

THE FEAST OF THE LIBERATION OF JERUSALEM
IN LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL 8927
RECONSIDERED*

M. C. Gaposchkin

IN 1990 the doyen of the study of crusade liturgy, Amnon Linder, published an important article in *Mediaeval Studies* drawing attention to the liturgy *in festiuitate sancte Hierusalem*—both office and mass—that appeared on the final folios of London, British Library Additional (BL Add.) 8927.¹ The liturgy commemorated 15 July, the day on which the Franks succeeded in capturing the Holy City in 1099, and it appeared as a coda in an early thirteenth-century Western, probably French, manuscript that contained the

* I am indebted to Sebastián Salvadó for help with various issues, for reading an earlier version of this paper, for consulting Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 477 for me, and finally for sending me digital copies of Angelica 477, Vat. Barb. lat. 659, and the Barletta ordinal. I thank Iris Shagrir, Stan Metheny, and John Wickstrom for help on a variety of liturgical issues, and for reading the work in draft. Cara Aspesi and I were each at work on similar material before we learned of each other's work. I am grateful to her for sharing with me important discoveries from her doctoral work on the Lucca manuscript and await her broader findings eagerly. William Summers has also been helpful in clarifying issues of liturgy and music. Amnon Linder has been a wonderfully generous interlocutor on many issues here, and I thank him for reading and commenting on an earlier draft. All mistakes are of course my own.

Abbreviations are as follows:

CantusID = Cantus Database (<http://cantusdatabase.org/>). The numbers expand upon those in CAO and are also applicable in CantusIndex.

CantusIndex = <http://cantusindex.org/>. The index includes a broader range of liturgical texts than CAO and Cantus Database, including items from the Mass.

CAO = *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert and Renatus Prévost, 6 vols., *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes 7–12* (Rome, 1963–79).

CO = *Corpus Orationum*, ed. Edmond Eugène Moeller, Jean-Marie Clément, and Bertrand Coppieters 't Wallant, 14 vols., *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 160* (Turnhout, 1992–2004).

(For other sigla, see the texts below.)

The texts of the chants have been punctuated and capitalized in accordance with CAO, although *ae*, *oe*, and *ę* found variously in different manuscript and printed sources have been rendered as *e*, and *j* has been rendered as *i*.

¹ Amnon Linder, "The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem," *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990): 110–31. I follow Linder's edition throughout, except where noted and with respect to *ae*, as above.

crusade narratives of Fulcher of Chartres, Walter the Chancellor, and Raymond of Aguilers.² Despite its appearance in a Western, non-liturgical, thirteenth-century source, Linder argued that the liturgy represented the rite as celebrated at the Holy Sepulcher between ca. 1106 and 1149, the year in which the Holy Sepulcher was rededicated and the liturgy for 15 July was reformed. Linder edited the liturgy, identifying the various chant and prayer items and the liturgical sources from which they derived, and made the liturgy available to scholars interpreting the devotional and ritual life at the Holy Sepulcher in the first half century of the life of the Latin Kingdom.³ He also argued for the thematic importance of the chant chosen for the office, saying that it was, “first and foremost, an impressive service of victory.”⁴

The context and transmission of the liturgy in a manuscript containing primarily narrative accounts of the First Crusade—clearly celebrating and memorializing the events of the First Crusade and not itself a liturgical volume in any strict sense of the term—does put in question certainty of its origins in the early Latin Kingdom, particularly as the texts for the mass in BL Add. 8927 do not match those found in two sacramentaries made for the 15 July feast representing the use of the Holy Sepulcher as of about 1130.⁵ Recent scholarly discoveries, editing, and cataloguing of Holy Land liturgy allow us now to refine our understanding of the history of the rite in its first century.⁶ This study thus aims to assess the mass and office in BL Add. 8927 against other

² On the collection of these three chronicles together, see Jay Rubenstein, “What Is the *Gesta Francorum*, and Who Was Peter Tudebode?” *Revue Mabillon*, n.s., 16 (2005): 179–204.

³ See, for instance, Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot, 2005), 29–31; Jaroslav Folda, “Commemorating the Fall of Jerusalem: Remembering the First Crusade in Text, Liturgy, and Image,” in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, ed. Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore, 2012), 125–30; and Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape, and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule* (New York, 2001), 30–31.

⁴ Linder, “Liturgy of the Liberation,” 128.

⁵ These sacramentaries, Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 477 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 12056, are discussed below.

⁶ Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*, Bibliotheca Victorina 16 (Turnhout, 2004); Sebastián Salvadó, “The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre and the Templar Rite: Edition and Analysis of the Jerusalem Ordinal (Rome, Bib. Vat., Barb. lat. 659) with a comparative study of the Acre Breviary (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. Latin 10478)” (Stanford University, 2011). See also Cara Aspesi, “Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile Ms 5: A Window onto Liturgy and Life in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century” (Ph.D. thesis in progress, University of Notre Dame, and her “The Contribution of the Cantors of the Holy Sepulchre to Crusade History and Frankish Identity,” in *Music, Liturgy, and the Shaping of History (800–1500)*, ed. Margot Fassler and Katie Bugyis (York, forthcoming 2016).

information we have for the Holy Sepulcher liturgy in the twelfth century. Through an analysis of content of the different traditions I hope to expand Linder's observations about the thematic choices made in constructing the 15 July office. The article begins by establishing that the mass in BL Add. 8927 (based on the mass for the Dedication of the Church) does not reflect the mass listed in other manuscripts associated with the rite of the Holy Sepulcher in the first half of the twelfth century. The mass in BL Add. 8927 suggests either temporal development or institutional variety in the liturgy, representing either an early use that was quickly supplanted or a tradition belonging to one of the many other Latin churches in Crusader Jerusalem. The article then turns to the office in BL Add. 8927 and compares it with the office for the "Liberation of Jerusalem" found in three other sources, distinguishing the thematic priorities of each version. This analysis exposes two different "strategies," one that—in the wake of the successful finish of the First Crusade—emphasized the holy city Jerusalem, and a later version that emphasized the majesty of God and his house on earth. Comparison of the chant in the two extant offices reveals which items probably derived from the earliest version of the office and suggests, I argue, a dedicated compositional strategy. Underlying the initial conceptualization of the feast as represented in BL Add. 8927 is the scriptural book of Isaiah, inscribed into liturgy throughout and borrowed specifically for the liturgy of 15 July, prophesying a return to Jerusalem, and underscoring the victory of the First Crusade as the fulfillment of God's promise to the people of Israel (crusaders) in anticipation of the Second Coming.

MANUSCRIPTS

In what follows, seven manuscripts are at issue:⁷

⁷ Specific information not otherwise cited is taken from Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular*. See also Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, with liturgical and palaeographical chapters by Francis Wormald (Oxford, 1957). For a contextualization of manuscript production in the Latin East, see Laura Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," in *Medioevo romanzo e orientale: il viaggio dei testi: III colloquio internazionale, Venezia, 10–13 ottobre 1996*, ed. Antonio Pioletti et al. (Catanzaro, 1999), 79–96. Several later witnesses to the Liberation feast are extant, but these manuscripts, copied outside of the Holy Land and after the collapse of the Latin Kingdom, are derived from the version of the liturgy described below as M²O² and not otherwise used in this study: Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA. 8^o 44, fol. 19r, *In liberatione sancte civitatis Ierusalem de manibus Turcarum duplex festum* (as an example in a tract on music); Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Q I.175, fol. 115r–v (a fourteenth-century sacramentary of

BL Add. 8927, not a liturgical volume, but rather a collection of chronicles in which the liturgy was copied at the end, on fols. 134r–135r, probably as a devotional record.⁸ The rubric refers to the liturgy simply as the “Jerusalem feast” (*In festiuitate sancte Hierusalem*) without specifying *liberatio*.

Angelica 477: Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 477, a sacramentary from the Holy Sepulcher written in the second quarter of the twelfth century.⁹

BnF lat. 12056: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 12056, a sacramentary from the Holy Sepulcher written in the second quarter of the twelfth century, but later than Angelica 477, whose corrections and additions it incorporates.¹⁰

Barb. lat. 659: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 659, an ordinal written in the third quarter of the twelfth century (1173–89), made for the Templars of Jerusalem and representing the liturgy of 1149–53.¹¹

Barletta: Barletta, Archivio della Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro, ms. s.n., an ordinal representing the use of the Holy Sepulcher, held in Barletta “from an early date.”¹² There is some disagreement over its origin, but its date of production appears to be 1202–8.

Lucca 5: Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile 5, a breviary from Outremer written in the twelfth century or ca. 1200.¹³

the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher of Neisse, in Silesia, in Modern Poland), *In liberacione civitatis sancte Iherusalem*; and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1928, fols. 78v–79v, a fourteenth-century Hospitaller breviary, *In liberatione sancte civitatis Iherusalem*.

⁸ The liturgy at the end of this manuscript is edited by Linder, “Liturgy of the Liberation,” 113–21.

⁹ HS¹ in Dondi’s catalogue of Holy Sepulcher manuscripts (*Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, 61–62 and 153–54).

¹⁰ HS³ in Dondi’s catalogue (*ibid.*, 62–63 and 155–62); available online through Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>. I thank Sebastián Salvado for his observation on the relative production of Angelica 477 and BnF lat. 12056. Dondi’s dating of these two manuscripts to 1128–30 may be more precise than the evidence warrants. We are on safe ground simply to assume that they date to sometime before 1149.

¹¹ HS⁵ in Dondi’s catalogue (*Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, 64–66 and 166–75); edited in Salvadó, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre.” 1149–53 is Salvadó’s dating. Dondi dates it to 1153–57.

¹² Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, 201. HS⁹ in Dondi’s catalogue (*ibid.*, 77–79 and 195–201); edited in Charles Kohler, “Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem (XII^e–XIII^e siècle),” *Revue de l’Orient Latin* 8 (1900–1901): 383–500. Kohler’s folios numbers do not correspond with the neat set of Arabic numerals found in the bottom margin of the manuscript; I follow the numbers in the manuscript.

¹³ HS⁷ in Dondi’s catalogue (*Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, 73–74 and 181–85). Dondi dates it ca. 1200. See also Aspesi, “Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile Ms 5.”

BL Egerton 2902: London, British Library Egerton 2902, a sacramentary following the use of the Holy Sepulcher, made in Acre in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.¹⁴

The liturgy in each source is made up of dozens of separate items, but on the whole we are dealing here with the following:

- O¹ = The office *in festivitate sancte Hierusalem* represented in BL Add. 8927, fol. 134r–v.
- M¹ = The mass *in festivitate sancte Hierusalem* represented in BL Add. 8927, fols. 134v–135r.
- O² = The office for the 15 July commemoration of the capture of Jerusalem represented in Barb. lat. 659 (*In liberatione sancte civitatis Iherusalem de manibus Turchorum*, fols. 101r–102r), Barletta (*In liberatione sancte civitatis Ierusalem*, fol. 109v–110v), and Lucca 5 (no rubric, fol. 57r, added to the manuscript in a later hand ca. 1200).
- M² = The mass for the commemoration of the capture of Jerusalem represented in Barb. lat. 659, fol. 132r–v, and Barletta, fol. 110v.¹⁵

Before the publication of the BL Add. 8927 liturgy in 1990, the rite of the Holy Sepulcher was known mostly through Charles Kohler's 1900–1901 publication of the (highly damaged) Barletta ordinal, and work that other scholars had done on the Carmelite rite, which was based upon the liturgy of the Holy Sepulcher.¹⁶ The Barletta manuscript in particular was a rich source, and Kohler's edition gave the chant incipits for the feast *in liberatione sancte civitatis Ierusalem* and other items of interest.¹⁷ The other critical source was

¹⁴ HS¹³ in Dondi's catalogue (*Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, 85–86 and 216–24).

¹⁵ The mass was copied into the bottom margin of Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile 5, fol. 57r, and is barely readable. Aspesi, who has examined the manuscript in person, says that the text that can be made out conforms to the text reported by John of Wurzburg and the other early sacramentaries (Personal communication, 18 September 2015).

¹⁶ See, for instance, Benedict Zimmerman, *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel* (Paris, 1910); Anne-Marie Legras and Jean-Loup LeMaître, "La pratique liturgique des Templiers et des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem," in *L'Écrit dans la société médiévale: divers aspects de sa pratique du XI^e siècle au XV^e siècle. Textes en hommage à Lucie Fossier*, ed. Caroline Bourlet and Annie Dufour (Paris, 1991), 77–137. For a summary of studies of the Jerusalem liturgy before 1099, see Charles Renoux, "Hierosolymitana. Aperçu bibliographique des publications depuis 1960," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 23 (1981): 1–30, 149–75.

¹⁷ Kohler, "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint Sépulcre," 427–30. See also 436 (fols. 200–201 in his edition) for another office "quando fuit capta christianis" that Kohler explained was actually the feast for the Dedication (436 n.1). According to the manuscript's foliation, the feast begins on 109v.

the Templar ordinal, Barb. lat. 659, since the Templars of Jerusalem followed the rite of the Holy Sepulcher.¹⁸ This evidence had been important to historians who have sought to unpack some of the ceremonial life of the Latin Kingdom, and until 1990 Kohler's publication was the best route to saying something about the Holy Sepulcher's liturgy during the crusading period from printed sources.¹⁹ Yet, both Barletta and Barb. lat. 659 were written after the Holy Sepulcher—having been rebuilt in the new “French” (i.e., early Gothic) style—was rededicated on 15 July 1149, exactly half a century after the capture of the city.²⁰ The liturgy was radically reorganized at that stage, under the auspices of the reigning Patriarch, Fulcher of Angoulême.²¹ Two offices were included in the Holy Sepulcher's ordinal for 15 July, an office for the Liberation of Jerusalem and one for the Anniversary of the Dedication of the Church. This resulted in two full offices for the same day, although both Barb. lat. 659 and Barletta make clear that the liturgy of the Liberation (as it was by then called) was to be subordinated to the Dedication celebration.²² In any event, what we knew from the printed evidence held true only for the period after 1149.

When in 1990, Linder identified the liturgy at the back of BL Add. 8927, he rightly made the connection to the liturgy in Barletta and Barb. lat. 659. Indeed, the office found in BL Add. 8927 is closely related to the one described in the post-1149 sources in any number of ways, including the shared incipit, “Ecce nomen Domini” (the first antiphon for First Vespers), the sequence “Manu plaudant,” and many other points of comparison (see Tables 1 and 2).²³ “Manu plaudant” was a particularly important connection, as the full text of this remarkable sequence, indicated by its incipit in Barletta and Barb. lat.

¹⁸ On this manuscript, Linder cited Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19–1314* (Göttingen, 1974), 12, 380. The manuscript has since been edited by Salvadó, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre.”

¹⁹ See, for instance, Joshua Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), 192–214; Albert Schönfelder, “Die Prozessionen der Lateiner in Jerusalem zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 32 (1911): 578–97; Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (New York, 1979), 98; Friedrich Heyer, *Zweitausend Jahre Kirchengeschichte des heiligen Landes* (Münster, 2000), 138–173; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1993–2009), 3:21–22, 402–3.

²⁰ On the rededication, see Amnon Linder, “‘Like Purest Gold Resplendent’ The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Liberation of Jerusalem,” *Crusades* 8 (2009): 31–50.

²¹ Sebastián Salvadó, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 14–37.

²² Linder, “‘Like Purest Gold Resplendent,’” 47–48.

²³ Linder categorized the similarities and differences, and Sebastian Salvadó has since formally compared the two. Salvadó, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 199–211.

659, is known only through BL Add. 8927.²⁴ Linder thus argued that what he had in BL Add. 8927 was the version of the office written prior to 1149, having been composed between 1106 or 1127 and 1149.²⁵ The *termini* of his dating was based on the lections indicated only by incipit in BL Add. 8927 (to which we will return), and the assumption that this office must pre-date the reformed liturgy of 1149. Linder thus posited that the liturgy in BL Add. 8927, despite the thirteenth-century, Western, non-liturgical source in which it was found, represented the liturgy of the Holy Sepulcher in the first half of the twelfth century, which was then rewritten; that is, O² constituted a revision of O¹—a subsequent version in a linear development.

