

## A Recent Survey of Catalanian and Mallorcan Ordinals

and its contribution to the editorial approach of normative liturgical texts\*

As I was working on the critical edition of Hungarian Ordinals and other normative liturgical texts, I had the intention of forming an overall opinion also about their general history and typology. In addition to my theoretical interest in pursuit of a synthesis, this seemed necessary because the Hungarian sources are rather late and sporadic, and so in and of themselves they do not make it possible to reconstruct the complete history and identify the main characteristics of the rubrical texts used in medieval Hungarian dioceses. Thus a wider scope of research covering also international sources of several centuries proved indispensable, but the total corpus of normative liturgical texts—due to its massive volume—could not serve as a point of reference. For this reason I decided to proceed the following way. I considered all of the surviving Hungarian sources as the first component, the second component consisted of almost all of the Ordinals and numerous other normative liturgical texts published in modern scholarly editions, and finally, the third component was made up of sources that originated in a region as far from Hungary as possible (chosen more or less at random).<sup>1</sup>

Besides my personal contacts,<sup>2</sup> I chose the dioceses of Catalonia and Mallorca because from this perspective the ecclesiastical life of Central Europe, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula is rather poorly documented, whereas there are many high quality sources already made available regarding the practices of the Low Countries, Ger-

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<sup>1</sup> Miklós István FÖLDVÁRY: *Rubrica Strigoniensis. A középkori Esztergom liturgiájának normaszövegei*. [Rubrica Strigoniensis. The Normative Texts of the Medieval Esztergom Liturgy] PhD thesis, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Nyelvtudományi Doktoriskola, Ókortudományi Program 2008.—see online (with an English summary) [http://latin.elte.hu/munkatarsak/FM\\_files/disszertacio.shtml](http://latin.elte.hu/munkatarsak/FM_files/disszertacio.shtml), especially Part I and the Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Grateful recognition is due to Balázs Déri for preparing my field study and helping me along the way, as well as to Gabriel Seguí i Trobat (Lluc), Miquel dels Sants Gros i Pujol (Vic), and Marc Sureda (Girona) for their valuable cooperation.

many, France, Great Britain, and, to some extent, even of Scandinavia.<sup>3</sup> Hence any research in this field of study served not only the purposes of my own scholarly effort but may also contribute to a better understanding of the overall European conditions in the Middle Ages.

The principal conclusion of the analysis—among others<sup>4</sup>—was that the available sources are best examined in a dynamic way, that is, within the context of their mutual interaction and as parts of general historical processes. In the course of editing and analysing individual sources one must take into account both the antecedent and the subsequent related sources, and no given source may be considered as the final product of a certain era or stage of development. On the contrary, within each source one needs to make a careful distinction between the various different layers in terms of chronology and—as a result—also of content. Then the sources thus analysed can nuance the general picture we have about the history and typology of Ordinals.<sup>5</sup> It is my sincere hope that my conclusions shall both expand and refine the foundations laid by the competent scholars of previous decades, and that they will indicate new points of reference for those colleagues who also study Ordinals.

<sup>3</sup> This change of emphasis is clearly discernible in the bibliography of Anton HÄNGGI: *Der Rheinauer Liber Ordinarius* (Zürich Rb 80, Anfang 12. Jb.). Universitätsverlag, Freiburg 1957. (Spicilegium Friburgense 1), where the author lists the available sources according to the modern states where the given regions of origin are now located. The same is true of Aimé-Georges MARTIMORT: *Les "Ordines", les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux*. Brepols, Turnhout 1991. (Typologie des sources du moyen âge 56), where the bibliography is ordered according to religious orders and cities. In my opinion the reason for this phenomenon in Southern Europe is that due to the strong and continuous ecclesiastical influence even in the 20th century and because of the somewhat belated secularisation in these countries, scientific reflection on liturgical history could not reach the same level as in other, mostly Protestant regions of Europe where medieval Catholicism was almost completely eradicated, or in France where society was radically laicised. In the countries of the ex-Socialist block, the cultivation of ecclesiastical sciences and substantive research in this field was hampered by ideological reasons. In Catalonia, interest in medieval liturgical texts has increased as of late, thanks to the series *Miscel·lània Litúrgica Catalana* published by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*.

