	Sevilla	Missale divinatorum secundum consuetudinem almae ecclesiae Hispalensis. Ioannes Gotherius, Sevilla 1565.
		+	Sigüenza	Missale ad usum ecclesiae Seguntinae. s.n., Sigüenza 1552.
	+	+	Sion	Manuscript. Sion, Archives du Chapitre, Ms. 19
+	+		Soissons	Missale secundum usum ecclesiae Suessionensis. s.n., Paris 1509.
	+	+	Speyer	Liber missalis secundum ordinem ecclesiae Spirensis. Petrus Drach, Speyer 1501.
	+		St. Andrews	Manuscript. Toronto, University of Toronto Library, BX2015 .A4 F6. (Edition: Forbes, Alexander Penrose: Liber Ecclesiae Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott. Missale secundum usum ecclesiae Sancti Andreae in Scotia. E. Prelo de Pitsligo, Burntisland 1864.)
		+	Strängnäs	[Missale Strengnense]. Bartholomaeus Ghotan (Lübeck), Stockholm 1487.

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	+	+	Strasbourg	Ordo missalis per circulum anni. Basel about 1486–1490.
		+	Tallinn	Manuscript. Tallinn, Tallinna Magistraat, TLA.230.1.BO_27/I. 1100–1200.
		+	Tarazona	Missale mixtum per totum anni circulum secundum usum ecclesiae et dioecesis Tirasonensis. Arnaldus Guillermus, Pamplona 1500.
		+	Tarentaise	Missale ad usum ecclesiae metropolitanae sancti Petri Tharenthasiensis de novo impressum cum multa diligentia correctum emendatum et revisum per R. in Christo patrem et dominum dominum Ioannem Philipp. 1530.
		+	Thérouanne	Missale ad usum Morinensis ecclesiae. Ioannes de Prato, Paris 1491.
		+	Toledo	Missale mixtum secundum ordinem almae primatis ecclesiae Toletanae ... Bartholomaeus Fraenus, Lyon 1551.
		+	Tortosa	Missale secundum ritum ecclesiae Dertusiensis. Ioannes Rosembach, Barcelona 1524.
+	+		Toul	Missale secundum usum Tullensem. Petrus Le Rouge, Paris 1492 – 1493.
		+	Toulouse	Liber missalis secundum usum ecclesiae metropolitanae Sancti Stephani Tolosae. Stephanus Kleblat, Toulouse 1490.
	+	+	Tournai	Missale insignis ecclesiae Tornacensis. Ioannes Higmanus, Paris 1498.
+			Tours	Missale secundum usum Turonensem. Martinus Morin, Rouen 1493.
	+	+	Trier	Missale Trevirense. Eucharius Cervicornus, Koblenz 1547.
	+		Trondheim	Missale pro usu totius regni Norvegiae secundum ritum sanctae metropolitanae Nidrosiensis ecclesiae. Paulus Raeff, København 1519.
		+	Troyes	[Missale secundum usum ecclesiae Sancti Andreae.] Univ. Toronto, BX2015 .A4 F6. (Edition: Forbes, Alexander Penrose: Liber Ecclesiae Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott. Missale secundum usum ecclesiae Sancti Andreae in Scotia. E Prelo de Pitsligo, Burntisland 1864.)
		+	ODU	Ordo missalis secundum ritum Dominorum Ultramontanorum cum quibusdam officiis novis. Petrus Maufer, Verona 1480.
		+	Utrecht 1495	Missale secundum ordinarium Traiectensem. Christianus Snellaert, Delft 1495.
	+		Utrecht 1497	Breviarium Traiectensis dioceseos. Collaciebroeders, Gouda 1497.
	+		Utrecht 1514	[Missale Traiectense.] Ioannes Seversz, Leiden 1514
		+	Uzès	Missale secundum ritum laudabilemque usum sanctae Ucciensis ecclesiae. Ioannes Neumeister – Michael Topié, Lyon 1495.
		+	València	Missale secundum ritum insignis ecclesiae Valentinae. Ioannes Hamman, Venezia 1492.

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+	+		Valence	Missale ad usum ecclesiae Valentinensis optime ordinatum completum ac diligenti cura emendatum cum additione plurium missarum scilicet Visitationis beatae Mariae Transfigurationis Domini nostri ... Ioannes Belon, Valence 1504.
		+	Valladolid	Missale secundum consuetudinem monachorum congregationis Sancti Benedicti de Valladolid. Ioannes Luschner, Montserrat 1499.
+	+		Vannes	Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Venetensis. Thielmanus I. Kerver, Paris 1574.
		+	Verdun	Missale ad usum Virdunensis ecclesiae. Ioannes de Prato, Paris 1481.
	+	+	Vic	Missalia secundum morem et consuetudinem Vicensis diocesis. Ioannes Rosembach – Ioannes Luschner, Barcelona 1496.
	+	+	Viborg	Liber missalis. Stephanus Arndes, Lübeck 1500.
		+	Vienne	Missale ad usum sanctae Viennensis ecclesiae. Bernardus Lescuyer, Lyon 1519.
		+	Viviers	Missale Vivariensis ecclesiae. Laurentius Hylaire, Lyon 1527.
		+	Lidzbark Warmiński	Missale secundum diocesim Warmiensem. Fridericus Dumbach (Ruch de), Straßburg 1497.
		+	Worms	Liber missalis secundum ordinem ecclesiae Wormatiensis. Michael Wenssler, Basel 1490.
+			Würzburg 1493	[Missale Herbipolense.] Georgius Reyser, Würzburg 1493.
		+	Würzburg 1495 (after)	[Missale speciale Herbipolense.] Georgius Reyser, Würzburg 1495 (after).
	+		Würzburg 1509	Breviarii Herbipolensis pars hiemalis. Iacobus de Pforzheim, Basel – Ioannes von Öhringen Rynmann, Augsburg 1509.
		+	York	Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis. Petrus Violette, Rouen 1509 (edition: Henderson)
		+	Zagreb	Missale secundum chorum et rubricam almi episcopatus Zagradiensis ecclesiae, roboratum et approbatum in sacra synodo et generali capitulo sub reverendissimo domino domino Luca episcopo ... Petrus Liechtenstein, Venezia 1511.
	+	+	Zaragoza	Ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem ecclesiae Caesaraugustanae. Paulus Hurus, Zaragoza 1498.
+			OHum	Manuscript. Venegono Inferiore, Biblioteca del Seminario arcivescovile di Milano, FV. B. VII. 45. 1400–1500