Recent work has made it possible to place the evidence from BL Add. 8927 into a somewhat broader context. After the creation of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099, canons were installed in the Holy Sepulcher and began to celebrate a Latin rite.²⁶ These were reformed as Augustinian canons in 1114, a moment which probably entailed an element of liturgical innovation that we are now unable to assess directly. The liturgy that came to form the rite of the Holy Sepulcher was, however, based upon Western, and mostly northern French, liturgical sources, as Cristina Dondi has confirmed. We assume that in general the liturgy established at the Holy Sepulcher was then adopted throughout the patriarchate by other churches celebrating the Latin rite,²⁷ and Dondi catalogued the eighteen manuscripts copied in the Latin East as the liturgy of the canons regular of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem.²⁸ Yet there

²⁴ See n. 47 below for information on “Manu plaudant.” The incipit (only) for “Manu plaudant” is also indicated in the Wrocław manuscript.

²⁵ Linder, “Liturgy of the Liberation,” 123.

²⁶ Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980); Kaspar Elm, “L’Ordre des Chanoines réguliers du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem,” in *Umbilicus Mundi: Beiträge zur Geschichte Jerusalems, der Kreuzzüge, des Kapitels vom Hlg. Grab in Jerusalem und der Ritterorden* (Bruges, 1998), 421–32, and “*Fratres et Sorores Sanctissimi Sepulcri*. Beiträge zu *fraternitas, familia* und weiblichem Religiosentum im Umkreis des Kapitels vom Hlg. Grab,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 9 (1975): 287–333.

²⁷ During the period from 1099 to 1291, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem had over four-hundred churches celebrating a Latin rite; see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom* 1:1.

²⁸ Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, 32: “The present work focusses on liturgical manuscripts produced in Jerusalem, Acre, Caesarea, Tyre, Antioch, and Cyprus for the Cathedral church and the canons of the Holy Sepulcher, for members of the royal family of Jerusalem, and for those religious institutions which adopted the liturgical use of the cathedral church of Jerusalem.” The extraordinary utility and erudition of Dondi’s work may, however, mask one limitation—the limits to our general knowledge of the liturgy of the Latin East. Dondi confirmed the relationship of these manuscripts by using a series of comparative measures, but be-

was always variety. Sebastián Salvadó has established that the liturgy was utterly transformed in 1149, and Cara Aspesi has identified an exemplar of O² that, although copied at the end of the century, appears to represent a version of O² before it got entangled with the Dedication rite in that year and before the reforms outlined by Salvadó.²⁹ We await her study for a fuller understanding of the evidence in Lucca 5. But it is inevitable that there would have been some level of variety and change over time and space in that period, and we still know too little about the manuscripts themselves, which attest to liturgical difference and each of which needs to be studied on its own terms.

THE MASS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER FOR THE FEAST OF JERUSALEM

What is the relationship of the liturgy of the “feast of Jerusalem” in BL Add. 8927 to what is known from other extant sources as the feast of the Liberation? When Linder edited the liturgy of BL Add. 8927, he compared it to the office represented in the ordinals postdating the 1149 reconsecration of the Holy Sepulcher and the reform of the liturgy (O²). But we have two sacramentaries securely dated to a period before the 1149 reforms (ca. 1130) that attest to the 15 July mass, and the texts indicated are different from those in BL Add. 8927.

Angelica 477 and BnF lat. 12056 both give texts for the collect, secret, and postcommunion for the mass. Angelica 477, fol. 159r, lists the feast as *In festivitate civitatis sancte Hierusalem*,³⁰ and BnF lat. 12056 lists the mass on fol. 250r–v as *Missa de Ierusalem*, but the rites are essentially identical:

*Oratio*³¹: Omnipotens Deus, qui virtute tua mirabili Hierusalem³² civitatem tuam de manu paganorum eruisti et christianis reddidisti, adesto, quesumus, nobis propitius, et concede ut qui hanc sollempnitatem³³ annua recolimus devotione, ad superne Hierusalem gaudia pervenire mereamur. Per Dominum.³⁴

cause of the variety nature of the books (missals, sacramentaries, pontificals, etc.), there is not enough homogeneity among the sources to get a conclusive or comprehensive analysis.

²⁹ Aspesi, “Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile Ms 5,” and her “Contribution of the Cantors”; see below.

³⁰ In Angelica 477’s July calendar (fol. 4v), the feast is listed as *Festivitas Hierusalem quando capta fuit a christianis*.

³¹ BnF lat. 12056: *om. Oratio*.

³² BnF lat. 12056: *Ierusalem (passim)*.

³³ BnF lat. 12056: *sollennitatem*.

³⁴ Angelica 477: *om. Dominum*.

Secreta: Hanc, Domine, quesumus, hostiam quam tibi supplices offerimus dignanter suscipe, et eius misterio nos dignos effice, ut qui de Hierusalem civitate de manu paganorum eruta hunc diem agimus celebrem, celestis Hierusalem concives fieri tandem mereamur. Per.

Postcomm. Quod sumpsimus, Domine, sacrificium ad corporis et anime nobis proficiat³⁵ salutem, ut qui de civitatis tue Hierusalem libertate gaudemus, in celesti Hierusalem hereditari mereamur. Per.

These texts (which are not found in the *Corpus Orationum*) were apparently newly composed to celebrate the Jerusalem mass after 1099. All three make direct references to the liberation of the city of Jerusalem from the hands of the pagans and are specific to the post-crusade moment.

For the period after 1149, we have four sources (three liturgical manuscripts and a pilgrimage narrative) that furnish information. The first, BL Egerton 2902, is a sacramentary from Acre following the use of the Holy Sepulcher after the canons' exile in the wake of the loss of Jerusalem in 1187. The manuscript, according to Dondi, dates to about 1225–28 and it includes for 15 July the “Missa pro libertate Ierusalem de manu paganorum” (fol. 93r–v):

Missa pro libertate Ierusalem de manu paganorum.

Off. Letare Ierusalem.

Ep. Surge, illuminare.

Resp. Omnes de Saba.

Alleluia. v. Dies sanctificatus.

Evang. Cum appropinquasset Ihesus Ierusalem, uidens ciuitatem fleuit [Lc 19:41].

Require post Pent[ecosten] in dominica x.

Offert. Dexteram Domini.

Comm. Ierusalem surge ista.

Coll. Omnipotens sempiternae Deus, qui in virtute tua mirabili Ierusalem civitatem tuam de manu paganorum eruisti et christianis reddidisti, adesto, quesumus, nobis propicius, et concede ut qui hanc sollemnitatem annua devotione recolimus, ad superne Iherusalem gaudia peruenire mereamur. Per.

Sacra. Hanc, quesumus, Domine, hostiam quam tibi supplices offerimus dignanter suscipe, et eius misterio nos dignos perfice, et qui de Ierusalem civitate de manu paganorum eruta hunc diem agimus celebrem, celestis Ierusalem civium consortes fieri tandem mereamur. Per.

³⁵ BnF lat. 12056: proficiat ad (ad *crossed out*). Angelica 477: proficiant ad.

Postcomm. Quod sumpsimus, Domine, sacrificium ad corporis et anime nobis proficiat salutem, et qui de civitatis tue sancte Ierusalem libertate gaudemus, in celesti Ierusalem hereditari tandem mereamur. Per.

BL Egerton 2902 replicates the three central prayers as known from Angelica 477 and BnF lat. 12056, and it also gives us the introit, epistle, gradual, Alleluia verse, gospel, offertory, and communion. The gospel here (Luke 19:41) is an outlier, not found in the other witnesses.³⁶

The two ordinals, Barletta and Barb. lat. 659, give only the incipits for the mass. The morning mass was dedicated to Jerusalem (with the high mass dedicated to the Dedication).³⁷ Barb. lat. 659 (fol. 132r–v) gives the following:

In liberatione sancte civitatis Iherusalem de manibus Turchorum. Ipso die dedicatio ecclesie Dominici sepulcri.

Missa matutinalis.

Off. Letare Iherusalem.

Ps. Letatus sum. Kyrrī(e) Cunctipotens ge(nitor).

Or. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui dedisti.

Ep. Surge, illuminare.

Resp. Omnes de Sabba.

Alleluia v. Dies sanctificatus.

Seq. Clara chorus *vel* Manu plaudant.

Evang. Cum intrasset Ihesus Iherosolimam [Mt 21:10].

Credo.

Off. Dexterā Domini.

Comm. Iherusalem surge.

The mass provided in the Barletta ordinal is consistent with the one found in Barb. lat. 659.³⁸ The morning mass, although it does not give the secret or

³⁶ The passage beginning at Luke 19:41 also treats Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem and at the Temple, but has Jesus weeping over Jerusalem, and is more somber than the passage in Matthew 21. One might speculate that this reflects the changed circumstances of the status of Jerusalem after 1187 and the return of the canons to Jerusalem between 1229 and 1244.

³⁷ Salvadó, "Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre," 682.

³⁸ Kohler, "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint Sépulchre," 429. Barletta, fol. 110v: "Letare Iherusalem et Kyrie.

Cuncti potens.

Or. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui dedisti.

Epistola Ysaie prophete: Surge, illuminare.

Resp. Omnes de Saba.

Vers. Surge, et Alleluia. Dies sanctificatus.

Prosa: Clara chorus dulce, *vel prosa:* Manu plaudant omnes.

postcommunion, is in accordance with BL Egerton 2902 for all other items except for the collect incipit and the Gospel reading; and BL Egerton 2902 is in agreement with the pre-1149 evidence for the collect, secret, and postcommunion. The one overt discrepancy between the post-1149 M² (i.e., Barletta and Barb. lat. 659) and the pre-1149 sacramentaries Angelica 477 and BnF lat. 12056 is the collect. The collect in the pre-1149 sacramentaries is “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui uirtute tua mirabili,” also confirmed by BL Egerton 2902 and, as we will see, the information provided by John of Würzburg. M² gives us only the incipit, “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui dedisti,” which corresponds to CO 3920,³⁹ a prayer from a votive mass for the Trinity. It is unclear from Barb. lat. 659 and Barletta if the secret and the postcommunion were also changed, but as we shall see, a series of chant texts found in the O²-tradition derive from the Office of the Trinity, and incorporation of items from Trinity appear to be a distinguishing features of the use that resulted from revisions reflected in the O²-M² tradition.

We have evidence from one more source. John of Würzburg, a German pilgrim travelling to Jerusalem around 1170, wrote a letter to a friend back home that has survived under the title of *Descriptio Terre Sancte*.⁴⁰ In his description of the Holy Sepulcher, he made reference to the ceremonies of 15, 16, and 17 July.⁴¹ At the end he included the liturgy for the feast for the recuperation of the city of Jerusalem (not unlike the coda in BL Add. 8927).⁴² At the very end of his account, he explained that on the Ides of July (15 July) the feast of the Dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the “great

Evang. secundum Matheum: Cum intrasset Ihesus.

Credo.

Off. Dexterâ Domini fecit mirabilia.

Comm. Iherusalem surge et sta in.”

³⁹ CO 3920: “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui dedisti famulis tuis in confessione verae fidei aeternae trinitatis gloriam agnoscere et in potentia maiestatis adorare unitatem, quæsumus, ut eiusdem fidei firmitate ab omnibus semper muniamur adversis.” CO 3921, in honor of Sigismund, has the same incipit but makes no thematic sense and is only attested in manuscripts of a later date.

⁴⁰ It is also known as *Descriptio locorum terre sancte* or *Revelatio de partibus transmarinis*. For the Latin, see John of Würzburg, “Peregrinatio,” in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 139 (Turnhout, 1994), with discussion of titles at 79, *apparatus*. For a translation, see John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185* (London, 1988), 244–73, although it does not include the liturgical texts. On the dating of Würzburg’s text, see the discussion in Linder, “‘Like Purest Gold Resplendent,’” 40–44.

⁴¹ John of Würzburg, “Peregrinatio,” 123–24; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, 264–65.

⁴² John of Würzburg, “Peregrinatio,” 139 (Appendix liturgica).

feast of the captivity of Jerusalem by the Christians”⁴³ were celebrated, and then he copied out both the mass “Letare Iherusalem” (for the Liberation feast), and the mass for the Transfiguration of the Lord. The Jerusalem feast he transcribes is as follows:

De hoc ad missam

Introitus: Letare Iherusalem.

Kyrie eleyson: Cunctipotens genitor Deus.

Oratio: Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui virtute tua mirabili Iherusalem civitatem tuam de manu paganorum eruisti et Cristianis reddidisti, adesto nobis, quesumus, propicius, ut qui sanctam sollempnitatem annua recolimus devotione, ad superne Iherusalem gaudia pervenire mereamur. Per.

Epistola: Surge, illuminare.

Alleluia. Dies sanctificatus, *cum graduali:* Omnes de Saba.

Evangelium: Cum intraret Iesus Ierosolimam.

Credo in unum.

Offertorium: Dexteram Domini.

Secreta: Hanc, quesumus, Domine, hostiam, quam tibi supplices offerimus, dignanter suscipe et eius ministerio nos dignos effice, ut qui de Iherusalem civitate de manu paganorum eruta hanc diem agimus, celebrando celestis Iherusalem concives fieri tandem mereamur. Per.

Communio: Hierusalem, surge.

(Postcommunio): Quod sumpsimus, Domine, sacrificium ad corporis et anime nobis proficiat salutem, ut qui de civitatis tue Iherusalem libertate gaudemus, in celesti Iherusalem hereditari mereamur. Per.

John reproduced the core orations from the pre-1149 sources (that is, the collect indicated is the one that coincides with Angelica 477 and BnF lat. 12056, and would be confirmed by BL Egerton 2902). We do not know what sources John himself was using when he copied the mass into his account, so we should not be too quick to assume that he was representing the state of things the year he was there. Liturgical books were valuable and stayed around for a long time. It is possible that John was describing the state of the mass at the Holy Sepulcher before a change reflected in Barletta and Barb. lat. 659, or he may have been consulting the books of another church. (Notably, his transcription for the mass of the Transfiguration also does not match the liturgy as

⁴³ Ibid.: “festum maximum celebratur de captivitate Iherusalem facta a Christianis.”

represented in Barb. lat. 659.⁴⁴) But in the main, John's account confirms the basic shape of the mass celebrated on 15 July in commemoration of the Frankish victory.

THE MASS IN BL ADD. 8927 (M¹)

The mass in BL Add. 8927 offers entirely different texts for the collect, secret, postcommunion, a fourth prayer, the Alleluia verse, and the gospel. M¹, following the Linder edition, is as follows:⁴⁵

Introitus Letare Ierusalem.

Ps. Letatus sum.

Or. Deus qui nobis <per singulos> annos.⁴⁶ *Ut supra.*

Epist. Surge, illuminare. *Ut supra.*

Resp. Omnes de Saba venient. *v.* Surge.

Alleluia. *v.* Te decet hymnus *vel*, Qui confidunt.

*Prosa*⁴⁷

Manu plaudant omnes gentes
ad nova miracula;

Vicit lupos truculentos
agnus sine macula.

Paganorum nunc est facta
humilis superbia,

Quam reflexit virtus Dei
ad nostra servicia.

O nova milicia,
paucis multa milia
sunt devicta.

Venit hec victoria
a Christi potencia
benedicta.

Ecce signum est levatum
ab antiqua presignatum
profecia.

Quisque portat signum crucis
dum requirit summi ducis
loca pia.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 139–40. Cf. Salvadó, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 635, 684. The celebrant is directed to the liturgy for the feast of the Trinity, which is found at 614–15.

⁴⁵ Linder, “Liturgy of the Liberation,” 118–21. I have slightly altered Linder's punctuation and expansions so as to match editorial principles elsewhere in this article.

⁴⁶ The collect, used in the office and mass, is written out in full at Vespers on the previous folio (ibid., 115; and see below).

⁴⁷ The sequence was earlier published in Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, eds., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886–1922; rpt., New York, 1961), 40:71–72, no. 60. It is translated and discussed in Margot E. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven, 2010), 154–55.

Redde sancta civitas
 laudes Deo debitas.
 Ecce tui filii et filie
 de longinquo veniunt cotidie
 Ad te porta glorie
 pro culparum venia⁴⁹.

Crucifixum adoremus,
 per quem demonum videmus
 destructa imperia.

O imperator unice,
 quod incoasti perface,
 Ut sub tua custodia
 pax crescat et victoria.