<sup>4</sup> The other important conclusion of the analysis is connected to the local variants of rubrical terminology. This could be the subject matter of another study.

<sup>5</sup> See especially Edward FOLEY: "The « Libri Ordinarii ». An Introduction", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* CII (1988) 129–137; MARTIMORT *op. cit.*; Éric PALAZZO: "Les ordinaires liturgiques comme sources pour l'historien du Moyen Age. A propos d'ouvrages récents", *Revue Mabillon* LIV (1992) 233–240; idem: *Histoire des livres liturgiques. Le Moyen Age. Des origines au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Beauchesne, Paris 1993. 228sqq.

Anyone studying the Ordinals—or as they are locally called: the *Consuetas*<sup>6</sup>—of Catalan and Mallorcan origin is in the fortunate situation of being able to compare several related sources of the same church or ecclesiastical region. In addition to the several variants of the same source from the same era, there are also texts that are in direct or indirect “genealogical” relationship with each other. There exist also certain adaptations, in which smaller churches tried to adjust the Ordinal of the diocesan cathedral to their local circumstances, or excerpts and vernacular translations from books of the competent episcopal see.

I concentrated my research on the libraries and archives of Lluç, Palma de Mallorca, Barcelona, Vic, and Girona.<sup>7</sup> The sources I dealt with came from the above-mentioned churches, as well as from Tarragona, Seu d’Urgell, and one monastic Customary of Valadolid<sup>8</sup> was imported to Girona from outside of the region. Lluç is a Marian shrine among the mountains of Mallorca, whose books are obviously closely related to the Ordinals of the see of Palma.

Of the four or five Ordinals of the Cathedral of Barcelona there are several extant fragments, which are to be found—without any discernible order—in a composite volume catalogued as a single, continuous manuscript. I had access to two variants of the Ordinal of Tarragona which clearly presupposed another common antecedent. In Vic there is a rather early Ordinal and two variants of a much later descendent of that source. We know of a single Ordinal from Seu d’Urgell, and this is especially important due to its early date and archaic character. In Girona the Ordinal of the cathedral may be compared with two subsequent Ordinals of a dependent collegiate chapter.

Finally, important points of reference are the post-Tridentine, early modern Ordinals, as well as other books that do not belong to this genre, which are nonetheless

<sup>6</sup> The standard Latin term for the genre is *ordinarius* in the region. The name *consueta*, although it was widespread in the entire Iberian Peninsula, was considered vulgar in the Middle Ages. In late medieval times and in the early modern age it has gained wider acceptance. Besides Ordinals, it was customary to refer with the term *consueta* even to those books that contained the records of Mass foundations and the anniversaries of the faithfully departed, as well as to those notebooks—all the way until the 20th century—that recorded the special liturgical customs, especially the orders of processions, for a local church. It may be a source of confusion or misunderstanding that in the late Middle Ages the name usually used in Catalonia for the Ritual was *Ordinarium* (the same in Spanish territories was most often called *Manuale*).

<sup>7</sup> I refer to the sources analysed in greater detail subsequently, at the appropriate place. For a catalogue of Catalan liturgical manuscripts, see José JANINI: *Manuscritos litúrgicos de las bibliotecas de España II. Aragón, Cataluña y Valencia*. Ediciones Adco, Burgos 1980. (Facultad Teológica del Norte España. Sede de Burgos 38/2), as to the printed sources, see Antonio ODRIOZOLA: *Catálogo de libros litúrgicos, españoles y portugueses, impresos en los siglos XV y XVI*. Museo de Pontevedra, Pontevedra 1996.

