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Océane Boudeau

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## The Responsories of the *Ordo representacionis Ade*<sup>1</sup>

The close connection between the *Ordo representacionis Ade*<sup>2</sup> and the liturgy is well-established: the *Ordo* opens with a reading from the beginning of Genesis and throughout the entire section which dramatizes the story of Adam and Eve and then that of Abel and Cain, seven responsories are inserted in the middle of the exchanges between the characters. At the beginning of the Procession of the Prophets, a second reading is mentioned: Quodvultdeus's sermon *Vos, inquam, convenio, o Judei*, long attributed to Saint Augustine. While not a central part of the play, the responsories nonetheless lend it a certain kind of authority. According to Steven Justice, the responsories represented a clerical reading of the Genesis story, while the vernacular play represented its translation for non-clerics.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the responsories and dialogue are semantically redundant, and the absence of the responsories would not detract from one's understanding of the *Ordo*. However, their presence, as well as that of the Latin section headings and stage directions—some of them very similar to ones found in other liturgical works—anchor the *Ordo representacionis Ade* in the clerical world.

A responsory is a melismatic chant which consists of two parts; the responsory itself performed by the choir followed by the verse sung by a soloist or a small group of soloists, and finally, a reprise of the responsory, which the choir sings in its entirety or in part, according to the schema R + V + R. In the *Ordo*, only the textual incipit of the responsories is given; the verse and the music are omitted. This particularity occurs in certain liturgical books intended for celebrants who, more in need of the readings and euchological formulas than of the antiphons or responsories, were content with the initial words of the chants. Clerics in charge of the performance of the music could refer to antiphonaries or graduals to find the melodies in their entirety. The following table summarizes the incipits as they are written in the Tours manuscript, preceded by indications regarding the performers of the responsories, most often the choir, corresponding to the usual practice.

Placement in Tours 927	Incipit of the responsories
f. 20v	Tunc incipiat <lectio> <i>In principio creavit Deus celum et terram. Qua finita, chorus cantet R&lt;esponsorium&gt; Formavit igitur Dominus.</i>
f. 21v	chorus cantet R<esponsorium> <i>Tulit ergo Dominus hominem.</i>
f. 21v	chorus cantet R<esponsorium> <i>Dixit Dominus ad Adam.</i>
f. 26v	Tunc incipiat chorus R<esponsorium> <i>Dum deambulet.</i>
f. 29r	Chorus cantet R<esponsorium> <i>In sudore vultus tui.</i>
f. 29v	(. . .) F<igura> manu eos [Adam et Eve] demonstrans versa facie contra paradisum, et eorum incipiet R<esponsorium> <i>Ecce Adam</i>

<sup>1</sup> This article was originally presented at the session about MS Tours 927 organized by Christophe Chaguinian at Kalamazoo (2013). The published version benefitted from the input of all the panelists, Catherine Bougy, Christophe Chaguinian and Mary Channen Caldwell. Christophe Chaguinian's edition of the *Jeu d'Adam* is currently in print.

<sup>2</sup> In this chapter I will use the title given to the work in the manuscript rather than the modern title *Jeu d'Adam*.

<sup>3</sup> Justice, "Authority of Ritual."

	<i>quasi unus.</i>
f. 34v	chorus cantabit <i>Ubi est Abel frater tuus.</i>
f. 35r	Legatur in choro <i>Vos, inquam, convenio, O Judei</i>

With the exception of Quodvultdeus's sermon, the reading and the seven responsories are taken from the first four chapters of *Genesis*. The following table indicates the cited or adapted passages from *Genesis* for the first reading and for each of the responsories.

Placement in Tours 927	Incipit of the reading and the responsory	Correspondance in the Bible
f. 20v	Reading <i>In principio creavit Deus celum et terram.</i>	Genesis 1.1
f. 20v	R. <i>Formavit igitur Dominus.</i>	Genesis 2.7
f. 21v	R. <i>Tulit ergo Dominus hominem.</i>	Genesis 2.15
f. 21v	R. <i>Dixit Dominus ad Adam.</i>	Genesis 2.16-17
f. 26v	R. <i>Dum deambularet.</i>	Genesis 3.8-10
f. 29r	R. <i>In sudore vultus tui.</i>	Genesis 3.17-19
f. 29v	R. <i>Ecce Adam quasi unus.</i>	Genesis 3.22
f. 34v	R. <i>Ubi est Abel frater tuus.</i>	Genesis 4.9-10

The two readings as well as the seven responsories can, of course, be found in liturgical books. Quodvultdeus's sermon was read at Christmastide, while the first reading and the seven responsories belonged to another point in the liturgical calendar, either Matins of Septuagesima or Sexagesima Sunday. The Sunday Matins service, sung at night, included three parts known as nocturns. Within these nocturns, the number of the responsories was not the same in monastic frameworks as in the liturgies of secular institutions (principally cathedrals or collegiate churches). In monasteries, monks recited four readings for each nocturn, also called "lessons", each one followed by a responsory, while the clergy of cathedrals and collegiate churches recited only three lessons and their responsories.

	Monastic / regular <i>cursus</i>	Secular <i>cursus</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> nocturn	Reading + responsory Reading + responsory Reading + responsory Reading + responsory	Reading + responsory Reading + responsory Reading + responsory
2 <sup>nd</sup> nocturn	Reading + responsory Reading + responsory Reading + responsory Reading + responsory	Reading + responsory Reading + responsory Reading + responsory
3 <sup>rd</sup> nocturn	Reading + responsory Reading + responsory Reading + responsory Reading + responsory	Reading + responsory Reading + responsory Reading + responsory

The total number of responsories for Matins used in the monastic *cursus* therefore amounts to twelve but only to nine for the secular *cursus*. In some manuscripts

additional responsories, used as substitutes or for vespers and/or the Matins for weekday services, are also found.<sup>4</sup>

Septuagesima Sunday, nine Sundays before Easter, marked the beginning of a period of penitence which lasted until Easter Sunday itself. The reading from Genesis and the performance of responsories which were made up of excerpts of the Genesis text, thus took place, depending on the church, either on this Sunday or the following one, that of Sexuagesima, the 8th Sunday before Easter.