Amen.

Evang. Cum appropinquaret Ihesus Ierusalem misit duos discipulos [Mt 21:1].

Off. Dexteram Domini fecit virtutem [Ps 117:16–17].

⟨*Secr.*⟩ Annue, quesumus, Domine, precibus nostris, ut quicumque fideles istam civitatem cuius anniversarium acceptionis diem celebramus ingrediuntur, plena tibi atque perfecta corporis et anime devocione placeant, ut dum hec presentia vota reddunt, ad eterna premia te adiuvante pervenire mereantur. Per.⁵⁰

Comm. Iersualem surge.

Or. [*Postcomm.*]: Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam sponsam vocare dignatus es, ut que haberet gratiam per fidei devocionem, haberet etiam ex nomine pietatem, da ut omnis hec plebs nomini tuo serviens huius vocabuli consortio digna esse mereatur, et que sancte civitatis tue Ierusalem acceptionis celebrat diem, tibi collecta, te timeat, te diligat, te sequatur, ut dum iugiter per vestigia tua graditur ad celestia promissa te ducente pervenire mereamur. Per.⁵¹

Alia. Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui angelum tuum de celo misisti ab hostio monumenti saxum magnum sublevare, ut sedens super illud testimonium dominice resurrectionis Ihesu Christi Domini nostri blando sermone mulieribus nunciaret, presta nobis quesumus, ut per venerabile atque gloriosum eius-

⁴⁸ MS: profecia

⁴⁹ MS: veniam

⁵⁰ Cf. CO 266c, quoted below.

⁵¹ Cf. CO 1576, quoted below.

dem redemptoris nostri sepulcrum, a viciorum sepulcris resuscitari mereamur, et felicitatis eterne gaudia consequamur; per eundem.⁵²

M¹ is certainly related to the Holy Sepulcher rite. The introit and psalm (“Letare, Ierusalem”), epistle (“Surge, illuminare”), gradual (“Omnes de Saba”), offertory (“Dextera Domini”), and—critically—the sequence (“Manu plaudant”) are all identical. The inclusion of the sequence “Manu plaudant” links the liturgy with the Jerusalem celebration, although its absence in the list of sequences that appear in Angelica 477, the Holy Sepulcher sacramentary from ca. 1130, could suggest that the text itself did not yet exist in those years.⁵³ But in Barletta and Barb. lat. 659 (that is, in M²), the ordinals suggest using either “Manu plaudant” or “Clara chorus.” “Clara chorus” was a sequence composed for the Dedication of the Church.⁵⁴ The post-1149 rite for 15 July included both a Liberation service and a Dedication service, prescribing the provision of both sequences.

Yet the orations in M¹ do not match the evidence from Angelica 477 and BnF lat. 12056. They are entirely different texts, adaptations of well-attested Western prayers for the Dedication of a Church (*ecclesia* or *basilica*) or its anniversary. This associates M¹ with the office (O¹) it accompanies since the office used the hymn and the invitatory from the liturgy for the *Dedicatio ecclesie*.⁵⁵ In the mass, in each case the prayer is adapted to replace the idea of the Church with the idea of the holy city of Jerusalem. Thus, the collect used for the mass, M¹, and office, O¹, is the following:

Deus, qui nobis per singulos annos **sancte civitatis tue Ierusalem acceptionis** reparas diem et sacris semper mysteriis representas incolumes, exaudi preces populi tui, et presta ut quisquis **eam civitatem** petiturus ingreditur, cuncta se impetrasse letetur. Per.⁵⁶

This prayer was an adaption of a prayer from the mass “in anniversario dedicationis basilice” in the West. The standard prayer reads

Deus, qui nobis per singulos annos **huius sancti templi tui consecrationis** reparas diem et sacris semper mysteriis representas incolumes, exaudi preces populi tui et presta ut quisquis **hoc templum, beneficia** petiturus, ingreditur, cuncta se impetrasse letetur.⁵⁷

⁵² CO 3891.

⁵³ Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular*, 151. BnF lat. 12056 does not include sequences.

⁵⁴ Dreves and Blume, *Analecta hymnica* 54:138–40, no. 94.

⁵⁵ O¹'s sixth Matins responsory also derives from the Dedication liturgy.

⁵⁶ Linder, “Liturgy of the Liberation,” 115 (O¹) and 119 (M¹, incipit with cross-reference); boldface is used to highlight differences between this collect and CO 1825, quoted below.

⁵⁷ CO 1825, with boldface added.

By 1130 or so, this text was incorporated in the sacramentaries of the Holy Sepulcher found in Angelica 477 and BnF lat. 12056 for the Dedication rite, reflecting the standard wording known from Western sources.⁵⁸ But in BL Add. 8927 the standard prayer, which focused on the consecration of the Holy Temple, was adapted to refer to “this holy city of Jerusalem.”

The same pattern can be seen in both the secret and the postcommunion prayer. The proper secret, “Annue quesumus Domine precibus,” was also derived from a prayer found in dozens of pre-1100 manuscripts in the West, for a “Missa in anniversario dedicationis basilice.” It reads

Annue, quesumus, Domine, precibus nostris, ut quicumque **intra templi huius**, cuius anniversarium **dedicationis** diem celebramus, **ambitum continemur**, plena tibi atque perfecta corporis et anime devotione placeamus, ut dum hec presentia vota reddimus, ad eterna premia, te adiuvante, (per)venire mereamur.⁵⁹

The secret too is found in the pre-1149 Holy Sepulcher sacramentaries for the mass for the Anniversary of the Dedication of the Church.⁶⁰ The prayer as we know it to have been adopted at the Holy Sepulcher speaks of those of us who are within the ambit of “this temple whose anniversary of dedication we celebrate on this day.” In M¹, instead of referring to those within the ambit of “this temple” (that is, the Holy Sepulcher), the prayer besought God to aid the faithful who should walk into this city (“ut quicumque **fideles istam civitatem** cuius anniversarium **aceptionis** diem celebramus **ingrediuntur**). Linder observed that this referred to pilgrims and the importance of pilgrimage to the city.⁶¹ The textual adaptations are instructive. First and foremost, they point to a choice to emphasize the city over the individual building of the Holy Sepulcher; and the text in BL Add. 8927 does not celebrate “dedication” (being specific to the Holy Sepulcher), but rather simply “anniversary,” in this case, not anniversary of the dedication, but rather the anniversary of the capture. This is appropriate if the liturgy was originally written with the entire

⁵⁸ Paris, BnF lat. 12056, fol. 248v (*Missa in anniversario ecclesie*): “Deus, qui nobis per singulos annos huius sancti templi tui consecrationis reparas diem, et sacris semper misteriis representas incolumes exaudi preces populi tui, et presta ut quisquis hoc templum beneficia petiturus ingreditur, cuncta se impetrasse letetur.” The text is repeated verbatim in Angelica 477, fol. 158r, where the feast’s rubric is *In anniversario dedicationis ecclesie*.

⁵⁹ CO 266c, with boldface added to highlight differences.

⁶⁰ Angelica 477, fol. 158v (*In anniversario dedicationis ecclesie*); BnF lat. 12056, fols. 248v–249r (*Missa in anniversario ecclesie*): “Annue, quesumus, Domine, precibus nostris, ut quicumque intra templi huius cuius anniversarium dedicationis diem celebramus ambitum continemur plena tibi atque perfecta corporis et anime devotione placeamus, ut dum hec presentia vota reddimus, ad eterna premia te adiuvante venire mereamur. Per.”

⁶¹ Linder “Liturgy of the Liberation,” 122 n.31.

city in mind. It also suggests a sense in which the entire city is understood as the house and abode of God.

The same changes are in evidence a third time in the postcommunion prayer, which was adopted from a Western common text, CO 1576 (*In anniversario dedicationis basilice*):

Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam sponsam vocare dignatus es, ut que haberet gratiam per fidei devotionem, haberet etiam ex nomine pietatem, da ut omnis hec plebs, nomini tuo serviens, huius vocabuli consortio digna esse mereatur et **ecclesia tua, in templo, cuius natalis est hodie**, tibi collecta, te timeat, te diligat, te sequatur, ut dum iugiter per vestigia tua graditur, ad celestia promissa, te ducente, pervenire mereatur.

A slightly changed version of the standard prayer was adopted in Angelica 477, fol. 158v for the Anniversary of the Dedication, in which the phrase “in templo, cuius natalis est hodie” was replaced with “in templo cuius anniversarius dedicationis dies celebratur.”⁶² That very prayer was then copied into BnF lat. 12056 on fol. 249r–v, but then crossed out with a marginal note in later hand to use another prayer, “Multiplica Domine,” which was copied in that same hand on fol. 328v.⁶³ In the mass preserved in BL Add. 8927 for the Jerusalem feast, M¹, the postcommunion changed that same phrase to “que sancte civitatis tue Ierusalem acceptionis celebrat diem.”⁶⁴ Where the source reads “and your church, in the temple, whose anniversary is today,” the prayer in M¹ asks God to give grace to the people “who celebrate the day of the capture of Jerusalem, your holy city.” As with the other prayers, the texts in BL Add. 8927 (M¹) again replaced the “consecration of this holy temple” with the “taking of Jerusalem, your holy city,” shifting the emphasis in the prayer itself from the building to the city of Jerusalem more generally. Sylvia Schein has demonstrated that in the wake of the success of 1099, the devotional rhetoric shifted from focus on the Holy Sepulcher specifically to the city of Jerusalem more generally.⁶⁵

The same shift cannot be found in the fourth prayer, “Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui angelum tuum,” copied into BL Add. 8927 as part of M¹. This prayer, listed as another *oratio*, is also found in a sacramentary from

⁶² Angelica 477, fol. 158v.

⁶³ BnF lat. 12056, fol. 249r–v. For “Multiplica Domine,” see fol. 328r, and CO 3398, “In dedicatione ecclesie.”

⁶⁴ “... da ut omnis hec plebs nomini tuo serviens huius vocabuli consortio digna esse mereatur, et **que sancte civitatis tue Ierusalem acceptionis celebrat diem**, tibi collecta, te timeat, te diligat te sequatur ...” (see above).

⁶⁵ Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 9–20.

Ripoll of about 1100 (*Missa de sepulcro Domini*), and also in a twelfth-century addition to Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 214, a tenth-century sacramentary from Saint Thierry (*Missa de sancto sepulcro*).⁶⁶ It is a rare text, and no evidence exists, outside the Western-produced BL Add. 8927, that the prayer was ever known or used in the Latin East. The prayer, which does not derive from a *dedicatio ecclesie* tradition and makes none of the nods to the Holy City found in them, may be an accretion.

What, then, are the possibilities? M¹ might represent a very early use, adapted from known texts, based on prayers for the Dedication of a Church, and then supplanted when new and proper prayers were composed for the Liberation feast and, around 1130, copied into Angelica 477. The use of items from the Dedication liturgy is, as discussed below, also found in the office (O¹). Linder argued that the use of the Dedication texts in this regard should be understood “metaphorically rather than literally, in regard to Jerusalem and not in reference to a particular church.”⁶⁷ The idea was that the capture of Jerusalem by the Franks constituted a new dedication of the city to Christian worship. But M¹ as represented in BL Add. 8927 might also represent a descendent or an adaptation made either in the East or West of a mass written early on in Jerusalem. Given the odd, unrubricated fourth prayer, this adaptation may have been done in the West, either for liturgical celebration or even simply as a kind of devotional *memoria*. We have other examples of the latter, most notably the mass for the Holy Sepulcher copied at the end of numerous manuscript copies of the *Gesta Francorum* and the hymn copied into in the famous crusader compilation from Ripoll.⁶⁸ The emphasis on the Liberation

⁶⁶ Vich, Biblioteca Episcopal 67, fol. 221r, edited in Alejandro Olivar, *Sacramentarium Rhipullense*, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra. Series litúrgica 7 (Madrid and Barcelona, 1964), no. 1847, pp. 245–46. The prayer is also found in Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 214, fol. 223r. This is CO 3891 (citing the Ripoll manuscript uniquely).

⁶⁷ Linder, “Liturgy of the Liberation,” 125.

⁶⁸ The mass is reproduced as part of the edition and translation found in Rosalind Hill, ed. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* (London, 1962), from the earliest manuscript copy, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat 572. It is also found in later manuscript copies of the *Gesta*. See, for instance, Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College 162/84, fol. 140r. (I thank William Purkis for this reference.) The Ripoll manuscript is Paris, BnF lat. 5132. See John France, “An Unknown Account of the Capture of Jerusalem,” *The English Historical Review* 87 (1972): 771–83, and “The Text of the Account of the Capture of Jerusalem in the Ripoll Manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale (Latin) 5132,” *The English Historical Review* 103 (1988): 640–57. Celebration of the “liberation of Jerusalem” never became standard practice in the West, although it was adopted, sometimes ephemerally and usually idiosyncratically, at a number of churches. Many of our sources for these practices and prayers also come from non-liturgical books; see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, “The Echoes of Victory: Liturgical and Para-

of *Jerusalem*, and not the Liberation of the Holy Sepulcher specifically, might suggest that the feast and the liturgy, when composed, was intended for the city as a whole and not the Holy Sepulcher exclusively, in line with a shift in the broader rhetoric in the wake of the triumphant capture of the city. The mass certainly had the city of Jerusalem as its thematic focus. When the collect, secret and postcommunion prayers were composed that were then included in Angelica 477 and then BnF lat. 12056, the liturgist again wrote of “the city of Jerusalem,” suggesting this wider ambit.

THE OFFICE IN BL ADD. 8927 (= O¹)

The choice to emphasize the city of Jerusalem as a whole can also be found in the office chants. There is much overlap in the two formularies (O¹ and O²), but we will focus first on the differences—on those chant texts that are unique to one office or the other—in an effort to distinguish O¹ from O². The chant texts in BL Add. 8927 (O¹) that have no equivalent in O² are the following:⁶⁹

VA4	Elevare, elevare, [consurge Ierusalem; solve vincla colli tui, captiva filia Sion]. Is 51:17, 52:2 CAO 2633 Advent varia Ps. Super flumina [Ps 136].
VA-Magnificat	Venite, ascendamus [ad montem Domini, quia de Sion exivit lex, et verbum Domini de Ierusalem]. Is 3:3 CAO 5349 Advent varia
MA2	De Syon exhibit lex [et verbum Domini de Ierusalem. Alleluia]. Is 2:3 CAO 2119 Advent varia Ps. Celi enarrant [Ps 18].
MA3	Sion, noli timere: [ecce Deus tuus veniet. Alleluia]. Is 35:4 CAO 4969 Advent varia Ps. Domini est terra [Ps 23].

liturgical commemorations of the Capture of Jerusalem in the West,” *Journal of Medieval History* 40 (2014): 237–59.

⁶⁹ VA/VR=Vespers antiphon/responsory; MA/MR/MV=Matins antiphon/responsory/responsory verse; LA=Lauds antiphon. Text in brackets represent expansions taken from the Cantus Database. For additional information, see Table 2 below.

