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HISTORY OF THE LITURGICAL COLOURS

Dr. WICKHAM LEGG.

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NOTES

ON THE

HISTORY OF THE LITURGICAL COLOURS

*a Paper read before the S. Paul's Ecclesiological Society,
on Thursday, January 13th, 1881.*

BY

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TO

HENRY ARNOTT

VICAR OF BUSSAGE

SOMETIME ASSISTANT-SURGEON TO SAINT THOMAS'S HOSPITAL

THESE FIRST ESSAYS IN ECCLESIOLOGY ARE DEDICATED

IN GRATITUDE FOR HIS FRIENDSHIP

AND FOR HIS EXAMPLE

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P R E F A C E

IT would hardly be an exaggeration to say that if a man were to devote himself for forty years to the study of ritual, he might begin at the end of that time to have some acquaintance with the outlines, perhaps only with the difficulty, of his subject. And, if this be true, it may be asked why should one who has spent all his time in other and wholly different pursuits come forward and offer a further addition to the works of dabblers with which the press already teems; for of ritual may be said what Montaigne says of poetry, that a man may play the fool anywhere else but not here: and I fear that if Burton with all his learning could but ill excuse the incursion of a divine into the province of a physician, much less shall I be able to justify this encroachment of mine upon the work of the Ecclesiologist. My only reason for printing is that I can find no paper or work in which like ground is gone over, and the publication of these imperfect holiday tasks may perhaps move some accomplished ritualist to make the matter his own. The material for these Essays was collected as an amusement during expeditions into France, Italy, and Germany; yet while putting the pages together I have had a painful sense of being but an amateur; the speculations which are set forth are but speculations, to be modified or withdrawn without regret whenever they shall chance to attract the attention of a more competent antiquary. This remark more especially applies to the matter of the First Part of the paper. I suppose there will always be those who look upon everything in the Church as a developement of something in the Synagogue, while to others (as to myself) the naturalistic views of Claude de Vert and the other great French ritualists of the early part of the last century will seem more congruous.

Some may think a word of apology needed for the subject matter, and consider it too trivial even for unbending the mind, and fit only for the employment of a Paris dressmaker. Such severe persons may be asked to remember a passage in Johnson's *Life of Pope*, in which he says that "it may be frequently remarked of the studious and speculative, that they are proud of trifles, and that their amusements seem frivolous and childish"; and if this be allowed to men of genius, a like indulgence may surely be granted to the inferior works and minds of the unlearned age into which we are descending.

I fear it is almost impossible here to thank all who have so kindly helped me in this work. But I am specially indebted to Canon Ceriani, the learned Prefect of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, for undertaking a research amongst the early manuscript copies of the Ambrosian Rite. I was fortunate in being able to interest

a man so well known in England for his exhaustive knowledge of the Rite, and for the profound learning with which he has illustrated the editions that are now being given to the Church. To Canon Albin, the Master of the Ceremonies of the Cathedral Church of Le Mans, I am indebted for a full account of the colours of that Church in 1655. And to Herr Anton Ditges, the Parish Priest of the Church of S. Martin at Colen (or, as the French call it, Cologne), for the sequences used in the metropolitan Church during the last two hundred years. The Le Mans sequence is specially interesting, as it shows a close kindred to that of the Spanish Primatial Church, Toledo: and Colen is noteworthy from the resemblance, somewhat distant perhaps, which it shows to Milan. Without these two sequences I should have been very much at a loss; and I am glad of the opportunity of thanking these two courteous and learned Ecclesiastics for the very considerable pains which they undertook at the suggestion of one quite unknown to them.

Mr. W. H. Allnutt, of the Bodleian Library, searched the manuscript Sarum Missals at Oxford, and also made the transcript of the colour rubric, printed in Part III. Nothing further need be said as to the accuracy with which this part of the work has been done.

Lastly, to the kind intervention of Mr. Whereat, the Chaplain to the English Embassy at Madrid, I owe the sequences of Toledo, Burgo de Osma, and Siguenza, which were copied for me by the Abbé Antoine Roaldes.

LONDON, *Christmas*, 1881.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

	PAGE
THE SOURCES OF THE LITURGICAL COLOURS	1.

PART II.

A COMPARISON OF THE COLOURS IN USE IN VARIOUS WESTERN RITES	12.
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PART III.

THE ENGLISH LITURGICAL COLOURS	35.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY.

UVA. BHSC. LEG.11-1 n°0847

UVA. BHSC. LEG.11-1 n°0847

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE LITURGICAL COLOURS.