Sunday of Septuagesima
Sunday of Sexagesima
Sunday of Quinquagesima
Ash Wednesday (beginning of Lent)
1st Sunday of Lent (Quadragesima)
2nd Sunday of Lent
3rd Sunday of Lent
4th Sunday of Lent
Passion Sunday
Palm Sunday
Easter Sunday

From a liturgical point of view, the first reading and the seven responsories form a coherent unit. However, if one takes into account the prophecies of the Prophets, dramatic continuity is maintained throughout the *Ordo*, since the announcement of the coming of the Christ born of the Virgin, with both redeeming the sins of Adam and Eve and their children, correspond to the loss of paradise and the murder of Abel. In the context of the liturgical year, the Genesis texts were reserved for the Easter season, while the Procession of the Prophets belonged to Christmastide.<sup>5</sup> The theologians Jean Beleth († 1185?) and Guillaume Durand († 1330) explain in their writings why the reading from Genesis should be done during Septuagesima:

In addition, during Septuagesima, we experience anew the misfortune which we have inherited because of the sins of our ancestors. It is for this reason that we read the book of Genesis which recounts the expulsion of our earliest ancestors

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<sup>4</sup> For vespers, the brief responsory (Short Responsory) sung in monasteries was replaced in cathedrals by a Great Responsory that is, a large responsory taken from the Matins. With a few exceptions, the Matins for weekdays were shorter—fewer lessons and responsories—than those for Sundays.

<sup>5</sup> Tony Hunt also emphasizes the unity of the *Ordo representationis Ade*, but while he recognizes that the Procession of the Prophets anticipates the birth of the Christ, he connects this section of the composition to the feast of Pentacost. The passage with Abel and Cain represents, according to him, a prefiguration of the Passion and would therefore be connected with Easter (Hunt, "Unity of the Play of Adam," pp. 525-526). The Procession of the Prophets is found in F-R 384 (Y 110) (Cathedral of Rouen), F-LA 263 (Cathedral of Laon) and F-Pn lat. 1139 (used at the Saint-Martial de Limoges monastery).

from paradise, and we also sing the responsory *In sudore vultus tui* and *Ecce Adam*.<sup>6</sup>

The beginning of this period of penitence was symbolized by the omission of the *Alleluia*, the subject of a particular ceremony which could be, according to one's location, the occasion of manifestations or joy, or contrarily, of sadness.<sup>7</sup>

The parallel between the Genesis story and the period of Lent reached its height with the ceremony of the expulsion of penitents from the church, one particularly widespread in the North of the Loire and in England, and which paralleled the eviction of Adam and Eve from paradise.<sup>8</sup> This ceremony took place on Ash Wednesday, a little more than two weeks after the start of Septuagesima, with the penitents not being permitted to return before Holy Thursday. This ritual is described for the first time by Regino of Prüm († 915), in his *Romano-germanic Pontifical* written ca. 950-960.

#### I. Rite of Entry of the Penitentials

On Ash Wednesday, all of the penitents who are beginning or who have already begun public penitence shall appear together in the presence of the local bishop, in front of the porch of the church, dressed in sackcloth, barefoot, eyes cast downward, thus expressing their guilt by their composure and mine. The deans shall be present, that is, the archpriests of the parishes, along with the witnesses, that is to say, the penitentiary priests. These penitentiaries shall carefully control the manner in which the penitents live. The bishop, according to the seriousness of the sin, shall impose an appropriate and progressive penance.

The bishop shall then introduce the penitents into the church, and with all of the clergy, shall recite for the remission of their sins the seven psalms of penitence, while laying prostrate on the ground and shedding copious tears.

#### II. Imposition of hands; aspersion with holy water; imposition of sackcloth and of ashes

Then, standing up, in accordance with that which the canons prescribe, the bishop will impose hands on the penitents, asperge them with holy water after having covered them with ashes. He will cover their heads with sackcloth and, with his voice stifled with groaning, he shall announce to the penitents that they are to be expelled from the church because of their sins, just as Adam was expelled from Paradise (. . .)

#### III. Expulsion of the penitents

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<sup>6</sup> "Preterea, quia in Septuagesima recolimus miseriam nostram quam propter peccata parentum nostrorum incurrimus, ideo librum Geneseos legimus ubi agitur de expulsiōe priorum parentum de paradyso, et de aliis de quo etiam cantamus responsorium: 'In sudore vultus tui' et illud 'Ecce Adam' etc." (Davril and Thibodeau, *Guillelmi Duranti*, vol. 6, p. 235).

<sup>7</sup> "Some churches deposit the Alleluia with great joy, others with moans and sighs: the first ones represent the redemption of the future ; the others, the expulsion from paradise." ("Unde et quedam ecclesie deponunt Alleluya cum magno gaudio, alie cum gemitu et suspirio: illi representant futuram reparationem, isti de paradyso eiectionem.") (Davril and Thibodeau, *Guillelmi Duranti*, vol. 6, p. 232).

<sup>8</sup> Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*, pp. 92-95.

Then, the bishop asks his attendants to expel the penitents from the church (. . .)  
The clergy shall accompany the penitents while singing the following responsory:  
“In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo, etc.”<sup>9</sup>

Thereafter, this text is found in various authors and in several pontificals, liturgical books intended for the bishop. Notably this is the case for the pontifical of Beauvais, adapted for use in Lisieux and copied in the second half of the 13th century (F-B 138, f. 118r).<sup>10</sup> In this book, in addition to the responsory *In sudore vultus tui* already cited by Regino of Prüm in the Romano-germanic Pontifical, one finds the responsory *Ecce Adam quasi unus*, also found in the *Ordo representacionis Ade*. The pontifical preserved in Besançon also offers historiated initials representing the eviction of penitents and their return on Holy Thursday. The parallels between this ceremony and the *Ordo representacionis Ade* are obvious. The *Ordo* could thus be defined as a veritable liturgical dramatization of the eviction of the penitents. This ceremony, just like the Sunday of Septuagesima, could therefore have served as an ideal context for the performance of a "recreational" *Ordo*.<sup>11</sup>



Photograph CNRS-IRHT ©Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, ms. 138, f. 117r: the historiated initial at the beginning of the prayer “Exaudi, domine, preces nostras...”. The initial depicts the eviction of the penitents from the church at the beginning of Lent, with the bishop standing at the entrance of the church.

<sup>9</sup> Vogel, *Le Pêcheur et la pénitence*, pp. 208-10.

<sup>10</sup> Mary C. Mansfield notes that this ceremony is present in about fifty pontificals written in the North of the Loire between 1150 and 1350 (*The Humiliation of Sinners*, p. 97).

<sup>11</sup> The term "recreational liturgy" is used by Véronique Dominguez (*Jeu d'Adam*, back cover).