- v. Super te, Iherusalem.
 Is 60:2
 CAO 8210 Advent varia (first Sunday, and others)
 CantusID 8210 reads “Super te Iherusalem orietur Dominus.”
- MA5 Super te, Ierusalem, [orietur Dominus, et gloria eius in te videbitur].
 Is 60:2
 CAO 5065 Advent varia
 Ps. Magnus Dominus [Ps 47].
- v. Tu exurgens Domine misereberis [Sion].
 Ps 101:14
 CAO 7790 Advent varia (first Sunday and others)
- MR5 Ierusalem plantabis [vineam in montibus tuis, et exsultabis quia dies Domini veniet. Surge, Sion, convertere ad Deum tuum. Gaude et letare Iacob, quia de medio gentium Salvator tuus veniet].
 Jer 31:5–7
 CAO 7033 Advent (second Sunday)
- MV5 Exsulta satis, [filia Sion, iubila filia Ierusalem].
 Zach 9:9
 CAO 7033 Advent (second Sunday)
- MR6 Lapides pretiosi [omnes muri tui, et turre Ierusalem gemmis edificabuntur].
 Tob 13:21; cf. Apoc 21:11–12
 CAO 7074 Dedication of the Church
- MV6 Cumque a Ioanne [describerentur universa secreta celi, intuens civitatem sanctam dixit].
 Cf. Apoc 21:2
 CAO 7074b Dedication of the Church
- MA7 Syon renovaberis [et videbis iustum tuum qui venturus est in te].
 Is 62:2
 CAO 4970 Advent (Wednesday, second week)
 Ps. Quam dilecta [Ps 83]
- MA9 Ierusalem, civitas sancta, ornamentis martyrum decorata, cuius platee sonant laudes de die in diem.
 Cf. Apoc 19:1, 3, Apoc 21, 22:2
 CAO 3477 Advent varia
 Ps. Cantate Domino [Ps 95 or 97]

- MV7 Predicabunt [populis fortitudinem meam, et annuntiabunt gentibus gloriam meam].
 Is 66:19
 CAO 7723b Summer histories, from the Prophets
- MR9 Platee tue, Ierusalem, [sternentur auro mundo, Alleluia; et cantabi-tur in te canticum letitie: Alleluia; et per omnes vicos tuos ab universis dicetur: Alleluia Alleluia].
 Tob 13:22, 13; Apoc 22:2
 CAO 7390 Easter varia (second Sunday after Easter, Easter Octave, and others)
- MV9 Luce splendida [fulgebis, et omnes fines terre adorabunt te].
 Tob 13:13
 CAO 7390b Easter varia (second Sunday after Easter, and others)

Half of these chants texts are rooted in Isaiah, and the majority come from the Advent season liturgy. The most striking aspect is the extent to which the texts focus on the city of Jerusalem (or Sion, a synonym for these purposes). The only items that do not refer to the city in some respect (MV7 and MV9) are verses for responsories that do center on Jerusalem. In turn, the antiphons, all celebrating Jerusalem, are mostly paired with psalms that also celebrate Jerusalem. These are not standard pairings in the broader liturgy, and the psalm scheme throughout O¹ does not appear to follow any standard schema.⁷⁰ This emphasis on Jerusalem should be emphasized because it reveals a strategy in the formulation of this liturgy. Most of antiphons derive from passages in Isaiah dealing with Jerusalem, suggesting that the compiler of O¹ was choosing antiphons that celebrated Jerusalem and pairing them specifically with psalms focusing on Jerusalem. In turn, none of the chants makes any reference to “this house” or “this temple” or “this church.” We will see that the same is largely true for the whole collection of the O¹ chant texts,⁷¹ and also reflects broadly a theme of both O¹ and O²—the idea of Jerusalem as the heavenly city, as the place where Christ will return, as the place of Christ’s great glory. This is the Jerusalem of the end times, prophesied by Isaiah, and now in Christian hands. It appears to be the main focus of O¹, just

⁷⁰ The psalm sequence for Matins, which runs 8, 18, 23, 45, 47, 64, 83, 86, and 95/97, does echo a standard sequence (8, 18, 23, 44, 45, 86, 95, 96, 97), but is not identical.

⁷¹ The exceptions to this are several psalms probably taken from the Dedication liturgy (Pss 47, 83, and 121), “Urbs beata,” which was taken from the office for the Dedication of the church and makes reference to “this temple,” and the Invitatory antiphon. But these psalms too are primarily focused on the city.

as the “holy city of Jerusalem” was the focus of the proper mass texts for the Jerusalem feast in BL Add. 8927 (M¹).

Although the theme of Jerusalem was also found in O², the texts that are found *only* in O² and not O¹ are not focused on the city of Jerusalem specifically, but rather on God’s wonder and power, the devotion owed to him, and his church or temple. That is, when the “Liberation” office (O²) was confected (using many of the chants also found in O¹), the liturgist incorporated new elements that focused on the Holy Sepulcher itself. The chant texts in O² that do not appear in O¹ are the following:

VR	Quis Deus magnus [sicut Deus noster? Tu es Deus qui facis mirabilia]. Ps 76:14–15 CAO 7498 Trinity
v.	Notam fecisti [in populis virtutem tuam, redemisti in brachio tuo populum tuum]. Ps 76:15–16 CAO 7498a Trinity
MA1	Afferte Domino, [filii Dei, adorate Dominum in aula sancta eius]. Ps 28:2 CAO 1303 Epiphany Ps. <i>Ipsum</i> [Ps 28]
MA3	Psallite Deo nostro [psallite; psallite Regi nostro, psallite sapienter]. Ps 46:7 CAO 4406 Epiphany Ps. Omnes gentes [Ps 46]
MR3	Vidi Iherusalem [descendentem de celo, ornatam auro mundo, et lapidibus pretiosis intextam, Alleluia Alleluia]. Apoc 21:1, 11–12 CAO 7876 Varia (Easter and others)
MV3	Ab intus [in fimbriis aureis circumamicta varietate]. Ps 44:14 CAO 7876a Varia (Easter and others)
MA4	Suscepimus Deus [misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui secundum nomen tuum]. Ps 47:10 CAO 5085 Epiphany Ps. Magnus Dominus [Ps. 47]

- MA5 Omnis terra [adoret te et psallat tibi; psalmum dicat nomini tuo, Domine].
Ps 65:4
CAO 4155 Epiphany
Ps. Iubilare Deo [Ps 65]
- MA6 Omnes gentes quascumque [fecisti venient, et adorabunt coram te, Domine].
Ps 85:9
CAO 4125 Epiphany
Ps. Incline Domine [Ps 85]
- MV5 Qui reminiscimini [Domini, ne taceatis et ne detis silentium ei].⁷²
Is 62:6
CAO 7723a Summer histories, from the Prophets
- MA7 Adorate Dominum, [Alleluia, in aula sancta eius, Alleluia].
Ps 95:9
CAO 1288 Epiphany
Ps. Cantate Domino [Ps 95]
- MA8 Adorate Dominum, [Alleluia, omnes angeli eius, Alleluia].
Ps 96:7
CAO 1289 Epiphany
Ps. Dominus regnavit, exultet [Ps 96]
- MA9 Notum fecit [dominus, Alleluia, salutare suum, Alleluia].
Ps 97:2
CAO 3964 Christmas and others
Ps. Cantate Domino [Ps 97]
- MR8 Vidi civitatem [sanctam, Ierusalem novam descendentem de celo a Deo paratam, et audivi vocem de throno dicentem: Ecce tabernaculam Dei cum hominibus, et habitabit cum eis.]
Apoc 21:2–3
CAO 7871 Dedication of the Church
- MV8 Vidi angelum Dei volantem [per medium celum voce magna clamantem et dicentem].
Apoc 14:6–7
CantusID 7871zc Dedication of the Church, others
CAO 7873

⁷² In Lucca the incipit reads “Predicabunt populis qui reminiscimini” (cf. CAO 7723a, b).

- MR9 Summe Trinitati, simplici [Deo una divinitas, equalis Gloria, coeterna maiestas Patri Prolique Sanctoque flamini, qui totum subdit suis orbem legibus].
CAO 7718 Trinity
- MV9 Prestet nobis [gratiam Deitas beata, Patris ac Nati pariterque Spiritus almi].
CAO 7718a Trinity
- LA5 Cantate Domino canticum novum.
Ps 149:1
CAO 1763 Ferial office for Thursday
Ps. Laudate [Ps 148]
- v. Adorate Dominum, Alleluia, in aula [sancta eius, Alleluia].
Ps 28:2
CAO 1288 Epiphany
- LA Benedictus Benedicta sit [creatrix et gubernatrix omnium, sancta et individua trinitas et nunc et semper et per infinita seculorum secula].
CAO 1707 Trinity
- VA v. Beati qui habitant [in domo tua, Domine; in secula seculorum laudabunt te].
CAO 7960 Dedication of the Church
- VA Magnificat O Iherusalem, Civitas Dei summi [leva in circuitu oculos tuos et vide Dominum Deum tuum, quia iam veniet solvere te a vinculis].
CAO 4034 Christmas
One of the "O" Antiphons

The difference in choices of chant imagery and emphasis is stark. Terms for the city (Jerusalem, Sion) appear in only three of the chants (MR3 and MR8 and the final antiphon), and the reference is to the "new Jerusalem." The compiler instead chose to incorporate or prioritize a number of chant items from a host of different sources, the guiding principle which seems to have been the idea of God's manifest power and his holy house or temple. Among the chants are several references to the building or the church specifically (see MA1, MA4, MA7, MR8, the versicle following Lauds hymn, and the Magnificat antiphon).

Of the items unique to O², the Matins antiphons are paired with psalms that are their traditional companions (that is, the antiphon is derived from the psalm it is paired with) and also constitute common pairings taken from

Epiphany.⁷³ O²'s nine antiphons (eight of which are unique to O²) replicate in the same order the first nine antiphons from at least one source for Epiphany from northern France dating to about 1100, suggesting the likelihood that the compiler of O² simply copied the sequence out of a Western exemplar.⁷⁴ Significantly, the Lucca exemplar also prescribes that lections from the feast of Epiphany be used.⁷⁵ God's manifest power is the principal theme of Epiphany, and the Matins antiphons and readings celebrate God's great power and his house on earth. Thus, for instance, MA4, "Suscepimus Deus misericordiam" ("We have received your mercy, O God, in the midst of your temple"), from Psalm 47:10, is followed by the recitation of Psalm 47; the theme is praise of God for founding the church in Sion (and it speaks of his house and his temple at verses 4 and 10). Of the Matins antiphons, only MA2 is shared with O¹ (O¹ MA4, the only psalm-based antiphon among O¹'s antiphons⁷⁶). O² also uses a standard psalm scheme for Vespers.⁷⁷

Further, the reliance on chant derived from Isaiah, and on Advent liturgy, is not in evidence here. (Only one verse—MV5—derives from Isaiah.) Instead we find the reliance just noted on Epiphany (found also in O¹ but not as prominently) and also on the Office of the Trinity (utterly new). The prescription in Lucca for readings from the feast of the Epiphany bolsters the supposition that there was a dedicated recourse to that feast in the confection of O². The use of Trinity liturgy can also be associated with the orphaned collect for the Liberation mass found in M² but not in the other sources for the Holy Sepulcher. As with the new reliance on Epiphany, the introduction of material from the Trinity liturgy into the Liberation rite thus seems to represent a particular strategy in the composition of O². Again, as with Epiphany, the recourse to the liturgy of the Trinity further underscores the emphasis in O² on God's revealed power and majesty.

⁷³ I verified this by consulting the digitized manuscript images linked to the antiphons in the Cantus Database.

⁷⁴ This was facilitated through the Cantus Database's concordances function. The manuscript is Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 114, a monastic breviary which thus includes twelve antiphons in full. See also Rome, Bibliotheca Vallicelliana C.5.

⁷⁵ Lucca 5, fol. 57r. "Lectiones require in Epiphania." These are provided in the Temporale and discussed below.

⁷⁶ This is another small irregularity that has made me question whether what we have in O¹ represents the unaltered earliest liturgy.

⁷⁷ O²'s first Vespers uses one of the standard festal schemes: Pss. 112, 116, 145, 146, 147; Lauds, followed the standard Sunday scheme, Pss 92, 99, 62, Benedicite, 148. I am deeply grateful to John Wickstrom for helping me sort out the logic for the psalm schemes here, and throughout this material.

*
* *

Another difference in the traditions must be addressed. The sources prescribe three separate sets of instructions for Matins readings (lections). O¹ prescribes lections taken from the Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres. BL Add. 8927 gives the following:

*Lectiones de historia ubi capta fuit hierusalem, incipiuntur enim sic: Est enim civitas ierusalem in montano loco sita.*⁷⁸

This is the entirety of the instructions in BL Add. 8927. The incipit corresponds to Fulcher of Chartres's description of the city in his book 1.26.⁷⁹ For Linder, this was the principal piece of evidence for the *terminus post quem* of the office.⁸⁰ As it happens, the manuscript itself—BL Add. 8927—included Fulcher's chronicle, and this passage appears starting on fol. 21v. There it reads "Est quidem civitas ipsa in montano loco" (that is, it is not the same incipit), within a chapter entitled "Hic descriptio seu denominatio civitatis sancte iherusalem," and is not distinguished in any way to suggest an intentional cross referencing to the liturgy at the back. The text of Fulcher's chronicle in the body of the manuscript thus appears to derive from an immediate source different from the version of the liturgy from which the scribe was working. As Linder explained, Fulcher's text survives in two different versions, one which circulated as of 1106, and one which was finished in 1127. As Linder further noted, the incipit here does not correspond cleanly to either version.⁸¹

The version of O² recently identified by Aspesi in the Lucca manuscript, apparently representing the office as it was prior to 1149, laconically prescribes lections from Epiphany.⁸² (The readings for Epiphany that appear in a separately compiled part of the same manuscript follow standard readings for

⁷⁸ BL Add. 8927, fol. 134r–v.

⁷⁹ Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 281–92 (chapter 26). Translation in Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095–1127*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), 116–19. Hagenmeyer's edition of the chapter is entitled "De situ Iherusalem," and the beginning of the chapter reads "Est equidem [with quidem as a variant] civitas Iherusalem in montano loco posita. . . ."

⁸⁰ Linder, "Liturgy of the Liberation," 123.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Lucca 5, fol. 57r; see n. 133 below.

Epiphany, including passages from Isaiah 55 and 60.⁸³) The subsequent version of O² represented by Barb. lat. 659 and Barletta prescribes for the first six readings from Isaiah 60–62, that is, readings which point to the providential role of Jerusalem and underscore the office’s interpretation of the 1099 capture of Jerusalem as the fulfillment of Old Testament Prophecy. The seventh and eighth lections are taken from Matthew 21, which was the Gospel reading for the mass and which recounts Jesus’ entrance into Jerusalem (a fitting adjunct to the Isaiah / Advent themes). The ninth lection prescribes “Credimus sanctam trinitatem,” taken from Alcuin’s treatise on the Trinity—another incorporation of Trinity-related material.⁸⁴

Each set of lections promotes a different interpretation of the office. The use of chronicle material for lections in BL Add. 8927 (O¹) certainly lends a particular cast to the office for which it was used. Fulcher’s chapter 1.26 speaks of Mount Zion, the Tower of David, the Mount of Olives, the *Templum Domini*, the Temple of Solomon, and finally, the Holy Sepulcher. One interpretation is that this focus is in keeping with the emphasis on the city of Jerusalem over the Holy Sepulcher specifically as seen in O¹.⁸⁵ The use of the lections from Epiphany in Lucca (O²) coheres with the themes and texts emphasized in O². And the recourse to Isaiah 60–62 in the post-1149 evidence echoes the emphasis on Isaiah throughout the chant and the idea that the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 was the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy.⁸⁶

TOWARD THE EARLIEST OFFICE: SHARED TEXTS

We may now examine the overlapping texts. The following chant texts, found in both off O¹ and O² are listed in the order in which they appear in Barb. lat. 659 (O²):

⁸³ Lucca 5, fol. B51r. Isaiah 55:1–13 and 60:1–10 (for lections 1–3), excerpts from Leo I’s sermon on Epiphany (for lections 4–6), Matthew 2 (lection 7), and sections on Gregory the Great’s homily on Matthew 2:1–12.

⁸⁴ Alcuin, *De fide Sanctae Trinitatis* (confession), ed. Eric Knibbs and E. Ann Matter CCCM 249 (Turnhout, 2012), 143–44. The text is used elsewhere for the lections in the Office of the Trinity. See, for instance, Barbara C Raw, “The Office of the Trinity in the Crowland Psalter,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999): 195, with other examples.

⁸⁵ This and the fact that Fulcher of Chartres was a canon of the Holy Sepulcher after 1114 may suggest that he had a hand in confecting the liturgy.

⁸⁶ On this theme, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986), 142–43; and Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 24–27.