<sup>8</sup> *Consuetudines monasterii sancti Benedicti Valisoletani saeculi XV*. Girona, Biblioteca Pública del Estado Ms. 108.

often listed as Ordinals or Consuetas in the library catalogues.<sup>9</sup> In what follows, I shall only touch upon those examples which demonstrate the interrelationship, transmission, and mutually enriching significance of the codices analysed.

## Tarragona

Tarragona was the only archbishopric of the early Catalan ecclesiastical structure.<sup>10</sup> Scholars usually date its two extant Ordinals<sup>11</sup> to the 14th century, which in this region may be considered the classical era of fully developed Ordinals. However, their layout makes it immediately clear that they are not direct relatives of these classical Ordinals. Whereas the latter are usually large, voluminous, and detailed codices written by book hands and in two columns, the two sources of Tarragona are smaller in size and more modest both in detail and decoration. Another characteristic of the classical Catalan Ordinals is that they use a rather precise, unpoetic language, and a typical rubrical terminology. In terms of their content, the incipits of liturgical items dominate, but they also contain rather explicit ceremonial details (describing the dramatic realisation of liturgical ceremonies) and directorial notes (dealing with questions related to the calendar). At the same time, the symbolic liturgical commentaries and rubrics pertaining to the common life of cathedral or collegiate chapters are either missing or quite insignificant.

The structural relationship of the two Ordinals of Tarragona is immediately perceptible, and their texts are also very close. The one in possession of the Catalonian National Library is thought to have come later,<sup>12</sup> while the other in the Archives of

<sup>9</sup> Such are, e.g. *Consueta antiqua*. ACM Ms. 3403; Joan FONT I ROIG: *Consueta de sagristia de la Seu de Mallorca*. 1511. Palma de Mallorca, Arxiu Capítular de Mallorca Ms. 3400 (olim A. LXXVI, T. I, núm. 2); *Responsoriale-Processionarium saeculi XVI*. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya Ms. 903; *Ordinarium de administratione sacramentorum cum pluribus additionibus adeo necessariis secundum ritum alme sedis maioricensis*. Ioannes Ioffre, Valencia 1516; *Dominicale et feriale novum Gerundense 1571*. Arxiu Capítular Ms. 928; *Consueta abbatiae collegiatae sancti Felicis Gerundensis 1669*. Girona, Biblioteca de Seminari — Arxiu Diocesà S.F.Gi. 151.

<sup>10</sup> *Diccionari d'història eclesiàstica de Catalunya* I–III. Generalitat de Catalunya — Edition Claret, s. l. 1998–2001.

<sup>11</sup> *Consueta de Tarragona saeculi XIV*. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Catedral Ms. 138 and *Consuetudines Sedis Tarraconensis post 1340*. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya Ms. 276.

<sup>12</sup> From the relevant literature on Codex Ms. 276, see Amadeo J. SOBERANAS: “Un manuscrito tarraconense: La « Consueta » del arzobispo Ximeno de Luna (1317–1327)”, *Biblioteconomía* XVII (1960) 37–41; Andrés Tomás ÁVILA: “Consueta de la Catedral de Tarragona escrita por Pedro Figuerola (1369)”, in *El culto y la liturgia en la catedral de Tarragona (1300–1700)*. Diputación Provincial de Tarragona, Tarragona 1963. (Instituto de Estudios Tarraconenses Ramón Berenguer IV. Sección de Arqueología e Historia 28); Antoni PLADEVALL — Josep M. PONS GURI: “Particularismes catalans en els costumaris dels segles XIII–XVIII”, in *II Congrés litúrgic de Montserrat III. Secció d'història*. Monestir de