Photograph CNRS-IRHT ©Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon, ms. 138, f. 120r: historiated initial at the beginning of the prayer "Adesto supplicationibus nostris..." of Holy Thursday, depicting the return of the penitents to church.

The cleric responsible for copying the *Ordo representacionis Ade* did not consider it necessary to note the responsories in their entirety. For him—or for the performers of the *Ordo*—it sufficed to open a breviary or an antiphony to refresh their memory. Through a consultation of such books, it is possible to uncover the different liturgical chants used in different religious institutions and, in so doing, to compare their contents with the responsories of the *Ordo*. The liturgical environment of the *Ordo* may have been the same as that of the manuscripts containing the seven responsories and these liturgical books may thus indicate the religious institutions where the *Ordo representacionis Ade* was performed and/or where it may have been copied.

Such a study has already been undertaken by Charles T. Downey; his conclusions, however, merit reexamination.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, Downey concludes that one of the authors of the *Ordo* was Bernard Itier, a monk at Saint-Martial de Limoges. The writing of the manuscript could have been done, therefore, at Saint-Martial itself, in collaboration with another literate Anglo-Norman speaker, or during a monastic journey.<sup>13</sup> Downey also

<sup>12</sup> Downey, "Ad imaginem suam".

<sup>13</sup> "On the basis of this manuscript survey, it is almost certain that the creator—or one of the creators—of the *Jeu d'Adam* was a monk or was familiar with the Adam responsories as they were sung in a monastery rather than in a cathedral or other nonmonastic church," and "A southern monk could have collaborated with a native speaker of Anglo-Norman who wrote the vernacular portion of the play (. . .). Such a collaboration may have occurred either at a southern monastery such as Saint-Martial, where the choir was presumably familiar with the proper responsories and verses, or while the monk author was in the north, where an Anglo-Norman audience for the play was at hand." (Downey, "Ad imaginem suam," pp. 361, 373).



affirms that among the responsories for Septuagesima or Sexagesima, *In sudore vultus tui* and *Dixit dominus ad Adam* do not figure in the secular manuscripts, an assertion he tempers in a footnote in which he identifies thirteen (!) books in which the two responsories are, in fact, found.<sup>14</sup>

While the method of searching for the seven responsories of the *Ordo* in liturgical books may appear simple, the task is not easy, since the scribe of MS Tours 927 left only the incipits. It is, in fact, impossible to know which verse(s) was (were) sung with these responsories. Because the scribe only wrote the beginning of each responsory, with no musical indications, one cannot make comparisons with other manuscripts using textual or melodic variants. Although the Gregorian liturgical repertoire was in widespread use, a comparison of the texts and melodies shows that they were not completely standardized and one can find more or less significant differences from one manuscript to another. Indeed, the monks of Solesmes relied on these variants, but also on the choice of chants for a single feast in order to determine different families among the manuscripts<sup>15</sup>. The scribe of MS Tours 927 was, additionally, so concise that, for two responsories, the incipit given could correspond to two different chants. Thus, "In sudore vultus tui" could refer to *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo* (CAO 6937) or to *In sudore vultus tui vesceris panem donec* (CAO 6938) and "Dixit Dominus ad Adam" to *Dixit Dominus ad Adam: De ligno quod est in medio paradisi ne comedas: in qua hora comedis* (CAO 6470) or to *Dixit Dominus ad Adam: De ligno quod est in medio paradisi ne comedas: in quacumque die comederis* (CAO 6471).<sup>16</sup> However, since all of these responsories were sung on the same feast, I have not taken these distinctions into account in this study; it would indeed be an impossible task given the nature of the copy of the *Ordo representacionis Ade*.

The task is rendered equally difficult by the reduced number of responsories written in the *Ordo*. The seven responsories were initially integrated into a longer series of nine or twelve responsories, but in the *Ordo representacionis Ade* there is no indication as to whether the seven responsories belonged to a monastic (12) or secular (9) series. Consultation of MS Tours 927 also does not reveal in which nocturn they were initially performed. In fact, while the *Ordo*, thanks to its first reading and to its seven responsories, makes reference to the Matins service, it does not divide the responsories into nocturns.

### The series of responsories

The series that included the seven responsories of the *Ordo representacionis Ade* was stable and contained a total of thirteen responsories. The members of the clergy thus selected nine or twelve responsories among these in order to construct their Matins series. The following table indicates these thirteen responsories as well as the passages from Genesis to which they correspond. The order of presentation is that of the biblical text and the responsories in bold are those used in the *Ordo representacionis Ade*. For monks, only one responsory needed to be removed in order to produce a series of twelve. In most cases, it was the responsory *Igitur perfecti sunt celi* which was removed. On the other hand, for canons, the choices were more challenging, since they had to

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<sup>14</sup> Downey, "Ad imaginem suam," note 20, pp. 382-83.

<sup>15</sup> *Graduel romain*.

<sup>16</sup> The numbers are those of Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, and are abbreviated with the letters "CAO".

eliminate four responsories. The combinations used in the secular *cursus* are therefore more varied than those of their monastic counterpart. The monastic or secular series nevertheless often possessed identical beginnings and endings: the two responsories from the beginning of Genesis, *In principio fecit Deus* and *In principio Deus creavit* and *Ubi est Abel frater tuus* to conclude. In order to facilitate the comparison of the series, I have assigned a number to each of the responsories:

Number	Incipit of the responsory	<i>Genesis</i>
1	<i>In principio fecit Deus</i>	Gen. 1:1 and Gen. 1:26
2	<i>In principio deus creavit</i>	Gen. 1:1-2 and Gen. 1:31
3	<i>Igitur perfecti sunt celi</i>	Gen. 2:1-2
4	<b><i>Formavit igitur dominus</i></b>	Gen. 2:7
5	<i>Plantaverat autem dominus</i>	Gen. 2:8
6	<b><i>Tulit ergo dominus hominem</i></b>	Gen. 2:15
7	<b><i>Dixit Dominus ad Adam</i></b>	Gen. 2:16-17
8	<i>Dixit Dominus Deus non est</i>	Gen. 2:18
9	<i>Immisit dominus soporem in</i>	Gen. 2:21-23
10	<b><i>Dum (Cum) deambularet Dominus in</i></b>	Gen. 3:8-10
11	<b><i>In sudore vultus tui vesceris</i></b>	Gen. 3:17-19
12	<b><i>Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis</i></b>	Gen. 3:22
13	<b><i>Ubi est Abel frater tuus</i></b>	Gen. 4:9-10