- VA1 (O¹ VA1) Ecce nomen Domini [venit de longinquo, et claritas eius replet orbem terrarum].
 Is 30:27–28
 CAO 2527 Advent (first Sunday)
 Ps. (O¹) Letatus sum [Ps 121] (O²) Laudate pueri [Ps 112]
- VA2 (O¹ MA1) Iherusalem respice [ad Orientem et vide, Alleluia].
 Is 33:20
 CAO 3481 Advent (Monday, first week)
 Ps. (O¹) Domine Domine noster [Ps 8] (O²) Laudate D. [Ps 116]
- VA3 (O¹ VA2) Leva, Iherusalem, [oculos, et vide potentiam Regis: ecce Salvator veniet solvere te a vinculo].
 Is 60:4
 CAO 3606 Advent (second Sunday)
 Ps. (O¹) Qui confidunt [Ps 124] (O²) Lauda anime mea [Ps 145].
- VA4 (O¹ LA2) Urbs fortitudinis [nostre Sion, Salvator ponetur in ea murus et antemurale, aperite portas, quia nobiscum Deus, Alleluia].
 Is 26:1–2
 CAO 5281 Advent (second Sunday)
 Ps. (O¹) [not provided] (O²) Laudate Dominum [Ps 146].
- VA5 (O¹ VA3) Levabit Dominus [signum in nationibus, et congregabit dispersos Israel].
 Is 11:12
 CAO 3607 Advent (Saturday, second week)
 Ps. (O¹) In convertendo [Ps 125] (O²) Lauda Iherusalem [Ps 147].
- Capitulum Surge, illuminare, Iherusalem.
 Is 60:1 (= M¹ M² Epistola)
- Hymnus Urbs beata Iherusalem (*Analecta hymnica* 51:110, no. 102).
 Apoc 21 Dedication of the church
- v. (O¹ M v.) Reges tharsis [et insule munera offerunt].
 Ps 71:10
 CAO 8180 Epiphany and others
- VA Magnificat Venit lumen tuum, [Iherusalem, et gloria Domini super te orta est; et ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo, Alleluia].
 (cf. O¹ L v.)
 Is 60:1
 CAO 5344 Epiphany
- MA Invitorium Filie Syon currite, [adsunt enim celebria matris vestre solemnna,

iubilemus igitur Deo nostro unanimes, qui sibi eam gratuitam elegit clementia].

Cant 3:11, Zach 9:9ff., Ps 147, Apoc 21
CAO 1079 Dedication of the Church

- MA2 (O¹ MA4) Fluminis impetus [letificat, Alleluia, civitatem Dei, Alleluia].
Ps 45:5
CAO 2886 Epiphany
- MR1 (O¹ MR2) Iherusalem cito veniet [salus tua. Quare merore consumeris? Numquid consiliarius non est tibi, quia innovabit te dolor? Salvabo te et liberabo: te noli timere].
Mich 4:8–9
CAO 7031 Advent (second Sunday)
- MV1 (O¹ MV2) Israhel si me audieris, [non erit in te Deus recens, neque adorabis Deum alienum: ego enim Dominus].
Ps 80:9–11
CAO 7031a Advent (second Sunday)
- MR2 (O¹ MR4) Civitas iherusalem, [noli flere, quoniam doluit Dominus super te, et auferet a te omnem tribulationem].
Lc 23:28 (?)
CAO 6290 Advent (second Sunday)
- MV2 (O¹ MV4) Ecce in fortitudine [veniet, et brachium eius dominabitur].
Is 40:10
CAO 6290b Advent (second Sunday)
- v. (O¹ V v.) Omnes de Sabba venient.
Is 60:6
CAO 8159 Epiphany
- MR4 (O¹ MR8) Sicut mater [consolatur filios suos, ita consolabor vos, dicit Dominus; et de Ierusalem, civitate quam elegi, veniet vobis auxilium; et videbitis, et gaudebit cor vestrum].
Is 66:13–14
CAO 7660 Advent (second Sunday)
- MV4 (O¹ MV8) Dabo in Syon [salutem, et in Ierusalem gloriam meam].
Is 46:13
CAO 7660b Advent (second Sunday)
- MR5 (O¹ MR7) Super muros tuos, [Ierusalem, constitui custodies: tota die et nocte non tacebunt laudare nomen Domini].
Is 62:6
CAO 7723 Summer histories, from the Prophets

- MR6 (O¹ MR1) Illuminare, [illuminare, Ierusalem: venit lux tua, et gloria Domini super te orta est].
Is 60:1
CAO 6882 Epiphany
- MV6 (O¹ MV1) Et ambulabunt [gentes in lumine tuo, et reges in splendore ortus tui].
Is 60:3
CAO 6882a Epiphany
- v. Omnes gentes [quascumque fecisiti. R. Venient et adorabunt].
CAO 8160
- MR7 (O¹ MR3) Hec est Iherusalem, [civitas magna celestis, ornata tamquam sponsam Agni, quoniam tabernaculum facta est, Alleluia].
Apoc 21:2,3
CAO 6803 Easter varia
- MV7 (O¹ MV3) Porte eius [non claudentur per diem, nox enim non erit in ea].
Apoc 21:25
CAO 6803b Easter varia, or Dedication of the Church
- LA1 (O¹ LA1) Iocundare, filia [Sion; exsulta satis, filia Ierusalem, Alleluia].
Zach 9:9
CAO 3509 Advent (first Sunday)
Ps. (O¹) [not provided] (O²) Dominus regnat [Ps 92]
- LA2 (O¹ VA5) Letamini cum Iherusalem [et exsultate in ea, omnes qui diligitis eam in eternum].
Is 66:10
CAO 3562 Advent varia
Ps. (O¹) Lauda Ierusalem [Ps 147] (O²) Ps. Iubilare [Ps 99]
- LA3 (O¹ MA8, LA3) Iherusalem, gaude [gaudio magno, quia veniet tibi Salvator, Alleluia].
Zach 9:9
CAO 3478 Advent (third Sunday)
- LA4 (O¹ LA4) Omnes nationes [venient a longe, portantes munera sua, Alleluia].
Is 60:6, Ps 71.10, Tob 13:14
CAO 4128 Epiphany
Ps. (O¹) [not provided] (O²) Benedicite

Most of the first Vespers and Lauds antiphons are common to both compositions (although the psalms with which they are paired in first Vespers are not), and some of the Matins responsories are common as well. But in Matins, where the responsories largely overlap, the comparison is utterly scrambled.

That is, while we can make sense of the incorporation of the new antiphons in O²'s Matins service, no clear strategy seems to characterize the responsories, which may suggest that they are not in direct sequential relationship (see Table 2). Yet, the chant items that appear in *both* versions of the office have far more in common with the chant that occurs uniquely in O¹—the repeated concentration on Jerusalem/Sion/Israel, the reliance on Isaiah and Advent—than the items unique to O². This supports the idea that O¹ either represents or is more closely related to the earliest office celebrating the 15 July triumph; at minimum, it supports the notion that BL Add. 8927 (O¹) is closer than O² to the tenor of an original office. Further, as with many items unique to O¹, many of the chant texts derive from Isaiah and derive from the Advent liturgy. We see also the use of a few chant items from the office of the *Dedicatio ecclesie*, another link to the strategies in evidence in the composition of M¹, where the entire city is reconsecrated through God's grace as in image of and gateway to the Heavenly Jerusalem.⁸⁷

The liturgy represented in BL Add. 8927, then, seems to be either the authentic version of the earliest mass and office, written probably very early on after 1099, or a light adaptation of that liturgy, perhaps a “second generation” version of the liturgy compiled—as often happens—as intertwined liturgical texts and traditions emerged in parallel from the establishment of a new feast, particularly if multiple churches, each with its own priorities books, were incorporating a new feast into their practice. That earliest office may have been revised well before 1149, and then, with the rededication of the Holy Sepulcher in that year, the celebration of the Liberation was subordinated to the new Dedication Office, to which 15 July was given over.

The parsing of these texts means that we can begin to piece back together, if not entirely, the different thematic priorities in the celebration of this rite in Jerusalem in the twelfth century: a mass based largely on the Dedication liturgy that emphasized the taking of Jerusalem as a reconsecration of the city;

⁸⁷ On interpretations of the liturgy of the Dedication of the Church, see H. Ashworth, “Urbs Beata Jerusalem: Scriptural and Patristic Sources,” *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 70 (1956): 238–41; Louis I. Hamilton, *A Sacred City: Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh-Century Italy* (Manchester, 2010); Jennifer A. Harris, “Building Heaven on Earth: Cluny as Locus Sanctus in the Eleventh Century,” in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny – Du coeur de la nuit à la fin du jour: Les coutumes clunisiennes au moyen âge*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin (Turnhout, 2005), 137–38; Ann R. Meyer, *Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2003), 69–97.

and an office celebrating the feast of Jerusalem, focused on the city of Jerusalem, pervaded with scriptural language from Isaiah and elsewhere in the Old Testament and Revelations. This may suggest that the lections recorded in the post-1149 office (O² as recorded Barb. lat. 659 and Barletta), which comprise Isaiah 60:1–62:12, were part of the original conceptualization of the Jerusalem Office. Isaiah 60:1–62:12 constitutes a contained subsection of the book of Isaiah, labeled in one edition as “poems on the glory of Jerusalem and of God’s people.”⁸⁸ In sequence, the section bespeaks the glory of the future of Jerusalem, her restoration to God’s chosen people, and the eschatological vision of her Salvation. It contains many of the themes found in both O¹ and O², because, of course, so many of the lines of Scripture adopted for the offices are rooted in this very passage. This focus on the glory of Jerusalem may also explain the inclusion of items not originating with Isaiah, but bearing the same theme. In O¹ MR2 (O² MR1), for instance, a line drawn from Micah 4:8–9 refers to the restoration of Jerusalem: “O Jerusalem, your salvation will come soon. Why are you consumed by grief? Do not fear, for I will save you and I will liberate you.”⁸⁹ In Isaiah 60:1–62:12, the prophet promises a new stage of history to the faithful, in which Jerusalem is restored, and God is with them. Its potential for understanding the First Crusade as the fulfillment of prophecy was palpable, and it was cited by early authors in this regard.⁹⁰ If O¹ is the authentic version of the earliest office (or close to it), then pairings O¹ MRV1–MRV6 with the lections as outlined in O² are thematically appropriate; that is, the responsories echo themes from the reading. On the other hand, if O¹ is derivative, and if we are to agglomerate from both offices all the chants that derive from Isaiah 60:1–62:12 as potentially or even likely to have been derived from an original office, we find that the following verses are represented: Isaiah 60:1, 60:2, 60:3, 60:4, 60:6, 62:2, 62:6. Both versions of the mass also invoked chant and readings taken from Isaiah 60–62, and these could well have been part of the original structure of Matins, where the anti-

⁸⁸ *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version*, ed. Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger (Oxford and New York, 1973), 897; commentary to Isaiah 60:1–62:12.

⁸⁹ CAO 7031: “Jerusalem cito veniet salus tua. Quare merore consumeris? Numquid consiliarius non est tibi, quia innovabit te dolor? Salvabo te et liberabo te: noli timere.”

⁹⁰ Robert of Reims, *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ed. Damien Kempf and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2013), 28–29 (Is 60:15–16), 100 (Is 60:9), 109 (Is 55:12), 110 (Is 60:9–10). Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronica*, ed. F.-J. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott in *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 15* (Darmstadt, 1972), 160 (Is 60:1). See also Charles Kohler, “Un sermon commémoratif de la prise de Jérusalem par les Croisés attribué à Foucher de Chartres,” *Revue de l’Orient Latin* 8 (1900–1901): 161–62 (Is 60:14).

phons and in particular the great responsories were tied to the readings. For instance, O¹'s MRV1 (“illuminare, illuminare”) is drawn from Isaiah 60:1 and 3. It appeared in O² as MRV6. We might imagine the original office pairing this responsory with the first lection, Isaiah 60:1–5. Likewise, O¹'s MRV7 (=O²'s MRV5) evoked Isaiah 62:6, which could then have been paired with the sixth lection, 62:6–12. That Isaiah 60–62 formed the original lections is speculation, but it is in line with the features of the early tradition. Every version of the mass that survives uses Isaiah. 60:1, “Surge, illuminare,” for the epistle reading (see Table 1), and both the gradual and its verse were from Isaiah 60 (60:6 and 60:1, respectively). Isaiah 60 was also the chapter reading in both offices. The introit of the Mass is from Isaiah 66:10–11. One way or another, Isaiah 60–62 and its message of eschatological hope and providential history were at the heart of the original conception of the liturgy.

FINAL THOUGHTS

We know from William of Tyre that immediately following the capture of Jerusalem the faithful “cleansed the place of the holy resurrection from the superstitions of the gentiles,”⁹¹ and then, that in the day or days following the capture of Jerusalem,

In order that the memory of this great event might be better preserved, a general decree was issued which met with universal approval and sanction. It was ordained that this day be held sacred and set apart from all others as the time when, for the glory and praise of the Christian name, there should be recounted all that had been foretold by the prophets concerning this event. On this day intercession should always be made to the Lord for the souls of those by whose laudable and successful labors the city beloved of God had been restored to the pristine freedom of the Christian faith.⁹²

⁹¹ William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 8.22 (ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63, 63A [Turnhout, 1986]): “ita fidelibus populis, sancte resurrectionis locum a gentili superstitione mundantibus”; trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and August C. Krey, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea by William, Archbishop of Tyre* (New York, 1943), 1:375.

⁹² William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 8.24: “Ad maiorem autem tanti facti memoriam ex communi decreto sancitum et communi omnium voto susceptum et approbatum est, ut hic dies apud omnes sollempnis et inter celebres celebrior perpetuo habeatur, in qua ad laudem et gloriam nominis christiani quicquid in prophetis de hoc facto quasi vaticinium predictum fuerat referatur et pro eorum animabus fiat ad Dominum intercessio, quorum labore commendabili et favorabili apud omnes predicta deo amabilis civitas et fidei christiane et pristinae restituta est libertati”; trans. 1:378.

Two earlier chroniclers—Baldric of Dol (writing in 1107) and the author of the *Historia belli sacri* (writing around 1130)—also make reference to the rapid institution of the new feast.⁹³ It appears, then, that the establishment of the 15 July feast occurred right upon the heels of 15 July 1099; that, following a cleansing, or a reconsecration of the Holy Sepulcher (hence the use of texts from the *Dedicatio ecclesie* liturgy), a feast day was instituted in Jerusalem to celebrate the capture of the city.

William also said explicitly that the feast day should recount how “these events” had been foretold by the prophets. This is why the apparent focus in the original chant (and possibly readings) on Isaiah is of such interest. Those chant items that were common to O¹ and O²—that is, those chant items that were definitely part of the earliest liturgy—did precisely that. The liturgy of Advent was specifically *about* Christ’s coming and salvific liberation. Linder’s work is again our starting point. In a separate article from 2003 which also discussed the liturgy, Linder wrote that “Biblical Jerusalem appears in this context as the prefiguration of Christian Jerusalem, yet another striking example of the central role that Biblical (Old-Testamentary) ideas and memories played in the formation of the ideology of Holy Land crusade.”⁹⁴ I want further to insist that Isaiah, and the evocation of Jerusalem as the New Jerusalem, were at the heart of this “central role.” The early office written to celebrate the Jerusalem feast, adopted Isaiah-based chant drawn primarily from the Advent liturgy. Isaiah, of course, was the Old Testament prophet whose writings foresaw the coming of the Messiah, the return of Jerusalem to the Israelites from exile, and ultimately the Second Coming. In turn, the liturgy of Advent celebrated at once the coming of Christ in the Incarnation *and* the

⁹³ Baldric of Bourgueil, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014), 111: “Diem autem illam qua ciuitatem recuperauerunt celebrem instituerunt, quintadecima die Iulii, feria sexta. Diem quippe illam triumphalem merito diligunt [*variant*: diligenter] quicumque liberationi ciuitatis illius et uictoriae populi Christiani congaudentes applaudunt.” *Hystoria de via et recuperatione Antiochiaae atque Ierusalem* (*olim Tudebodis imitatus et continuatus* 127 (ed. Edoardo d’Angelo [Florence, 2009], 126): “Capta est ergo ciuitas, die iduum Iulii, sexta feria, uidelicet ab obsidionis exordio tricesimo nono die, ab incarnatione autem Christi millesimo nonagesimo nono. Constitutum est itque ab omnibus atque firmatum, ut praedictus dies captionis, immo liberationis Ierusalem, singulis annis in memoria habitus solemniter celebretur.” (My thanks to Simon John for this reference.)

⁹⁴ Amnon Linder, “A New Day, a New Joy: The Liberation of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099,” in *L’idea di Gerusalemme nella spiritualità cristiana del Medioevo: atti del Convegno internazionale in collaborazione con l’Istituto della Görres-Gesellschaft di Gerusalemme* (Vatican, 2003), 46–64, at 54.