the Cathedral of Barcelona is normally considered the earlier source. I am not in position to criticise this dating, but even if we accept the general opinion, it pertains to the manuscripts themselves and not to the original composition of the texts. For the first source seems more archaic in terms of structure, content, and use of language, whereas the latter should be considered earlier based on the objective facts of liturgical history. The copy in the National Library begins not with Advent but with the Vigil of Christmas. That this was the earlier custom is confirmed—in addition to the obvious parallels—by the fact that the sanctoral cycle of both Ordinals begins with the feast of St Stephen protomartyr, which can only be the result of harmonisation with the date of Christmas. Therefore, it is an editorial innovation that the temporal cycle of the copy in the Archives begins already with Advent. The language of the copy from the National Library is prescriptive, at times quite elevated in style; in contrast, the language of the copy in the Archives is simpler, deliberately avoiding these stylistic features. In the codex of the National Library we find some symbolic commentaries and paragraphs in relation to communal life, which were left out of the otherwise unaltered text of the Ordinal in the Archives. Yet it is the copy in the National Library in which there are some later, 13th century feasts, such as Corpus Christi and St Francis of Assisi, while in the copy of the Archives—generally considered to be earlier—they are not to be found.

Despite the codicological and historical, i.e. external chronology, it is important to consider also the internal chronology suggested by the history of the genre, which is indicated by linguistic, structural and thematic characteristics. Based on these criteria, the copy of the National Library is undoubtedly more archaic. This contradiction can be resolved if we suppose that these two extant codices are dependent upon one or more common antecedents. One kept intact the language, structure, and content of the common antecedent, but it also complemented it with the material of later feasts. The other modernised the common antecedent, laying aside the linguistic and thematic features judged to be obsolete, slightly restructuring the arrangement of the original material and, at the same time, failing to complement it with more recent feasts. Consequently, the structure, language, and content of the common antecedent was closer to the copy of the National Library, but its liturgical material was basically identical to the codex of the Archives. The road to the reconstruction of the first known Ordinal of Tarragona leads through the careful comparison of the two extant sources. The text thus reconstructed would not be the witness to the 14th century situation but—based on the wider European context—to the rubricism of the 12th

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Montserrat, Montserrat 1967. 103–159; Francesc BONASTRE I BERTRAN: “Formes tròpiques al ms. 276 de la Biblioteca de Catalunya”, *Bulletin Arqueològica* IV (1971–1972) [Estudis dedicats a la memòria de mossèn Joan Serra i Vilaró] 323–338.

or early 13th century. In comparison with two other 12th or early 13th century Catalan sources—to be examined later—this reconstructed text proves to be even more archaic, and so in spite of the later date of the extant codices, it belongs to the early history of Ordinals.

### Vic, Seu d’Urgell

The two, 12–13th century codices mentioned above are today in possession of the Episcopal Library of the Diocese of Vic, and both can be studied in modern editions. One of them is an Ordinal from the Cathedral of Vic,<sup>13</sup> while the other was an Ordinal in use of the Cathedral of Seu d’Urgell.<sup>14</sup> These are smaller and shorter codices written by book hands. Although their terminology contains some of the less characteristic elements of the region’s later, more developed rubrical vocabulary—negatively speaking—it bears witness to the fact that this specific vocabulary, at least in its fully developed form, only exists since the 14th century. Their language is less rhetorical than that of the supposed, more ancient Ordinal of Tarragona, but occasionally it is still rather elevated. Less of the liturgical commentaries can be found in these sources, while the details regarding communal life disappear completely. Their structure is made of the ordos of the extraordinary days of the liturgical year, and the rest of the ceremonies within the yearly cycle are randomly attached to this basic structure.

The same Episcopal Library keeps custody of two 15th century copies of the Ordinal of Vic. The text of the two codices are almost identical but their design is quite different. Whereas one of them belongs to the category of classical, large, representative, and coloured manuscripts with its text arranged in two columns,<sup>15</sup> the other is written by cursive hand,<sup>16</sup> giving the impression of a notebook, void of any paragraph marking or highlighting. Surely, this is the later source, as many of the marginal comments of the former Ordinal are already integrated into the main text. The reason why not all of these marginal notes made their way into the later text is most likely that in time the two documents started to be treated as independent sources. Other-

<sup>13</sup> Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic Ms. 134 (the third and last part of a composite volume) = Miquel dels Sants GROS I PUJOL: *El “Liber consuetudinum Vicensis Ecclesie” del canonge Andreu Salmúnia — Vic, Museu Episcopal, MS. 134 (LXXXIV)*. Institut d’Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 1996. (Miscel·lània Litúrgica Catalana 7).