I have not included in this series two responsories only present in manuscripts originating in the South of France and which do not draw their texts from Genesis: *Simile est regnum celorum* and *Cum turba plurima conveniret* (CAO 6374).<sup>17</sup>

### **Corpus**

My study focused on a corpus of 102 manuscripts, principally of the secular *cursus* (eighty-three secular manuscripts and nineteen monastic manuscripts). In spite of the strong probability that the *Ordo representacionis Ade* was written for a secular establishment,<sup>18</sup> I wanted to include a small number of monastic manuscripts in order to

<sup>17</sup> The responsory *Simile est regnum celorum* is found in manuscripts from Bordeaux (F-BO 86), the monastery S<sup>te</sup> Croix in Bordeaux (F-BO 87), the Cathedral of Marseille (F-Pn lat. 1090), Aix-en-Provence (F-Pn lat. 1038 and F-M Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, ms 4, G. 113-2 G. 1859), Carcassonne (F-Pn lat. 1035), Grasse (F-C 42), Oloron-Sainte-Marie (F-Pn lat. 1279), Toulouse (F-Pn lat. 1034), the monastery of Arles-sur-Tech (Diocese of Elne, near Perpignan) (F-NAR 166). *Cum turba plurima conveniret* is found in manuscripts from the Cathedral of Marseille (F-Pn lat. 1090), the monastery S<sup>te</sup> Croix in Bordeaux (F-BO 87), the Cathedral of Avignon (F-A 191), Aix-en-Provence (F-Pn lat. 1038) and Oloron-Sainte-Marie (F-Pn lat. 1279).

<sup>18</sup> This is the opinion of C. Chaguinian which is based on the presence de 31 latins rondeaux among the 36 chants written in folios 8v-20r of MS Tours 927 and which are, for the majority, found in sources of secular origin. He similarly connects the liturgical pascal play written in folios 1r-8v to the realm of schools, which, in the course of the twelfth century, were moving from the monastic sphere to that of cathedrals and collegiate churches. See his chapter in this volume and "Origine institutionnelle et géographique du Jeu d'Adam".

demonstrate that this series of responsories, probably monastic in origin, was much more stable in the manuscripts belonging to the monastic *cursus*. These manuscripts originated in religious institutions situated in regions whose spoken language belonged to the *langue d'oc* or *langue d'oïl* families. Although the author of the *Ordo* was quite probably a native of a *langue d'oïl*-speaking region,<sup>19</sup> it seemed interesting to expand the corpus in order to emphasize that these chants were also used outside this area.

I considered only manuscripts prior to and including fourteenth century; that is to say, those which contain the closest possible liturgy to that known by the scribe of MS Tours 927. Although the evolution of the choice of chants, readings or of prayers was slow, this fact should not be ignored. Moreover, it is even difficult to confirm that the chants of a service written in a manuscript of the fifteenth century were those of the same service used by the same religious institution two centuries earlier. To the manuscripts indexed in the *Cantus*<sup>20</sup> database as well as those already consulted by Charles T. Downey,<sup>21</sup> I have added the books catalogued in the six volumes of Victor Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*. This work has the advantage of indicating the placement of the principal feast days in each manuscript, including, naturally, Septuagesima and Sexagesima.<sup>22</sup> My corpus of manuscripts was then completed by Christian Meyer's *Catalogue des manuscrits notés du Moyen Âge conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France*—currently in the editing process, but whose rich website already allows researchers to analyze quickly the contents of various French libraries<sup>23</sup>—as well as by the bibliography contained in *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* by Knud Ottosen and the databases housed on the *Cantus planus* website at the University of Regensburg, which present the manuscripts of French or British origin conserved in the libraries of Germany and the United Kingdom.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately I was not able to complete my research concerning the British manuscripts due to an inability to consult microfilm versions of these sources.

List of the monastic manuscripts consulted:

Reference Number <sup>25</sup>	Nature of manuscript	Origin	Date	Remarks
F-AS 465 (cat. 893)	breuiary	St Vaast of Arras (abbey)	14 <sup>th</sup> century	

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Catherine Bougy's study in the present volume.

<sup>20</sup> <http://cantusdatabase.org/> (accessed February 27, 2014) overseen by Debra Lacoste (University of Waterloo, Canada).

<sup>21</sup> Downey, "Ad imaginem suam," pp. 373-79.

<sup>22</sup> The contents of this catalog is accessible on the website created by David Hiley of the University of Regensburg in Germany: [http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil\\_Fak\\_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/](http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/) (accessed February 27, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.univ-nancy2.fr/MOYENAGE/UREEF/MUSICOLOGIE/CMN/indexcmn.htm> (accessed February 27, 2014).

<sup>24</sup> The URL of the site is given in note 22.

<sup>25</sup> References to manuscripts follow the abbreviations of the RISM; <http://www.rism.info/fr/sigla.html> (accessed March 17, 2013).

F-BO 87	breviary	St <sup>e</sup> Croix of Bordeaux	12 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Conches 4	breviary	Conches	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Conches 5	breviary	Conches	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-DOU 156	breviary	Anchin (abbey)	Second half 13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 743	breviary	Use of St <sup>t</sup> Martial of Limoges (abbey)	11 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 796	breviary	Montiéramey (abbey near Troyes)	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-Pn lat. 1085	antiphony	St <sup>t</sup> Martial of Limoges (church of St <sup>t</sup> Sauveur in the abbey)	after 960	<i>Cantus</i>
F-Pn lat. 11522	missal-breviary	Corbie	11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> centuries	Downey
F-Pn lat. 12044	antiphony	St <sup>t</sup> Maur-des-Fossés	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-Pn lat. 12584	gradual-antiphony	St <sup>t</sup> Maur-de-Glanfeuil	11 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 17296	antiphony	St <sup>t</sup> Denis	12 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Psg 1251	ordinary	Nantes	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-NAR 166	breviary	Clunisian abbey of Arles-sur-Tech (Diocese of Elne near Perpignan)	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-T 109	breviary	Montier-la-Celle (abbey near Troyes)	14 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-VAL 102 (95)	breviary	use of St <sup>t</sup> Amand (abbey, diocese of Tournai)	12 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-VAL 114	antiphony	St <sup>t</sup> Amand (abbey, diocese of Tournai)	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-VENbm 268	breviary	Vendôme	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
GB-WO F.160	antiphony	Worcester (cathedral-priory)	c. 1230	<i>Cantus</i>

List of the secular manuscripts consulted:

Reference Number	Nature of manuscript	Origin	Date	Remarks
F-A 126 (482)	breviary	Apt	14 <sup>th</sup> century	

F-A 127	breviary	Die	1 <sup>st</sup> half or mid-14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-A 191	antiphony	Avignon (Cath.)	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-AI 44 (30)	unwritten antiphony	Albi (Cath.)	c. 890	<i>Cantus</i>
F-AUT 151 A (S. 179)	antiphony	Autun (Cath.)	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> centuries	Downey
F-AU 54-55	breviary	Auxerre	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-B 66	breviary	use of Besançon (Cath.)	1 <sup>st</sup> half 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-BEA 26	breviary	use of Notre-Dame de Beaune of Autun (Collegiate)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-BO 86	breviary	Bordeaux	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-C 42 (L. 43)	breviary	Grasse	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-C 43 (L. 44)	breviary	Lyon (Cath.)	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-C 1261	breviary	Carpentras	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-CA 31 (35)	breviary	use of St Pierre of Lille (collegiate)	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> centuries	
F-CA 38 (40)	antiphony	Cambrai (Cath.)	c. 1230	Downey
Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados (formerly Bibliothèque du chapitre de Bayeux, ms 73)	breviary	use of Bayeux	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados (formerly Bibliothèque du chapitre de Bayeux, ms 121) <sup>26</sup>	ordinary	Bayeux (Cath.)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-CF 70 (A. 6 a)	breviary	Clermont-Ferrand	Beginning 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-CHUm 25 (20)	breviary	Langres	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 13 <sup>th</sup> and 15 <sup>th</sup> centuries	
F-CSM 2 (2)	breviary	Châlons-sur-Marne (Cath.)	end of 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Dm 1665	breviary	St Etienne of Dijon	3 <sup>rd</sup> quarter 13 <sup>th</sup> cent.	
F-DOU 164	breviary	St <sup>e</sup> Waudru in Mons (Collegiate)	1 <sup>st</sup> half or mid 14 <sup>th</sup> century	

<sup>26</sup> Chevalier, *Ordinaire et coutumier*.

F-E (198) 80	breviary	Chalon-sur-Saône (Cath. ?)	2 <sup>nd</sup> half or end 13 <sup>th</sup> century for this part	
F-G 3511 (R. 8691)	breviary	use of Viviers (Cath.)	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-LA 257bis	breviary	Laon	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-LYm 524 (444)	breviary	Langres	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-M archives départementales des Bouches-du- Rhône, ms 4 (G. 113-2 G. 1859)	breviary	Aix-en-Provence	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-ME 461	breviary (destroyed)	Metz (cath.)	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 13 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-Pn lat. 777	fragments of a breviary	Limoges	11 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 781	breviary	use of Limoges	12 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1020	breviary	Orléans	c. 1230	Downey
F-Pn lat. 1023	"Philippe le Bel" breviary	Paris	End 13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1028	breviary	Sens (cath.)	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> centuries	Downey
F-Pn lat. 1034	breviary	Toulouse	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1035	breviary	Carcassonne	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1038	breviary	Aix-en-Provence	Beginning or 1 <sup>st</sup> half 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1040	breviary	Arles	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1052	"Charles V" breviary	Paris	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1090	antiphonary	Marseille (cath.)	after 1190	<i>Cantus</i>
F-Pn lat. 1091	breviary	use of Arles	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-T 1147	breviary	Troyes	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-T 1148	breviary	Troyes	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1255	breviary	Bourges	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-Pn lat. 1259	breviary	Soissons	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1269	breviary	Châlons-sur- Marne	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1270	breviary	Évreux	1 <sup>st</sup> half 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1279	breviary	Oloron [Sainte- Marie]	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 1297	breviary	Chartres	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 10480	breviary	Senlis	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 10482	breviary	Melun	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 12035	breviary	Meaux	12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> centuries	Downey
F-Pn lat. 12036	antiphonary and diurnal	Salisbury	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 13231	breviary	Beauvais	13 <sup>th</sup> century	

F-Pn lat. 15181-15182	breviary	Paris (Cath.)	end 13 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-Pn lat. 16309	breviary	Saintes	end 13 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-Pn lat. 17991	breviary	Reims (Cath.)	11 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 17997	breviary	Thérouanne	2 <sup>nd</sup> half or end 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn lat. 17999	breviary	Verdun	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn nal. 1236	antiphony	Nevers (church)	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-Pn lat. 1259	breviary	Soissons	13 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Pn nal. 1236	antiphony	Nevers	12 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-Pn nal. 1535	antiphony	Sens (Cath.)	12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> centuries	Downey
F-Ps 180	breviary	Bayeux	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Psg 1251	ordinary	Nantes	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-Psg 2626 (BB. 1. 8° 13)	breviary	Rouen	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> centuries	
F-Psg 2640	breviary	Beauvais	2 <sup>nd</sup> half or end 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-PO 25 (312)	breviary	Poitiers	2 <sup>nd</sup> half or end 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-R 193 (A 575)	breviary	S <sup>t</sup> Laurent of Eu (Augustinians)	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-R 195 (Y. 95)	breviary	Rouen	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-R 216 (A. 545)	breviary	Champignolles (Diocese of Evreux)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-R 384 (Y 110)	ordinary	Rouen (Cath.)	end 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-SEm 6	Book for the use of the precentor	Sens (Cath.)	c. 1250	
F-SEm 31	breviary	Sens	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-SOI 106	breviary	Lisieux	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-T 571	breviary	use S <sup>t</sup> Loup of Troyes	1 <sup>st</sup> part 12 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-T 720	breviary	S <sup>t</sup> Loup of Troyes	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Downey
F-T 1847	breviary	Troyes	2 <sup>nd</sup> half or end 14 <sup>th</sup> century	
F-TOm 149	breviary	S <sup>t</sup> Martin of Tours	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> centuries	Downey
F-TOm 150	breviary	use at S <sup>t</sup> Martin of Tours	14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> centuries	
F-VALO 4	breviary	Coutances	14 <sup>th</sup> century	
GB-Cu Mm.ii.9	antiphony	Barnwell (Augustinians of S <sup>t</sup> Gilles ?)	13 <sup>th</sup> century	Cantus

GB-Lbl Stowe 12	breviary	Norwich (diocese)	1322-1325	
GB-AB 20541 E		Wales (Diocese of S <sup>t</sup> David ?)	Middle 14 <sup>th</sup> century	Cantus

### Results of the comparison

The following table inventories the monastic manuscripts in which one finds the seven responsories of the *Ordo*. Following the three columns, each of which represents one nocturn, are the supplementary responsories written either to substitute for the preceding ones or to be sung during Sunday vespers or the Matins of the weekdays which follow. Finally, the last column identifies the responsory (or responsories) which do not appear at all for these feasts in the manuscript. The numbers of the responsories written in the *Ordo* are underlined as well as identified in bold and in italics.