Second Coming of Christ.⁹⁵ The gospel for the mass in M¹, Matthew 21:1, recounted Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. Jesus' sacrificial and salvific entry into Jerusalem thus presages that of the Franks; and at verse 5, Matthew himself quoted Isaiah 62:11, "Tell you the daughter of Sion: Behold your king comes to you, meek and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of her that is used to the yoke." Thus, the Gospel reading tied Isaiah's prophecy to Christ's arrival in Jerusalem, and thus both to the Franks' own arrival.⁹⁶ The capture, the return, and the salvation of Jerusalem in 1099 was, in the liturgy's interpretation, an interim point in this history of salvation, both foreseen before the New Dispensation and pointing towards the Second Coming that would take place in Jerusalem itself. It is of a piece, then, with the earliest theological interpretations of 1099 as worked out by the early historians writing in the immediate aftermath of 1099, before the glowing promise of the victory had waned, and while authors still felt themselves as part of and witnesses to the events of Providence.⁹⁷ In Riley-Smith's formulation, the early interpretation of the crusades—what he called the "theological" interpretation, done by non-participant, theologically-inclined ecclesiastics—presented a view of the crusade as "a miraculous demonstration of divine power in a war fought for Christian brothers and for Christ's inheritance by a chosen people,"⁹⁸ and which saw the taking of Jerusalem as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy. Robert the Monk, writing around 1110, said explicitly that the First Crusade was the greatest event in the history of the Church since Creation and the

⁹⁵ Gunilla Björkvall, "'Expectantes dominum.' Advent, the Time of Expectation, as Reflected in Liturgical poetry from Tenth and Eleventh centuries," in *In Quest of the Kingdom: Ten Papers on Medieval Monastic Spirituality*, ed. Alf Härdelin (Stockholm, 1991), 109–33; Robert C. Lagueux, "Sermons, Exegesis, and Performance: The Laon *Ordo prophetarum* and the Meaning of Advent," *Comparative Drama* 43 (2009): 197–220; Margot E. Fassler, "Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office in the Latin West: The Example of Advent," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography: Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford, 2000), 15–47, and *The Virgin of Chartres*, 55–129.

⁹⁶ This is changed after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin; the Gospel text was replaced with Luke 19:41, where Christ weeps over Jerusalem (BL Egerton 2902, 93r).

⁹⁷ Riley-Smith, *First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 135–52; Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West* (Philadelphia, 2015), 89–105, 161–274.

⁹⁸ Riley-Smith, *First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 152. Recent scholarship has sought to impute the first-generation chronicles with a greater level of theological sophistication than Riley-Smith had. See, notably, Katherine Allen Smith, "Glossing the Holy War: Constructions of the First Crusade, C. 1095–1146," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 10 (2013): 8–15.

Sacrifice on the Cross.⁹⁹ Quite recently, historians have drawn attention to the ways in which the First Crusade was understood by contemporaries for its Apocalyptic charge.¹⁰⁰ The liturgy, whose purpose was specifically to connect present with past and with future, was the ideal vehicle to articulate this sublime interpretation of the First Crusade.

In the churches of Jerusalem, and at the Holy Sepulcher itself, in the early years following the capture, the servants of God commemorated the taking of Jerusalem as a holy act, predicted by Isaiah, and pointing towards the Apocalypse. With its emphasis on the city of Jerusalem, I suspect that an early office, probably very close to that found in BL Add. 8927, was written with an expansive view in mind, imagining its celebration throughout the renewed spaces of worship throughout the city. Above all, it was focused on the capture of Jerusalem as an event of biblical importance, tied to Eschatological expectations. Sometime later, after the eschatological fervor had died down, the office was reworked. Until recently, it was assumed that the reworking occurred in ca. 1149 when the Holy Sepulcher was rebuilt and the liturgy reformed. But if Aspesi is correct, then the reworking of the original liturgy may have occurred earlier, perhaps as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century or shortly after the canons were reformed as Augustinians in 1114. In any event, this second-generation office (O²) toned down the Apocalyptic view of the conquest in turn for one that promoted veneration of God's power at the Holy Sepulcher itself, for which the liturgist added pointed reference to the role of the "Temple" and the "House of God," and could be associated with liturgical innovation designed specifically for the Holy Sepulcher in the wake of the reform in 1114. The office thus shifted its emphasis from the glorification of the Holy City and its place in Salvation history to the specific role of the Holy Sepulcher as the house of God and the gateway to heaven. Then, when on 15 July 1149, on the anniversary of the capture, and in the midst of the failure of the Second Crusade, the newly rebuilt Holy Sepulcher was reconsecrated, the clerics at the Holy Sepulcher reformed the cycle of the liturgy for the entire year. We know this office from Barb. lat. 659 and Barletta. A new feast for the Dedication of the Church, confected from Western sources but itself a new composition with its own clear interpretive

⁹⁹ Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, 4. For translation, see Robert of Reims, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade = Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot, 2005), 77.

¹⁰⁰ Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York, 2011); Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror*, 261–78.

strategy, was added to the calendar for 15 July. In the *Sanctorale*, the Liberation office was subordinated to the celebration of the Dedication, giving further emphasis to the church itself. This liturgy again put the Holy Sepulcher specifically at the heart of the celebration.

TABLE 1: MASSES COMPARED

The following offers a schematic presentation of the text of the mass for the 15 July commemoration in the known sources excluding Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile 5, whose text in the lower margin of fol. 57r conforms to the revised tradition of M² but is barely readable:

- London, British Library Additional 8927, fols. 134r–135r (after Linder) [M¹]
- Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 477, fol. 159r
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 12056, fol. 250r–v
- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 659, fol. 132r–v [M²]
- Barletta, fol. 110v¹⁰¹ (after Kohler, p. 429, and the damaged manuscript) [M²]
- John of Würzburg, “Peregrinatio” (CCCM 139:139) [M²]
- London, British Library Egerton 2902, fol. 93r–v

The mass items are listed in the order in which they appear in BL Add. 8927 and Barb. lat 659. For the order of items in Egerton 2902, see pp. 135–36 above. Cues in the sources for the chants have been expanded in square brackets with text from Cantus Index. Items not included in the sources are marked with dashes.

¹⁰¹ Note that Kohler includes folio numbers that do not correspond to the Arabic numerals written in a later hand in the lower margin of recto folios in the manuscript. Kohler lists fol. 121v. The number on the recto of the folio itself is 110.

(rubric)	BL Add. 8927 [M ¹]	<i>In festivitate sancte Hierusalem. Ad missam.</i>
	Angelica 477	<i>In festivitate civitatis sancte Hierusalem.</i>
	BnF lat. 12056	<i>Missa de Ierusalem.</i>
	Barb. lat. 659 [M ²]	<i>In liberatione sancte civitatis Iherusalem de manibus Turchorum. Ipso die dedicatio ecclesie Domini sepulcri. Missa matutinalis.</i>
	Barletta [M ²]	<i>Ad missam.</i>
	John of Würzburg	<i>Idus Iulii dedicatio ecclesie Sancti Sepulchri. Eadem die festum maximum celebratur de captivitate Iherusalem facta a Christianis. De hoc ad missam.</i>
	BL Egerton 2902	<i>Missa pro libertate Ierusalem de manu paganorum.</i>
Introit <i>Officium</i>	BL Add. 8927 [M ¹]	<i>Off.</i> Letare Ierusalem [et conventum facite omnes qui diligitis eam; gaudete cum letitia; qui in tristitia fuistis; ut exsultetis, et satiemi ab uberibus consolationis vestre]. Is 66:10–11; CantusIndex g00776 (Fourth Sunday of Lent) <i>Ps.</i> Letatus sum.
	Angelica 477	—
	BnF lat. 12056	—
	Barb. lat. 659 [M ²]	<i>Off.</i> Letare Iherusalem. <i>Ps.</i> Letatus sum.
	Barletta [M ²]	Letare Ierusalem.
	John of Würzburg	<i>Introitus.</i> Letare Iherusalem.
	BL Egerton 2902	<i>Off.</i> Letare Ierusalem.
Kyrie	BL Add. 8927 [M ¹]	—
	Angelica 477	—
	BnF lat. 12056	—
	Barb. lat. 659 [M ²]	Kyrri⟨e⟩. Cunctipotens ge⟨nitor⟩.
	Barletta [M ²]	Kyrie. Cunctipotens.
	John of Würzburg	Kyrie eleyson: Cunctipotens genitor Deus.
BL Egerton 2902	—	

- Collect BL Add. 8927 [M¹] *Or.* Deus qui nobis <per singulos> annos. *Ut supra* [= sancte civitatis tue Ierusalem acceptionis reparas diem et sacris semper mysteriis representas incolumes, exaudi preces populi tui, et presta ut quisquis eam civitatem petiturus ingreditur, cuncta se impetrasse letetur. Per.]
(Cf. CO 1825, *Missa in anniversario dedicationis basilicae*)
- Angelica 477 *Oratio:* Omnipotens Deus, qui virtute tua mirabili Hierusalem civitatem tuam de manu paganorum eruisti et christianis reddidisti, adesto, quesumus, nobis propitius, et concede ut qui hanc sollempnitatem annua recolimus devotione, ad superne Hierusalem gaudia pervenire mereamur. Per.
- BnF lat. 12056 Omnipotens Deus, qui virtute tua mirabili Ierusalem civitatem tuam de manu paganorum eruisti et christianis reddidisti, adesto, quesumus, nobis propitius, et concede ut qui hanc sollempnitatem annua recolimus devotione, ad superne Ierusalem gaudia pervenire mereamur. Per Dominum.
- Barb. lat. 659 [M²] *Or.* Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui dedisti.
(CO 3920, *Missa de sancta Trinitate:* Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui dedisti famuli tuis in confessione vere fidei eterne Trinitatis gloriam agnoscere et in potentia maiestatis adorare unitatem, quesumus, ut eiusdem fidei firmitate ab omnibus semper muniamur adversis.)
- Barletta [M²] *Or.* Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui dedisti.
(CO 3920, *Missa de sancta Trinitate,* as above.)
- John of Würzburg *Oratio:* Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui virtute tua mirabili Hierusalem civitatem tuam de manu paganorum eruisti et Christianis reddidisti, adesto nobis, quesumus, propitius, ut qui sanctam sollempnitatem annua recolimus devotione, ad superne Hierusalem gaudia pervenire mereamur. Per.
- BL Egerton 2902 *Coll.* Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui in virtute tua mirabili Ierusalem civitatem tuam de manu paganorum eruisti et christianis reddidisti, adesto, quesumus, nobis propitius, et concede ut qui hanc sollempnitatem annua devotione recolimus, ad superne Hierusalem gaudia pervenire mereamur. Per.

Epistle	BL Add. 8927 [M ¹]	<i>Epist.</i> Surge, illuminare. <i>Ut supra</i> [Is 60:1].
	Angelica 477	—
	BnF lat. 12056	—
	Barb. lat. 659 [M ²]	<i>Ep.</i> Surge, illuminare.
	Barletta [M ²]	<i>Epistola Ysaie prophete:</i> Surge, illuminare.
	John of Würzburg	<i>Epistola.</i> Surge, illuminare.
	BL Egerton 2902	<i>Ep.</i> Surge, illuminare.
Gradual	BL Add. 8927 [M ¹]	<i>Resp.</i> Omnes de Saba venient [aurem et thus deferentes et laudem Domino annuntiantes]. Is 60:6; CantusIndex g00597 (Epiphany) v. Surge [et illuminare Ierusalem; quia gloria Domini super te orta est]. Is 60:1; CantusIndex g00598 (Epiphany)
	Angelica 477	—
	BnF lat. 12056	—
	Barb. lat. 659 [M ²]	<i>Resp.</i> Omnes de Sabba.
	Barletta [M ²]	<i>Resp.</i> Omnes de Saba. v. Surge
	John of Würzburg	<i>cum graduali:</i> Omnes de Saba.
	BL Egerton 2902	<i>Resp.</i> Omnes de Saba.
Alleluia	BL Add. 8927 [M ¹]	Alleluia. v. Te decet hymnus [Deus in Sion et tibi reddetur votum in Ierusalem]. Ps 64:2; CantusIndex g01181 (Tenth Sunday after Pentecost) <i>vel,</i> Qui confidunt [in Domino sicut mons Sion non commovebitur in eternum qui habitat in Ierusalem]. Ps 124:1; CantusIndex g02201 (Twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost)
	Angelica 477	—
	BnF lat. 12056	—
	Barb. lat. 659 [M ²]	Alleluia v. Dies sanctificatus.
	Barletta [M ²]	Alleluia. Dies sanctificatus.
	John of Würzburg	Alleluia. Dies sanctificatus.
	BL Egerton 2902	Alleluia. v. Dies sanctificatus [illuxit nobis venite gentes et adorete Dominum quia hodie descendit lux magna super terram]. CantusIndex a00087 (Christmas)

Sequence	BL Add. 8927 [M ¹]	<i>Prosa</i> . Manu plaudant. . . . ¹⁰²
	Angelica 477	—
	BnF lat. 12056	—
	Barb. lat. 659 [M ²]	<i>Sequentia</i> . Clara chorus ¹⁰³ <i>vel</i> Manu plaudant.
	Barletta [M ²]	<i>Prosa</i> . Clara chorus dulce, <i>vel</i> <i>prosa</i> : Manu plaudant omnes.
	John of Würzburg	—
	BL Egerton 2902	—
Gospel	BL Add. 8927 [M ¹]	<i>Evang.</i> Cum appropinquaret Ihesus Ierusalem misit duos discipulos [Mt 21:1].
	Angelica 477	—
	BnF lat. 12056	—
	Barb. lat. 659 [M ²]	<i>Evang.</i> Cum intrasset Ihesus Iherosolimam.
	Barletta [M ²]	<i>Evang. secundum Matheum</i> : Cum intrasset Ihesus.
	John of Würzburg	<i>Evangelium</i> . Cum intraret Iesus Ierosolimam.
	BL Egerton 2902	<i>Evang.</i> Cum appropinquasset Ihesus Iherusalem, videns civitatem flevit [Lc 19:41]. <i>Require post Pentecosten in Domenica X.</i>
Offertory	BL Add. 8927 [M ¹]	<i>Off.</i> Dexteram Domini fecit virtutem [dexteram Domini exaltavit me non moriar sed vivam et narrabo opera Domini]. Ps 117:16–17; CantusIndex g00629 (Third Sunday after Epiphany)
	Angelica 477	—
	BnF lat. 12056	—
	Barb. lat. 659 [M ²]	<i>Off.</i> Dexteram Domini.
	Barletta [M ²]	<i>Off.</i> Dexteram Domini fecit virtutem ¹⁰⁴
	John of Würzburg	<i>Offertorium</i> . Dexteram Domini
	BL Egerton 2902	<i>Offert.</i> Dexteram Domini.

¹⁰² See the text, pp. 139–40 above.

¹⁰³ Dreves and Blume, *Analecta hymnica* 54:138–40, no. 94.

¹⁰⁴ Corrected from “mirabilia,” in Kohler.

- Secret BL Add. 8927 [M¹] Annue, quesumus, Domine, precibus nostris, ut quicumque fideles istam civitatem cuius anniversarium acceptionis diem celebramus ingrediuntur, plena tibi atque perfecta corporis et anime devocione placeant, ut dum hec presentia vota reddunt, ad eterna premia te adiuvante pervenire mereantur. Per.
(Cf. CO 266c, *Missa in anniversario dedicationis basilicae*)
- Angelica 477 *Secreta*: Hanc, Domine, quesumus, hostiam quam tibi supplices offerimus dignanter suscipe, et eius misterio nos dignos effice, ut qui de Hierusalem civitate de manu paganorum eruta hunc diem agimus celebrem, celestis Hierusalem concives fieri tandem mereamur. Per.
- BnF lat. 12056 *Secreta*: Hanc, Domine, quesumus, hostiam quam tibi supplices offerimus dignanter suscipe, et eius misterio nos dignos effice, ut qui de Hierusalem civitate de manu paganorum eruta hunc diem agimus celebrem, celestis Hierusalem concives fieri tandem mereamur. Per.
- Barb. lat. 659 [M²] —
- Barletta [M²] —
- John of Würzburg *Secreta*. Hanc, quesumus, Domine, hostiam, quam tibi supplices offerimus, dignanter suscipe et eius ministerio nos dignos effice, ut qui de Iherusalem civitate de manu paganorum eruta hunc diem agimus, celebrando celestis Ierusalem concives fieri tandem mereamur. Per
- BL Egerton 2902 *Sacra*. Hanc, quesumus, Domine, hostiam quam tibi supplices offerimus dignanter suscipe, et eius misterio nos dignos perfice, et qui de Ierusalem civitate de manu paganorum eruta hunc diem agimus celebrem, celestis Ierusalem civium consortes fieri tandem mereamur. Per.