<sup>14</sup> Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic Ms. 131 = Miquel dels Sants GROS [I PUJOL]: “La consuetua antiga de la Seu d’Urgell (Vic, Mus. Episc., Ms. 131)”, *Urgellia* I (1978) 183–266 (Vic, ABE Ms. 131).

<sup>15</sup> *Consuetua ecclesiae Vicensis 1447*. Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic Col. 31/18.

<sup>16</sup> *Consuetua ecclesiae Vicensis post 1447*. Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic Col. 31/19.

wise, the cursively written notebook follows its prototype rather faithfully and contains no innovations in terms of language or content.

Upon the close study of these three sources from Vic, we may arrive at two important conclusions. The first one is that the 13th century text is completely independent of the 15th century Ordinals. This means that, while the diocesan rite remained essentially unchanged, in the classical period of the Catalan Ordinals the competent clergy did not rewrite or supplement the available old books; rather an entirely new process of codification was launched within the framework of a new genre of different linguistic, thematic and structural features.

The second conclusion is based on the 15th century, cursive copy of the Ordinal of Vic. This manuscript—as I have mentioned earlier—is virtually unfit for practical use due to its lack of paragraphs and highlighting, even though it is a later redaction of its more user-friendly antecedent. Nevertheless, this copy is fairly important in that it sheds light on the transitional stage of copying Ordinals, being the very medium of this process. At least in this case it seems—and perhaps it is also true in other circumstances—that the new redaction of texts written by book hands, intended for actual liturgical use, was prepared by prototypes written by cursive hands. These were edited by experts of high liturgical and linguistic competence, incorporating the text of an earlier copy and its marginal notes into this intermediary product which was then committed to the care of a professional scribe. This would explain the numerous mistakes of representative manuscripts which can only be deduced from a supposed cursive antecedent.

With regard to the 12–13th century Ordinals I would like to highlight only one structural phenomenon. It is a typical characteristic of the Catalan region that the feasts within the Octave of Christmas are contained not in the Temporale but in the Sanctorale of the liturgical books. This statement, however, is not true of the 15th century Ordinals of Vic. The 13th century Ordinal, on the other hand, includes the saints in question both in the temporal and the sanctoral parts. Considering that the variant from Tarragona, thought to be the earliest one, follows the classical Catalan editorial custom, and even the printed 1496 Missal of Vic<sup>17</sup> keeps the same structure, the “deviance” of the 15th century Ordinal of Vic is an innovation, at whose origin is the inconsistent attempt of the 13th century Ordinal to relocate these feasts of the Christmas Octave into the temporal cycle. Since the structure of the 1496 Missal is closer to the solution of the sources from Tarragona, we are inclined to think that the 14th century reform of liturgical book culture did not extend to all of the liturgical

<sup>17</sup> *Missalia secundum morem et consuetudinem Vicensis diocesis*. Per Alemannos, Barcelona 1496. = Francesc Xavier ALTÉS I AGUILÓ: *Missale Vicense 1496*. Institut d’Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 2001. (Biblioteca Litúrgica Catalana 3).

genres, but only applied to Ordinals. This is consistent with my observation that the fully developed, classical type of the Ordinal was born as the result of a deliberate campaign—observable also in other areas of medieval culture—to synthesise and codify all the available sources.