Manuscripts	1 <sup>st</sup> nocturn	2 <sup>nd</sup> nocturn	3 <sup>rd</sup> nocturn	Other responsories <sup>27</sup>	Resp. omitted
F-VAL 102 (Saint-Amand)	1 2 3 <b>4</b> <b>6</b> 8 9 <b>7</b> <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>				5
F-VAL 114 (Saint-Amand)	1 2 3 <b>4</b> <b>6</b> 8 9 <b>7</b> <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>				5
F-DOU 156 (Anchin)	1 2 3 <b>4</b> <b>6</b> 8 9 <b>7</b> <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>				5
F-BO 87 (Bordeaux)	2 2 [sic]	<b>4</b> 3 <b>6</b> 8 9 <b>7</b> <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> ∅ <b>13</b>			1/5
F-Pn lat. 743 (Limoges)	1 2 <b>4</b> 5 <b>6</b> 8 9 <b>7</b> <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> 3 <b>13</b>				
F-Pn lat. 1085 (Limoges)	1 2 <b>4</b> 5 <b>6</b> <b>7</b> 8 9 <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>				3
F-VENbm 268 (Vendôme)	1 2 <b>4</b> 5 <b>6</b> 8 9 <b>7</b> <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>			3	
F-Pn lat. 12584 (Saint-Maur-de-Glanfeuil)	1 2 <b>4</b> 5 <b>6</b> 8 9 <b>7</b> <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>			3	
F-Pn lat. 12044 (Saint-Maur-des-Fossés)	1 2 <b>4</b> 5 <b>6</b> 8 9 <b>7</b> <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>				3
F-AS 465 (cat. 893) (St-Vaast d'Arras)	1 2 <b>4</b> 5 <b>6</b> 8 9 <b>7</b> <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>				3
F-T 109 (Montier-la-Celle)	1 2 <b>4</b> 5 <b>6</b> 8 9 <b>7</b> <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>				3
F-Pn lat. 11522 (Corbie)	1 2 <b>4</b> <b>6</b> 5 <b>7</b> 8 9 <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>				3
GB-WO F.160 (Worcester)	1 2 <b>4</b> <b>6</b> 5 <b>7</b> 8 9 <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>				3
F-Pn lat. 17296 (Saint-Denis)	1 2 <b>4</b> <b>6</b> 5 8 9 <b>7</b> <b>10</b> <b>11</b> <b>12</b> <b>13</b>				3

The seven responsories of the *Ordo representacionis Ade* are extremely common in monastic books since out of the nineteen manuscripts examined, thirteen include them. At first glance, these observations support the conclusions of Charles T. Downey who attributed the copy of the Tours manuscript to the monks of Saint-Martial de Limoges. However, far from conclusive, it is logical that these seven responsories are found more frequently in books transmitting monastic *cursus* rather than in non-monastic manuscripts, unless the latter possess several supernumerary responsories. The comparison of two manuscripts originating in Limoges, the secular manuscript F-Pn lat. 781 and the monastic manuscript F-Pn lat. 743, illustrates this point (the responsories indicated in bold are always those of the *Ordo*):

	F-Pn lat. 743 (monastic <i>cursus</i> )	F-Pn lat. 781 (secular <i>cursus</i> )
1 <sup>st</sup> nocturn	<i>In principio fecit Deus</i>	<i>In principio fecit Deus</i>
	<i>In principio Deus creavit</i>	<i>In principio Deus creavit</i>
	<b><i>Formavit igitur Dominus</i></b>	<b><i>Formavit igitur Dominus</i></b>
	<i>Plantaverat autem Dominus</i>	
2 <sup>nd</sup> nocturn	<b><i>Tulit ergo Dominus hominem</i></b>	<b><i>Tulit ergo Dominus hominem</i></b>
	<i>Dixit Dominus Deus non est</i>	<i>Dixit Dominus Deus non est</i>
	<i>Immisit dominus soporem in</i>	<i>Immisit dominus soporem in</i>
	<b><i>Dixit Dominus ad Adam</i></b>	

<sup>27</sup> This is an extra Sunday responsory or is intended for vespers or weekdays.

3 <sup>rd</sup> nocturn	<b><i>Dum deambulet Dominus in</i></b>	<b><i>Dum deambulet Dominus in</i></b>
	<b><i>In sudore vultus tui vesceris</i></b>	<b><i>Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis</i></b>
	<b><i>Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis</i></b>	<b><i>Ubi est Abel frater tuus</i></b>
	<i>Igitur perfecti sunt celi et terra</i>	
Extra responsory	<b><i>Ubi est Abel frater tuus</i></b>	

These two series are very similar, with the secular series simplifying the monastic series. For the first two nocturns, the secular manuscript takes the first three responsories of the monastic nocturn. For the last nocturn, only the first and the third responsories are maintained in the secular manuscript since the clergy preferred to end Matins with the responsory *Ubi est Abel frater tuus*, a supernumerary responsory in the monastic manuscript. Out of the thirteen responsories of the monastic service, one finds the seven of the *Ordo* quite easily, while the secular series, although quite close to that sung in the monastery of Saint-Martial in the same city, only includes five responsories of the *Ordo representacionis Ade*; the other two have been removed in the reorganization of the series for the secular *cursus*.

The eighty-three secular manuscripts consulted cover a wide territory. The unpredictable nature of the preservation of manuscripts means that the Atlantic zone is underrepresented:

Map 1: Localisation of the manuscripts originating in a secular institution<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> My thanks to Jasmine Boudeau for the two maps in this article.