Com- munion	BL Add. 8927 [M ¹]	<i>Comm.</i> Iersuaem surge [et sta in excelso et vide iucunditatem que veniet tibi a deo tuo]. Bar 5:5, 4:36; CantusIndex g00500 (Advent)
	Angelica 477	—
	BnF lat. 12056	—
	Barb. lat. 659 [M ²]	<i>Comm.</i> Iherusalem surge.
	Barletta [M ²]	<i>Comm.</i> Iherusalem surge et sta in.
	John of Würzburg	<i>Communio:</i> Hierusalem surge.
	BL Egerton 2902	<i>Co.</i> Ierusalem surge et sta.
Postcom- munion	BL Add. 8927 [M ¹]	<i>Or.</i> Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam sponsam vocare dignatus es, ut que haberet gratiam per fidei devotionem, haberet etiam ex nomine pietatem, da ut omnis hec plebs nomini tuo serviens huius vocabuli consortio digna esse mereatur, et que sancte civitatis tue Ierusalem acceptionis celebrat diem, tibi collecta, te timeat, te diligat, te sequatur, ut dum iugiter per vestigia tua graditur ad celestia promissa te ducente pervenire mereamur. Per. (Cf. CO 1576, <i>Dedicatio basilicae</i>)
	Angelica 477	<i>Postcomm.</i> Quod sumpsimus, Domine, sacrificium ad corporis et anime nobis proficiant ad salutem, ut qui de civitatis tue Hierusalem libertate gaudemus, in celesti Hierusalem hereditari mereamur. Per.
	BnF lat. 12056	<i>Postcomm.</i> Quod sumpsimus, Domine, sacrificium ad corporis et anime nobis proficiat salutem, ut qui de civitatis tue Hierusalem libertate gaudemus, in celesti Hierusalem hereditari mereamur. Per.
	Barb. lat. 659 [M ²]	—
	Barletta [M ²]	—
	John of Würzburg	Quod sumpsimus, Domine, sacrificium ad corporis et anime nobis proficiat salutem, ut qui de civitatis tue Iherusalem libertate gaudemus, in celesti Iherusalem hereditari mereamur. Per.
	BL Egerton 2902	<i>Postcomm.</i> Quod sumpsimus, Domine, sacrificium ad corporis et anime nobis proficiat salutem, et qui de civitatis tue sancte Ierusalem libertate gaudemus, in celesti Ierusalem hereditari tandem mereamur. Per.

BL Add. 8927 [M¹] *Al.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui angelum tuum de celo misisti ab hostio monumenti saxum magnum sublevare, ut sedens super illud testimonium dominice resurrectionis Ihesu Christi Domini nostri blando sermone mulieribus nunciaret, presta nobis quesumus, ut per venerabile atque gloriosum eiusdem redemptoris nostri sepulcrum, a viciorum sepulcris resuscitari mereamur, et felicitatis eterne gaudia consequamur; per eundem.
(CO 3891, *Missa de sepulcro Domini*)

TABLE 2: OFFICES COMPARED

O¹ and O² are presented in the order in which they appear in the base manuscripts, BL Add. 8927 (as the only witness to O¹) and Barb. lat. 659 (for O²). The version of O² in Barletta, although highly damaged and unreadable in parts, is consistent with the version of Barb. lat. 659 in those portions of the manuscript that can be made out, and I have noted only differences of substance, not differences in orthography, length of cues, order of items, and so forth. The version in Lucca 5 (fol. 57r) is shorter, and I have likewise noted only elements of substantive difference between the prescribed items. The cues offered in both sources have been expanded with a complete version of the (likely) chant in brackets, reconstructed from CAO and the Cantus Database. The texts have been punctuated and capitalized according to CAO, although *ae*, *oe*, and *ę* have been rendered as *e*, and *j* has been rendered as *i*. Items are listed by hour (V=Vespers, M=Matins, L=Lauds), chant type (A=Antiphon, R=Responsory, V=Responsory verse, v.=versicle), and position in the hour. Thus VA2 stands for the second antiphon of Vespers, MR3 stands for the third responsory of Matins, and so forth. The seasons or feasts at which the chant are commonly used are noted, but since many are used at different places in the liturgy or the season, more precise designations are not indicated.

	O ¹	O ²
	BL Add. 8927, fol. 134r–v	Barb. lat. 659, fols. 101r–102r (against Barletta, fols. 109v–110v)
	<i>In festivitate sancte Hierusalem</i>	<i>In liberatione sancte civitatis Iherusalem de manibus Turchorum.</i> ¹⁰⁵
Vespers		<i>Ad vesperas</i>
VA1	<i>Ant.</i> Ecce nomen Domini [venit de longinquo, et claritas eius replet orbem terrarum]. Is 30:27–28; CAO 2527; =O ² VA1 <i>Ps.</i> Letatus sum [Ps 121].	<i>Ant.</i> Ecce nomen Domini [venit de longinquo, et claritas eius replet orbem terrarum]. Is 30:27–28; CAO 2527; =O ¹ VA1 <i>Laudate pueri</i> [Ps 112].
VA2	<i>Ant.</i> Leva Ierusalem, [oculos, et vide potentiam Regis: ecce Salvator venit solvere te a vinculo]. Is 60:4; CAO 3606; =O ² VA3 <i>Ps.</i> Qui confidunt [Ps 124].	<i>Ant.</i> Iherusalem respice [ad Orientem et vide, Alleluia]. Is 33:20; CAO 3481; =O ¹ MA1 <i>Ps.</i> Laudate Dominum omnes gentes ¹⁰⁶ [Ps 116].
VA3	<i>Ant.</i> Levabit Dominus signum [in nationibus, et congregabit dispersos Israel]. Is 11:12; CAO 3607; =O ² VA5 <i>Ps.</i> In convertendo [Ps 125].	<i>Ant.</i> Leva Iherusalem, [oculos et vide potentiam Regis: ecce Salvator veniet solvere te a vinculo]. Is 60:4, CAO 3606; =O ¹ VA2/LA5 <i>Lauda anima mea</i> [Ps 145].
VA4	<i>Ant.</i> Elevare, elevare, [consurge Ierusalem; solve vincla colli tui, captiva filia Sion]. Is 51. 17; CAO 2633 <i>Ps.</i> Super flumina [Ps 136]	<i>Ant.</i> Urbs fortitudinis [nostre Sion, Salvator ponetur in ea murus et antemurale, aperite portas, quia nobiscum Deus, Alleluia]. Is 26:1–2; CAO 5281; =O ¹ LA2 <i>Ps.</i> Laudate Dominum q. [Ps 146]
VA5	<i>Ant.</i> Letamini cum Ierusalem [et exultate in ea, omnes qui diligitis eam in eternum]. Is 66:10; CAO 3562; =O ² LA2 <i>Ps.</i> Lauda Ierusalem [Ps 147]	<i>Ant.</i> Levabit Dominus [signum in nationibus, et congregabit dispersos Israel]. Is 11:12; CAO 3607; =O ¹ VA3 <i>Ps.</i> Lauda Iherusalem [Ps 147]

¹⁰⁵ Barletta omits “*de manibus turchorum.*” Lucca 5 supplies no rubric or title.

¹⁰⁶ Lucca 5 omits “omnes gentes.”

	O ¹	O ²
	<i>Cap.</i> Surge, illuminare [Is 60:1] <i>R.</i> Benedictus v. Replebitur	<i>Cap.</i> Surge, illuminare, Iherusalem. Is 60:1; CAO 7729; =O ¹
		<i>Resp.</i> Quis Deus magnus [sicut Deus noster? tu es Deus qui facis mirabilia]. v. Notam fecisti [in po- pulis virtutem tuam. redemisti in brachio tuo populum tuum]. Ps 76.14–16; CAO 7498a
	<i>Hym.</i> Urbs beata Ierusalem. (<i>Analecta Hymnica</i> 51:110); =O ²	<i>Hym.</i> Urbs beata Iherusalem. (<i>Analecta Hymnica</i> 51:110); =O ¹
	v. Omnes de Saba venient. Is 60:6; CAO 8159	v. Reges tharsis [et insule munera offerunt]. Ps 71:10; CAO 8180, =O ¹ Mv.
Magni- ficat antiphon	<i>Ant.</i> Venite, ascendamus [ad mon- tem Domini, quia de Sion exivit lex, et verbum Domini de Ieru- salem]. Is 3:3, CAO 5349	<i>Ant.</i> Venit lumen tuum, [Ierusalem, et gloria Domini super te orta est; et ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo, Alleluia]. Is 60:1; CAO 5344
	<i>Or.</i> Deus qui nobis per singulos annos sancte civitatis tue Ierusalem acceptionis reparas diem et sacris semper mysteriis representas in- columes, exaudi preces populi tui, et presta ut quisquis eam civitatem petiturus ingreditur, cuncta se impetrasse letetur. Per. Cf. CO 1825	<i>Or.</i> Omnipotens sempiternae Deus qui dedisti [famuli tuis in confes- sione vere fidei eterne trinitatis gloriam agnoscere et in potentia maiestatis adorare unitatem, que- sumus, ut eiusdem fidei firmitate ab omnibus semper muniamur adver- sis]. ¹⁰⁷ CO 3920
Matins		<i>Ad matutinas</i> ¹⁰⁸
	<i>Invit.</i> Filie Sion currite, adsunt enim celebria matris vestre solem- pna, iubilemus igitur Deo nostro unanimes, qui sibi eam gra- tuitam elegit ecclesiam. Cant 3:11, Zach 9:9ff., Ps 147, Apoc 21; CAO 1079; =O ²	<i>Invit.</i> Filie Syon currite, [adsunt enim celebria matris vestre solem- pna, iubilemus igitur Deo nostro unanimes, qui sibi eam gratuitam elegit clementia]. ¹⁰⁹ Cant 3:11, Zach 9:9ff., Ps 147, Apoc 21; CAO 1079; =O ¹

¹⁰⁷ Not in Lucca 5.¹⁰⁸ Lucca 5 omits the rubric.¹⁰⁹ Lucca 5 adds “Ps. Venite.”

	O ¹	O ²
		<i>Ym. Angulare fundamentum</i> (originally part of <i>Urbs beata</i>). <i>In primo nocturno</i> ¹¹⁰
MA1	<i>Ant. Ierusalem respice [ad Orientem et vide, Alleluia].</i> Is 33:20; CAO 3481; =O ² VA2 <i>Ps. Domine Dominus noster [Ps 8]</i>	<i>Ant. Afferte Domino, [filii Dei, adorete Dominum in aula sancta eius].</i> Ps 28:2, CAO 1303 <i>Ps. Ipsum [Ps 28]</i>
MA2	<i>Ant. De Syon exhibit lex, [et verbum Domini de Ierusalem. Alleluia].</i> Is 2:3, CAO 2119 <i>Ps. Celi enarrant [Ps 18]</i>	<i>Ant. Fluminis impetus [letificat, Alleluia, civitatem Dei, Alleluia].</i> Ps 45:5, CAO 2886; =O ¹ MA4 <i>Ps. Deus noster refugium [Ps 45]</i>
MA3	<i>Ant. Sion, noli timere: [ecce Deus tuus veniet, Alleluia].</i> Is 35.4; CAO 4969 <i>Ps. Domini est terra [Ps 23]</i> <i>v. Super te, Ierusalem.</i> Is 60:2; CAO 8210 <i>Lectiones de historia ubi capta fuit Hierusalem, incipiuntur enim sic.</i> Est enim civitas Ierusalem in montano loco sita (Fulcher of Chartres, <i>Historia Hiersolymitana</i> 1.26, ed. Hagenmeyer, 281)	<i>Ant. Psallite Deo nostro [psallite; psallite Regi nostro, psallite sapienter].</i> Ps 46:7; CAO 4406 <i>Ps. Omnes gentes [Ps 46]</i> <i>v. Reges tharsis [et insule munera offerunt].</i> Ps 71:10; CAO 8180; =O ¹ M v. <i>Lect. I: Surge, illuminare [Is 60:1–5].</i> <i>Lect. II: Omne peccus [Is 60:6–12].</i> <i>Lect. III: Gloria libani ad te [Is 60:13–22].</i> ¹¹¹
MR1	<i>Resp. Illuminare, illuminare, [Ierusalem: venit lux tua, et gloria Domini super te orta est].</i> Is 60:1; CAO 6882; =O ² MR6	<i>Resp. Iherusalem cito veniet [salus tua. Quare merore consumeris? Numquid consiliarius non est tibi quia innovabit te dolor? Salvabo te et liberabo: te noli timere.</i> Mich 4:8–9; CAO 7031; =O ¹ MR2
MV1	<i>v. Et ambulabunt gentes [in lumine</i>	<i>v. Israhel si me audieris, [non erit in</i>

¹¹⁰ Lucca 5 omits the rubric.¹¹¹ Lucca 5 omits the lections.

	O ¹	O ²
	tuo, et reges in splendore ortus tui]. Is 60:3; CAO 6882a; =O ² MV6	te Deus recens, neque adorabis Deum alienum: ego enim Domi- nus]. Ps 80:9–11; CAO 7031a; =O ¹ MV2
MR2	<i>Resp.</i> Ierusalem cito veniet salus [tua. Quare merore consumeris? Numquid consiliarius non est tibi quia innovabit te dolor? Salvabo te et liberabo te: noli timere. Mich 4:8–9; CAO 7031; =O ² MR1	<i>Resp.</i> Civitas Ierusalem, [noli flere, quoniam doluit Dominus super te, et auferet a te omnem tribulatio- nem]. Lc 23:28 (?); CAO 6290; =O ¹ MR4
MV2	v. Israhel si me audieris, [non erit in te Deus recens, neque adorabis Deum alienum: ego enim Domi- nus]. Ps 80:9–11; CAO 7031a; =O ² MV1	v. Ecce in fortitudine [veniet, et bracchium eius dominabitur]. Is 40:10; CAO 6290b; =O ¹ MV4
MR3	<i>Resp.</i> Hec est Ierusalem, civitas magna [celestis, ornata tamquam sponsam Agni, quoniam tabernacu- lum facta est, Alleluia]. Apoc 21:2,3; CAO 6803; =O ² MR7	<i>Resp.</i> Vidi Iherusalem [descenden- tem de celo ornatam auro mundo, et lapidibus pretiosis intextam, Alle- luia]. Apoc 21:1; CAO 7876
MV3	v. Porte eius non claudentur [per diem, nox enim non erit in ea]. Apoc 21:25; CAO 6803b; =O ² MV7	v. Ab intus [in fimbriis aureis cir- cumamicta varietate]. Ps 44:14; CAO 7876a
		<i>In secundo nocturno</i>
MA4	<i>Ant.</i> Fluminis impetus [letificat, Alleluia, civitatem Dei, Alleluia]. Ps 45:5; CAO 2886; =O ² MA2	<i>Ant.</i> Suscepimus Deus [misericor- diam tuam in medio templi tui se- cundum, nomen tuum]. Ps 47:10; CAO 5085
	<i>Ps.</i> Deus noster [Ps 45]	<i>Ps.</i> Magnus Dominus [Ps. 47]
MA5	<i>Ant.</i> Super te, Ierusalem, [orietur Dominus, et gloria eius in te vide- bitur]. Is 60:2; CAO 5065	<i>Ant.</i> Omnis terra [adoret te et psallat tibi; psalmum dicat nomini tuo Domine]. Ps 65:4; CAO 4155
	<i>Ps.</i> Magnus Dominus [Ps 47]	Iubilare deo [Ps 65]
MA6	<i>Ant.</i> Dabo in Syon [salute, et in Ierusalem gloriam meam, Alleluia]. Is 46.13, CAO 2094, Cf: O2 MV4	<i>Ant.</i> Omnes gentes quascumque [fecisti venient, et adorabunt coram te, Domine]. Ps 85:9; CAO 4125