### Palma de Mallorca, Lluç

There are two, mutually supplementary volumes still extant of the Ordinal of Palma Cathedral: a *Temporale* and a *Sanctorale*. These, however, are not of the same age. The *Temporale* is at least a hundred years older (from the 14th century),<sup>18</sup> and so the twin volume of the known *Temporale* was lost. This must have been one of the antecedents of the extant *Sanctorale* (from the 14–15th century).<sup>19</sup> Likewise missing is the supplementary *Temporale* of the extant *Sanctorale*, which must have been one of the descendents of the known, earlier *Temporale*. The earlier temporal volume, after going through the entire liturgical year once, reassumes its treatment (152<sup>v</sup>) but not comprehensively. These chapters were obviously additional notes found in an earlier edition which were copied along with the original text. It may also be supposed that these notes were eventually fully incorporated into a descendent of the known *Temporale*, but that later edition is now lost to posterity. This temporal appendix is then followed by a sanctoral appendix of similar character (174<sup>v</sup>). Since this is not complete either, it cannot be considered as an actual sanctoral supplement to the *Temporale*, but rather a supplementation of a *Sanctorale* itself (which—as I pointed out earlier—is not contained in the codex). The reason why it was nonetheless included in the temporal volume must have been entirely of a technical nature. This is proved by the fact that these supplementary notes were finally inserted at their own, logical place into the extant sanctoral volume which was produced at least a century later.

Another typical feature of the Ordinals of Palma Cathedral is that after the main text we find not only supplementary notes but also entire chapters of a completely different purport. At the end of the *Temporale* there are several chapters of an episcopal Ceremonial (organisation of a diocesan synod, reception of the ordinary, visitation: 201<sup>v</sup>), whereas in the *Sanctorale* there is a lengthy insertion within the *Comune* of the Apostles, describing the ceremonies of the Mass and Divine Office according to the various classes within the hierarchy of feasts (178<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>18</sup> *Consueta de tempore Sedis Maioricensis 1360–1363*. Palma de Mallorca, Arxiu Capitular de Mallorca Ms. 3412 (olim A. LXXVI, T. II, núm. 2) (it was described in the catalogue of the Archives by Miralles Sbert, 613–615, the source can be read on site also in the partly typewritten, partly handwritten transcription of Llorenç Pèrez Martínez).

<sup>19</sup> *Consueta de sanctis Sedis Maioricensis sæculi XV–XVI (?)*. Palma de Mallorca, Arxiu Capitular de Mallorca Ms. 3411 (olim A. LXXVI, T. II, núm. 1).



With regard to these phenomena, I would like to point out two things. The first is that if someone were to prepare a critical edition based on the two Ordinals of the Mallorcan see, he or she would be inclined to consider these two, seemingly supplementary sources as belonging together or forming a coherent whole. Yet what we are dealing with here is not two but at least four different sources whose relationship to each other is quite indirect. In comparison with the *Temporale*, the *Sanctorale* bears witness to a state of affairs from another time period at least a hundred years later. As to the rite itself this might not represent a significant change, but in terms of philology it could matter quite a bit. Now I am not in position to discuss it in any detail, but the reconstruction of a *Sanctorale*, contemporaneous with the *Temporale*, would be helped greatly by the examination of a fragmentary, 14th century adaptation based on the *Sanctorale* of Palma, as well as another such adaptation from 1513.<sup>20</sup> Both are available at the parish house of Lluç.

The other observation I would like to make is that in both Ordinals we can identify a shift of emphasis in terms of content. This is rather typical to the 16th century, for in this period the process of transforming the classical Ordinals into two characteristically modern genres has already begun. These new genres are the *Ceremonial*, treating in a thematic fashion the dramatic details of various liturgical ceremonies, and the *Directory*, dealing exclusively with questions related to the liturgical calendar. Since at the end of the temporal volume we can find a *dubium* even from 1593, it is certain that the process of adding appendices to the book continued well into the 16th century. Due to their place within the volume, the chapters regarding episcopal ceremonies belong to this category. Similarly, the description of the ceremonies at Mass and the Divine Office inserted into the *Commune* of the Apostles within the *Sanctorale* is not something we would expect in an Ordinal, it already anticipates the thematic arrangement of *Ceremonials*.

## Barcelona, Girona

I shall only relate the results of my research in Barcelona and Girona tangentially because they are not as informative, and they would certainly exceed the set confines of the present treatise.