Out of these eighty-three secular manuscripts, only sixteen (of which certain ones belong to the same tradition) include the seven responsories of the *Ordo*. These manuscripts come from great urban centers of the North (Laon, Meaux, Troyes and Sens), from Normandy (Coutances and Rouen), from the central zone (Autun, Clermont-Ferrand, Saintes and Bordeaux) as well as from the Southern territory (Carcassonne and Marseille):

Manuscripts	1st nocturn			2nd nocturn			3rd nocturn			Other responsory	Resp. omitted
F-Pn lat. 1035 (Carcassonne)	2	1	3	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	5	8	9	∅	<u>10/11/7/12/13</u>	
F-CF 70 (Clermont-Ferrand)	1	2	3	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	8	9	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u> <u>3</u>	<u>10/11/12</u>	5
F-Pn lat. 1090 (Cath. of Marseille)	1	2	<u>4</u>	3	<u>6</u>	5	8	9	<u>7</u>	<u>10/11/12/13</u>	
F-Pn lat. 16309 (Saintes)	1	2	<u>4</u>	3	<u>6</u>	8	9	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u> <u>3</u>	<u>10/11/12/</u>	5
F-BO 86 (Bordeaux)	1	2	<u>4</u>	3	<u>6</u>	8	∅	9	<u>1</u> <u>2</u>	<u>10/11/13/7</u>	5

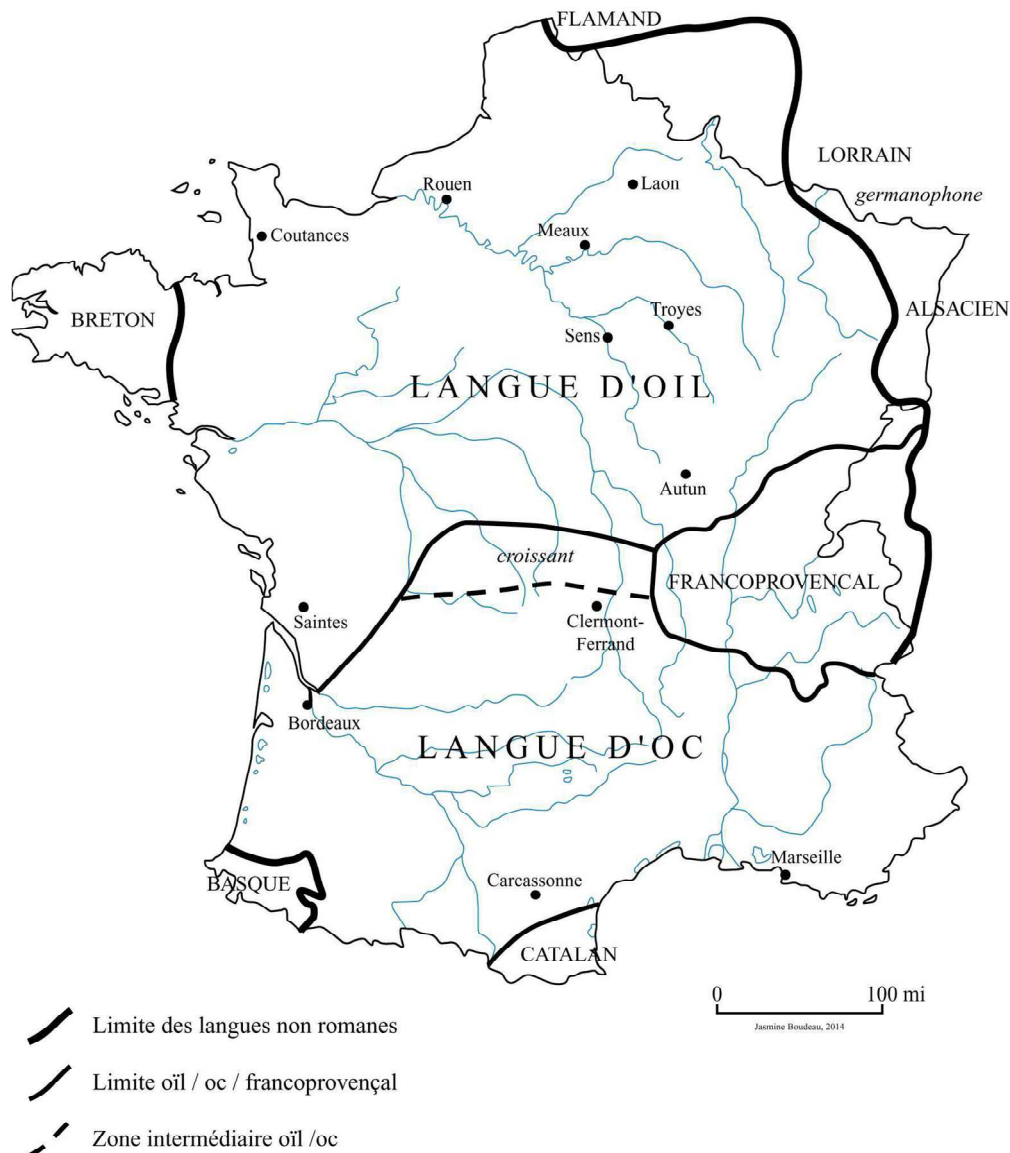
F-Pn nal. 1535, F-SEm 6 and F-SEm 31 (Cath. of Sens)	1	2	<u>4</u>	5	<u>6</u>	8	9	<u>1</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1</u> <u>3</u>	<u>7/11/12</u>	3
F-Pn lat. 12035 (Meaux)	1	2	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	5	8	9	<u>7</u> <u>1</u> <u>3</u>	<u>1</u> <u>3</u>	<u>10/12/11</u>	3
F-AUT 151 A (S. 179) and F-BEA 26 (Cath. of Autun)	2	1	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	5	8	9	<u>1</u> <u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11/12/13</u>	3
F-VALO 4 (Coutances)	1	2	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	8	9	3	<u>1</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>	<u>7/12/13</u>	5
F-LA 257bis (Laon)	1	2	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	8	9	<u>1</u> <u>0</u>	3	<u>1</u> <u>2</u>	<u>11/7/13</u>	5
F-R 384 (Y 110) (Cath. of Rouen)	1	2	3	<u>4</u>	8	9	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u> <u>3</u>	<u>10/11/12</u>	5
F-T 720 <sup>29</sup> (St Loup of Troyes, Augustinians) Septuagesima	2	1	3	8	9	<u>1</u> <u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u> <u>1</u> <u>2</u>	<u>1</u> <u>2</u>		
F-T 720 (St Loup of Troyes, Augustinians) Sexagesima	2	[1 ]	[3]	<u>4</u>	5	<u>6</u>	[ <u>7</u> <u>1</u>	<u>1</u> <u>2</u> <u>3</u>	<u>1</u> <u>2</u> <u>3</u>		

∅ = when a responsory not belonging to the series was chosen.