	O ¹	O ²
	<i>Ps.</i> Te decet ymnus [Ps 64]	Inclina Domine [Ps 85]
	<i>v.</i> Tu exurgens Domine misereberis [Sion]. Ps 101:14; CAO 7790	<i>v.</i> Omnes de Sabba venient. Is 60:6, CAO 8159, =O ¹ V <i>v.</i>
		<i>Lect. III:</i> Spiritus Domini super me [Is 61:1–9]. <i>Lect. V:</i> Gaudens gaudebo [Is 61:10–62:5] <i>Lect. VI:</i> Super muros tuos [Is 62.6–62.12(?)] ¹¹²
MR4	<i>Resp.</i> Civitas Ierusalem [noli flere, quoniam doluit Dominus super te, et auferet a te omnem tribulationem]. Lc 23:28?; CAO 6290, =O ² MR2	<i>Resp.</i> Sicut mater [consolatur filios suos ita consolabor vos, dicit Dominus; et de Ierusalem, civitate quam elegi, veniet vobis auxilium: et videbitis, et gaudebit cor vestrum]. Is 66:13–14; CAO 7660; =O ¹ MR8
MV4	<i>v.</i> Ecce in fortitudine [veniet, et brachium eius Dominabitur]. Is 40:10; CAO 6290b; =O ² MV2	<i>v.</i> Dabo in Syon [salutem, et in Ierusalem gloriam meam]. Is 46:13 CAO 7660b; =O ¹ MV8
MR5	<i>Resp.</i> Ierusalem plantabis [vineam in montibus tuis, et exsultabis quia dies Domini veniet. Surge, Sion, convertere ad Deum tuum. Gaude et letare Iacob, quia de medio gentium Salvator tuus veniet. Jer 31.5–7; CAO 7033	<i>Resp.</i> Super muros tuos, [Ierusalem, constitui custodies: tota die et nocte non tacebunt laudare nomen Domini]. Is 62.6; CAO 7723; =O ¹ MR7
MV5	<i>v.</i> Exsulta satis [filia Sion, iubila filia Ierusalem]. Zach 9:9; CAO 7033	<i>v.</i> Qui reminiscimini Domini, [ne taceatis et ne detis silentium ei]. ¹¹³ Is 62:6; CAO 7723a
MR6	<i>Resp.</i> Lapidēs pretiosi [omnes muri tui, et turres Ierusalem gemmis edificabuntur]. Tob 13:21, Apoc 21:11–12; CAO 7074	<i>Resp.</i> Illuminare, [illuminate, Ierusalem: venit lux tua, et gloria Domini super te orta est. Is 60:1, CAO 6882; =O ¹ MR1

¹¹² Lucca 5 omits the lections.¹¹³ Lucca 5 has “Predicabunt populis. Qui reminiscimini.”

	O ¹	O ²
MV6	v. Cumque a Ioanne [describerentur universa secreta celi, intuentur civitatem sanctam dixit. Apoc 21:2, 21:10; CAO 7074b	v. Et ambulabunt [gentes in lumine tuo, et reges in splendore ortus tui]. Is 60:3; CAO 6882a; =O ¹ MV1
		<i>In tercio nocturno</i>
MA7	<i>Ant.</i> Syon renovaberis [et, videbis iustum tuum qui venturus est in te]. Is 62:2; CAO 4970 <i>Ps.</i> Quam dilecta [Ps 83]	<i>Ant.</i> Adorate Dominum, Alleluia, in aula [sancta eius, Alleluia]. Ps 95:9; CAO 1288 <i>Ps.</i> Cantate [domino] .i. [Ps 95]
MA8	<i>Ant.</i> Iersualem gaude [gaudio magno, quia veniet tibi Salvator, Alleluia]. Zach 9:9; CAO 3478; =O ² LA3 <i>Ps.</i> Fundamenta [Ps 86:1]	<i>Ant.</i> Adorate Dominum, [Alleluia, omnes angeli eius, Alleluia]. Ps 96:7; CAO 1289 <i>Ps.</i> Dominus regnavit exultet [Ps 96]
MA9	<i>Ant.</i> Ierusalem civitas sancta, ornamentis martyrum decorata, cuius platee sonant laudes de die in diem. Alleluia. Apoc 19:1, 3; 21; 22:2; CAO 3477 <i>Ps.</i> Cantate Domino [Ps 149]	<i>Ant.</i> Notum fecit Dominus, [Alleluia, salutare suum, Alleluia]. Ps 97:2; CAO 3964 <i>Ps.</i> Cantate Domino .ii. [Ps 97]
	v. Reges Tharsis et insule munera offerunt Ps 71:10; CAO 8180; =O ² V v.	v. Omnes gentes [quascumque fecisiti. R. Venient et adorabunt. CAO 8160 <i>Lect. ii de evangelio.</i> Cum intrasset ¹¹⁴ Ihesu Iherosolimam [Mt 21:10]. <i>IX lect.</i> Credimus sanctam Trinitatem. ¹¹⁵
MR7	<i>Resp.</i> Super muros tuos, [Ierusalem, constitui custodies: tota die et nocte non tacebunt laudare nomen Domini]. Is 62:6; CAO 7723; =O ² MR5	<i>Resp.</i> Hec est Ierusalem, [civitas magna celestis, ornata tamquam sponsam Agni, quoniam tabernaculum facta est, Alleluia]. Apoc 21:2,3; CAO 6803' =O ¹ MR3

¹¹⁴ Kohler reads "venisset" in Barletta, but it is almost entirely gone.

¹¹⁵ Alcuin, *De fide Sanctae Trinitatis* (CCCM 249:144). Lucca 5 omits the lections.

	O ¹	O ²
MV7	v. Predicabunt [populis fortitudinem meam, et annuntiabunt gentibus gloriam meam]. Is 66:19; CAO 7723b	v. Porte eius [non claudentur per diem, nox enim in ea]. Apoc 21:25; CAO 6803b; =O ¹ MV3
MR8	<i>Resp.</i> Sicut mater [consolatur filios suos ita consolabor vos, dicit Dominus; et de Ierusalem, civitate quam elegi, veniet vobis auxilium: et videbitis, et gaudebit cor vestrum]. Is 66:13–14; CAO 7660; =O ² MR4	<i>Resp.</i> Vidi civitatem [sanctam, Ierusalem novam descendentem de celo a Deo paratam, et audivi vocem de throno dicentem: Ecce tabernaculam Dei cum hominibus, et habitabit cum eis]. Apoc 21.2–3; CAO 7871
MV8	v. Dabo in Sion [salute, et in Ierusalem gloriam meam]. Is 46:13; CAO 7660b; =O ² MV4	v. Vidi angelum Dei volentem [per medium celum voce magna clamantem et dicentem]. Apoc 14:6–7; CantusID 7871zc; CAO 7873v
MR9	<i>Resp.</i> Platee tue Ierusalem, [sternentur auro mundo, Alleluia; et cantabitur in te canticum letitie: Alleluia; et per omnes vicos tuos ab universis dicetur: Alleluia Alleluia]. Tob 13:22, 13; CAO 7390	<i>Resp.</i> Summe Trinitati, simplici [Deo una divinitas, equalis Gloria, coeterna maiestas Patri Prolique Sanctoque flamine, qui totum subdit suis orbem legibus]. CAO 7718
	v. Luce splendida [fulgebis, et omnes fines terre adorabunt te]. Tob 13:13; CAO 7390	v. Prestet nobis [gratiam Deitas beata, Patris ac Nati pariterque Spiritus almi]. CAO 7718a
Lauds	<i>In laudibus</i>	<i>In laudibus</i>
LA1	<i>Ant.</i> Iucundare, filia Sion; [exultatis, filia Ierusalem Alleluia]. Zach 9:9; CAO 3509; =O ² LA1	<i>Ant.</i> Iocundare, filia Sion; [exultatis, filia Ierusalem Alleluia]. Zach 9:9; CAO 3509; =O ¹ LA1
		<i>Ps.</i> Dominus regnat ¹¹⁶ [Ps 92]
LA2	<i>Ant.</i> Urbs fortitudinis [nostre Sion, Salvator ponetur in ea murus et antemurale, aperite portas, quia nobiscum Deus, Alleluia]. Is 26:1–2; CAO 5281; =O ² VA4	<i>Ant.</i> Letamini cum Iherusalem [et exultate in ea, omnes qui diligitis eam in eternum]. Is 66:10; CAO 3562; =O ¹ VA5

¹¹⁶ Lucca 5 omits the Lauds psalm cues.

	O ¹	O ²
		<i>Ps.</i> Iubilare [Ps. 99]
LA3	<i>Ant.</i> Ierusalem, gaude [gaudio magno, quia veniet tibi Salvator, Alleluia]. Zach 9:9; CAO 3478; =O ² LA3	<i>Ant.</i> Iersuaem, gaude [gaudio magno, quia veniet tibi Salvator, Alleluia]. Zach 9:9; CAO 3478; =O ¹ MA8
		<i>Ps.</i> Deus Deus meus [Ps. 62]
LA4	<i>Ant.</i> Omnes nationes venient a longe, portantes munera sua, Alleluia. Is 60:6, Ps 71:10, Tob 13:14; CAO 4128; =O ² LA4	<i>Ant.</i> Omnes nationes [venient a longe, portantes munera sua, Alleluia]. Is 60:6, Ps 71:10, Tobit 13:14, CAO 4128, =O ¹ LA4
		Benedicite [Dan 3:57–88, 56]
LA5	<i>Ant.</i> Leva, Ierusalem, [oculos, et vide potentiam Regis: ecce Salvator veniet solvere te a vinculo]. Is 60:4; CAO 3606; =O ² VA3	<i>Ant.</i> Cantate Domino canticum [novum]. Ps 149:1; CAO 1762
		<i>Ps.</i> Laudate [Ps. 148].
		<i>Cap.</i> ¹¹⁷ Filii tui de longe [Is 60:4]. ¹¹⁸
	<i>Hym.</i> Urbs beata Ierusalem.	
	v. Venit lumen tuum, Ierusalem. Is 60:1; CAO 8234	v. Adorate Dominum, [Alleluia, in aula sancta eius, Alleluia]. Ps 28:2; CAO 1288
Benedictus antiphon	<i>In evangelium ant.</i> Cum appropinquaret [Dominus Ierusalem, videns civitatem flevit super illam, et dixit: Quia si cognovisses et tu; quia venient dies in te, et circumdabunt te et coangustabunt te undique, et ad terram prosternent te: eo quod non cognovisti tempus visitationis, tue Alleluia]. Mt 21:1; CAO 1975; =M ¹ Gospel	<i>In evangelio ant.</i> Benedicta sit [creatrix et gubernatrix omnium, sancta et individua trinitas et nunc et semper et per infinita seculorum secula]. CAO 1707
	<i>Cant.</i> Benedictus.	

¹¹⁷ Barletta has “*Hymnus.*”¹¹⁸ Lucca 5 adds “*Hym.* Hoc in templo.”

O¹

v. Venit lumen tuum

O²

Prime

Proces-
sion

Or. Omnipotens sempiternae Deus
[as above]¹¹⁹

Ad I. Ant. Iocundare.

*Post*¹²⁰ *primam cum sollempni processionem procedimus ad Templum Domini laudantes et glorificantes, hec cantando: Resp. Benedictus Dominus. Resp. Quis Deus magnus et cetera que ad laudes pertinent; in introitu templi Ant. Pax eterna v. Domum tuam. Or. Exaudi nos omnipotens Deus, et presta ut quisquis. Quibus expletis procedimus ad meridianam portam, et inde divergentes, convertimur contra illum locum ubi civitas capta fuit. Facta statione fit sermo ad populum. Ser-mone expleto, factaque benedictione, cantor incipit. Ant. Gratias tibi, Deus, deinde revertunt ad Dominicum sepulchrum, cantando cantando*¹²¹ *de prescriptis. Resp. In introitu ecclesie. Si dominica fuerit. Ant. Ego sum Alpha et Omega, et fit statio ante Sepulchrum, v. Surrexit Dominus de hoc. Or. Deus qui hodierna die deinde de sancta Maria. Ant. Alma redemptoris mater. De hac liberatione secundum novam institutionem nichil facimus post processionem, et missam matutinalem propter dedicationem ecclesie.*¹²² *v. Post partum virgo Oratio: Famulorum tuorum.*

¹¹⁹ Not in Lucca 5.

¹²⁰ Not in Lucca 5.

¹²¹ Barletta does not repeat “*cantando*.”

¹²² Barletta omits “*De hac liberatione ... propter dedicationem ecclesie*.”

	O ¹	O ²
Terce		<p><i>Ad III. Hymnus:</i> Hoc in templo [from <i>Urbs Beata</i>, as above] <i>vel</i> Nunc sancte nobis.¹²³ CAO 8354</p> <p><i>Ant.</i> Letamini cum Iherusalem. <i>Cap.</i> Surge, illuminare. <i>Resp.</i> Reges tharsis. <i>v.</i> Omnes de Sabba¹²⁴ [all as above]. <i>Collecta ut supra.</i>¹²⁵</p>
Sext		<p><i>Ad VI. Hymnus.</i> Hoc in templo [as above] <i>vel</i> Rector potens.¹²⁶ CAO 8380</p> <p><i>Ant.</i> Ierusalem gaude. <i>Cap.</i> Filii tui de longe. <i>Resp.</i> Omnes de Sabba venient. <i>v.</i> Omnes gentes¹²⁷ [all as above].</p> <p><i>Or.</i> Omnipotens sempiterne Deus edificator [et custos Ierusalem civitatis superne, edifica et custodi locum istum cum habitatoribus suis, ut perpetuum sit in eo domicilium incolumitatis et pacis]. CO 3787</p>
None		<p><i>Ad IX. Hymnus.</i> Hoc in templo [as above] <i>vel</i> Rerum Deus tenax.¹²⁸ CAO 8382</p> <p><i>Ant.</i> Cantate Domino. <i>Cap.</i> Leva Iherusalem. <i>Resp.</i> Omnes gentes. <i>v.</i> Adorate Dominum¹²⁹ [as above]. <i>Oratio ut supra.</i></p>

¹²³ Lucca 5 omits “*vel* Nunc sancte nobis.”

¹²⁴ Lucca 5 omits “*v.* Omnes de Sabba.”

¹²⁵ Not in Lucca 5. Barletta has the mass here.

¹²⁶ Lucca 5 omits “*vel* Rector potens.”

¹²⁷ Lucca 5 omits “*v.* Omnes gentes.”

¹²⁸ Lucca 5 omits “*vel* Deus tenax.”

¹²⁹ Lucca 5 omits “*v.* Adorate Dominum.”

	O ¹	O ²
Second Vespers		<i>Ad vesperas</i>
VA1		<i>Ant.</i> Iocundare filia ¹³⁰ [as above]. <i>Ps.</i> Dixit Dominus <i>cetera ad ceteros</i> . ¹³¹ <i>Cap.</i> Surge illuminare. <i>Resp.</i> Summe Trinitati. ¹³² <i>Hym.</i> Urbs beata Iherusalem [all as above]. <i>v.</i> Beati qui habitant [in domo tua, Domine. <i>R.</i> In secula seculorum laudabunt te]. CAO 7960
Magnificat antiphon		<i>Ant.</i> O Iherusalem civitas Dei summi, [leva in circuitu oculos tuos et vide Dominum Deum tuum, quia iam veniet solvere te a vinculis]. ¹³³ CAO 4034 <i>Collecta ut supra</i> . ¹³⁴

Dartmouth College.

¹³⁰ Lucca 5 omits "filia."

¹³¹ Not in Lucca 5

¹³² Lucca 5 adds "v. Prestet nobis."

¹³³ Lucca supplies the entire text with variants ("O Iherusalem civitas regis summi, leva in circuitu oculos tuos et vide Dominum Deum tuum, quia modo veniet solvere te a vinculo").

¹³⁴ Not in Lucca 5, which adds "*Lectiones require in Epiphania.*"