The Ordinal at the Archives of the Barcelona Chapter House<sup>21</sup> is identified in the catalogue as having been produced in 1352. However—as I have already alluded to it

<sup>20</sup> *Consuetudo cappellæ parochialis sanctæ Mariæ de Luco (Luci Maioricensium) sæculi XIV*. Lluç, Arxiu del Col·legi de Lluç VR 7 and Admn 24 (fragment); *Regula ex Consuetudo Maioricensium ecclesiæ extracta ad usum cappellæ parochialis sanctæ Mariæ de Luco (Luci Maioricensium) 1513*. Lluç, Arxiu del Col·legi de Lluç VR 8.

<sup>21</sup> *Consuetudo de Barcelona 1352*. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Catedral Ms. 77[a]–b.

in my introduction—the codex is actually a collection of fragments from at least four or five different Ordinals. The content of these fragments frequently overlap, and so it is certain that we are dealing with several different sources and not various segments of the same book, written by a number of different scribes. At the same time the fragments do not differ thematically; in terms of content and design they are almost identical. For this reason they do not help us to make any deductions regarding the historical variants of the Ordinals used at the bishopric of Barcelona, yet they give us an insight as to how many copies of the same text may have lived next or parallel to each other within a fairly narrow time interval.

The peculiarity of Girona is that besides the complete Ordinal of the cathedral, dated to 1360,<sup>22</sup> there are two additional Ordinals, one from the period between 1314–1330<sup>23</sup> and another from after 1435,<sup>24</sup> belonging to the Collegiate Chapter, or according to its own designation: Secular Abbey (*abbatia sæcularis*), of Sant Feliu. Both sources adapt the text of the cathedral's Ordinal, but the earlier one must have been written on the basis of an older, now lost Ordinal. It seems likely that the other, later Ordinal of Sant Feliu was not adapted from the extant copy of the cathedral either. In more important churches, like that of Barcelona, the Ordinal must have been copied anew within a period of 75 years, but there is also another reason for supposing the existence of another prototype. Although the 15th century codex of Sant Feliu is more modest in design than the cathedral's 14th century manuscript, in content it actually surpasses the cathedral's copy. It is understandable that the book of a less significant church is more modest in design, but it would be difficult to explain why a simple adaptation would contain a significant amount of surplus material in comparison with its prototype. The only feasible explanation is that the real prototype was not the cathedral's extant codex, but another, likewise illustrious, but more detailed and now unfortunately lost descendent.

Perhaps these few examples were sufficient to demonstrate that from a scholarly point of view it is highly advantageous if an editor, while researching the medieval liturgy of a given ecclesiastical institution, does not base his work on individual codices but on a smaller or possibly larger group of related manuscripts. As opposed to the rather static procedure of studying one representative codex for each liturgical

<sup>22</sup> *Consueta antiquissima ecclesie Gerundensis 1360*. Girona, Arxiu Capitular Ms. 9 (the dating is on the cover, its origin is unknown to me; the text is being prepared for edition by Gabriel Roura).

<sup>23</sup> *Consueta abbatie collegiate sancti Felicis Gerundensis 1314–1330*. Girona, Biblioteca de Seminari — Arxiu Diocesà Ms. 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Consueta abbatie collegiate sancti Felicis Gerundensis sæculi post 1435*. Girona, Biblioteca de Seminari — Arxiu Diocesà Ms. 151.

use—which is pretty much the picture we get from the textual editions produced so far—researching several related sources can not only place the local traditions in a new light, but it will allow us to outline the history of Ordinals in the period between the 12th and the 16th centuries. Based—among other things—on my research of the sources in Catalonia and Mallorca, this is what I summarised in the first chapter of my introduction to the critical edition of the Ordinal of Esztergom.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Miklós István FÖLDVÁRY: *Ordinarius Strigoniensis. Impressum pluries Nurenberga, Venetiis et Lugduni annis Domini 1493–1520* (RMK III Suppl. I 5031, RMK III 35, 134, 165, 166, 238). Argumentum Kiadó, Budapest 2009. IX–XIII.