It is possible to distinguish certain cities according to their linguistic classification. If one places them on a map that indicates the boundaries of the *Langue d'Oc* and *Langue d'Oil* territories, Carcassonne, Marseille, Bordeaux and Clermont-Ferrand thus appear in the *Langue d'Oc* zone; the others belong to the *Langue d'Oil* zone:

<sup>29</sup> In manuscript F-T 720, the series is divided over Septuagesima and Sexagesima. For the latter feast, the scribe did not judge it necessary to indicate all of the responsories, the latter probably having been those already sung the week prior. For those responsories not written down by the scribe, I have indicated in brackets the chants performed at the same time on the day of Septuagesima.

Map 2: Localisation of the secular institutions in which the seven responsories of the *Ordo representacionis Ade* were sung<sup>30</sup>



In maintaining only the cities of the west of *Langue d'Oïl* where MS Tours 927 could have been written, namely, according to Catherine Bougy, "Normandie, Romanized Brittany, Maine, Anjou, Poitou and Saintonge,"<sup>31</sup> only Coutances, Rouen and Saintes remain. The use of paper, probably originally from Spain, would favor Saintes but nothing prevents the paper from having made a long voyage before its use.

## Conclusions and perspectives

This study has shown that the seven responsories of the *Ordo representacionis Ade* are found in a significant number of monastic and secular institutions. Among the latter, Bordeaux, Saintes, Rouen and Coutances appear as cities likely to have been the

<sup>30</sup> The linguistic boundaries have been copied from Chaurand, *Nouvelle histoire de la langue française*, map 2, p. 37.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Catherine Bougy's chapter in this volume.

place of copying for the *Ordo*. To these possibilities, one can also add other secular British institutions whose manuscripts I was unfortunately not able to consult. However, the following lists these institutions, allowing, I hope, a courageous researcher to pursue an investigation on British soil:

Reference Number	Nature of the manuscript	Origin	Date
York, Minster, Add. 68	breviary	For the Diocese of York	Mid. 14 <sup>th</sup> cent.
Exeter, University Library, 27	breviary	Aberdeen (Cath. ?)	14 <sup>th</sup> century
Stonyhurst College, 40	breviary	Bath and Wells dioc.	14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> cent.
GB-Cu Mm.ii.9	antiphonaire	Barnwell (Abbey of St Gilles ?)	13 <sup>th</sup> century
Canterbury, Cathedral, Add. 6	"Burnt Breviary"	Canterbury (Cath.-priory)	2 <sup>nd</sup> half 14 <sup>th</sup> century
Canterbury, Cathedral, Add.16	breviary	Canterbury (Cath.-priory or Christ Church)	14 <sup>th</sup> century
Londons, BL, AR 155	?	Canterbury	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Lbl Harley 2856	breviary	Canterbury	End 13 <sup>th</sup> century
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv.18.2.13.A	antiphonary	Chester-le-Street ? or North of England	End 13 <sup>th</sup> century
Edinburgh, University Library, 26	breviary	Chichester (diocese)	Beginning 14 <sup>th</sup> century
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv.18.2.13B	breviary	Scotland (south)	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Cambridge, University, li. IV 20	breviary	Ely	1275
Lbl Add. 28598	breviary	Ely (diocese)	14 <sup>th</sup> century
Cu Add.2602	antiphonary	Essex (Springfield Church)	13 <sup>th</sup> century
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 41	?	Evesham	1275-1300
Hereford, Cathedral, sans cote	breviary	Hereford	13 <sup>th</sup> century
Hereford, Cathedral, P.ix.7	breviary	Hereford	13 <sup>th</sup> century
Worcester, Cathedral, no ref. number	breviary	Hereford	14 <sup>th</sup> century
Cambridge, St. John's College, 146 (F. 9)	breviary	Lincoln (diocese) ?	14 <sup>th</sup> century
Hereford, Cathedral, P.ix.6	breviary	Mordiford (Herefordshire)	End 13 <sup>th</sup> century
GB-Lbl Add. 43405	breviary	Muchelney	End 13 <sup>th</sup> century
Cu Add.3474-3475	breviary	Norwich (St George)	14 <sup>th</sup> century
Cambridge, Clare College, Kk.iii.7	breviary	Norwich (diocese)	14 <sup>th</sup> century
Lbl Lansdowne 461	antiphonary	Norwich (diocese)	End 14 <sup>th</sup> century
London, BL, HARL 3950	?	Norwich (Cathedral-priory)	1250-1350

Lbl Add. 53259	breviary	Penwortham	14 <sup>th</sup> century
Cambridge, Magdalene College Library, F 4 10	?	Peterborough	13 <sup>th</sup> century
Longleat, Marquess of Bath, 10	breviary	Pinchbeck	14 <sup>th</sup> century
London, BL, KING, S 2 B VI	?	S <sup>t</sup> Albans	?
Lbl Add. 36627	breviary	Southwark (S <sup>t</sup> George)	14 <sup>th</sup> century
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Ms. Lit. 18	?	Tynemouth	1380-1400
Ob Gough missals 36	breviary	York	End 14 <sup>th</sup> century
London, BL, HARL 1663	?	York	14 <sup>th</sup> century
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 84	?	York	?
London, Sion College, Arc.L.40.2/L. 1	breviary	York (diocese)	14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> centuries
York, Minster Chapitre, XIV O. 9	breviary	York	14 <sup>th</sup> century
Dublin, Trinity College, 85 (B.3.11)	breviary	York	14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> cent.
Lbl Add. 37511	breviary without lessons	use of York ?	End 14 <sup>th</sup> century
Winchester: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 163	?		11 <sup>th</sup> century
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391	?	Worcester	11 <sup>th</sup> century
Cu Add. 3057	diurnal	Worcester (diocese)	14 <sup>th</sup> century

Several projects underway may also provide further evidence for this study, beginning with the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Notés conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques* compiled by Christian Meyer, which will perhaps allow us to highlight the presence of the antiphon *Ave stella matutina* in liturgical books other than those noted by Mary Channen Caldwell in this volume. Much hope also rests on a better knowledge of the ordinaries which include more elaborate instructions than those typically found in other liturgical books. For certain important feasts, one can find precise descriptions of particular liturgical processions which appear only rarely in other manuscripts, such as the Procession of the Prophet described in the ordinary at the Cathedral of Rouen F-R 384 (Y 110). In addition to these various works, one can also hope that the *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae* project directed by Hélène Millet will allow us to highlight certain documents referring to the performance of the *Ordo representationis Ade*, or, at least, to a similar episode.

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