	ANGLICAN.				GALLICAN.						SPANISH.		GERMAN.		ITALIAN.	
	ENGLISH PONTIFICALS. XIV. & XV. SAEC.	WELLS. XIV. SAEC.	WESTMINSTER. 1206.	SARUM. XIV. & XV. SAEC.	PARIS. 1666.	PARIS. 1685.	LYONS. 1771.	SOISSONS. 1745.	SICILY. 1568.	LE MANS. 1655.	TOLEDO. 1550.	PALENCIA. 1568.	MAINZ. 1602.	KOELN. 1626.	MILAN. 1795.	
Advent	Violet	Medius ? Indius	White	Unknown ? White	White	Violet	Violet	Violet	Violet	Violet	Violet	Violet	Red	Black	Violet	
Christmas	White	White	White	Unknown ? White	White	White	Red	White	White	White	White	White	? Red	White	White	
S. Stephen	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	
S. John the Evangelist	White	White and Media	? White	White	White	White	White	Red	White	Red	White	White	Green	? Red	White	
Holy Innocents	Violet	Red	—	Unknown ? Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Violet	Red	Red	Red	Red	—	Red	
Circumcision... ..	White	White & Red	White	Unknown ? White	White	White	Red	White	Red	Red	White	Red	Blue	White	Red	
Epiphany and Octave	White	White	White	Unknown ? White	White	White or Yellow	White	Violet	White	Green	Red	White	White	White	White	
From the Octave of the Epiphany to Candlemas	Green	Red	White	Unknown ? White	White	White	Red	Green	Green	Violet	White	Saffron	Red	Green	Green	
From Candlemas to Septuagesima	Green	Red	? Red	Red	White	Red	Red	Green	Green	Violet	White	Saffron	Red	Green	Green	
Septuagesima to Lent	Violet	Unknown	Red	Red	Red	Violet	Violet	Violet	Violet	Violet	Violet	Violet	Red	Black	Violet	
Ash Wednesday	Violet	Unknown	Red	Red	Red	Ash-coloured	Ash-coloured	Violet	Violet	Violet	Ash-coloured	Violet	Blue	Black	Violet	
Its Special Ceremonies	Violet			Red	Black	Black	Ash-coloured	Violet	Violet	Violet	Ash-coloured	Violet	Blue	Black	Violet	
Lent	Violet	Unknown	Black	Unknown ? Ash-coloured	Ash-coloured	Ash-coloured	Ash-coloured	Violet	Violet	Violet	Violet	Violet	Blue	Black	Black or Violet	
Passiontide	Violet, or some other colour: Red or Black?	Red	Red	Red	Black	Black	Ash-coloured	Violet	Violet	Red	Black	Black	Red	Red	Holy week— Red	
Palm Sunday Procession	—	Red	Red	Red	Black	Black	Violet	Violet	Violet	Red	Green	White	Red	? Red	Violet	
Maundy Thursday	White (if oils be blessed) Red (if oils be not blessed)	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	White (if oils be blessed) Red (if oils be not blessed)	Red	White	White	White (if oils be blessed) Black (if oils be not blessed)	White (if oils be blessed) Black (if oils be not blessed)	Red (At Maundy, deacon wears green)	Red	Red	Red
Good Friday	Black	Red and Purple	Red or Purple	Red	Black	Black	Violet	Red	Black	Red	Black	Black	Red	Red	Red	
Easter and its Octave	White	Red <i>Low Sunday</i> White	Red	White	White	White	White	Green	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	
From Low Sunday	White	Red	Red	White	White	White	White	Green	White	White	White	White	White	Green	Green	
Rogations	Violet	—	—	—	White	<i>Monday—</i> Violet	Red	Green	Violet	Violet	? White	Saffron	Divers colrs.	—	Black	
Ascension and Octave	White	White	White	? White	White	White	White	Green	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	
Pentecost	Red	Red	Red or Saffron	Unknown ? Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	
Trinity Sunday	White	Red	—	Unknown ? Red	Red	Red	White	Violet	White	Red	Blue	White	Blue	? Red	White	
Corpus Christi	White	Red	—	? Red	Red	Red	White	Red	White	Red	White	White	Red	? White	Red	
Trinity to Advent	Green	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Green	Violet	Blue	Saffron	Red	Green	Red, to 3rd Sun. in Octob. Green thence to Advent White	
Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	
Nativity of S. John the Baptist... ..	White	Indius	White	? White	White	White	White	Violet	White	Green	Green	White	Green	White	White	
Michaelmas	White	White and Indius	Blue	White	White	White or Yellow	White	White	White	Red	White	White	Red	White	White	
All Saints	White	White & Red	—	Unknown ? Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	White	Red	Divers colrs.	Red	Divers colrs.	White	White	
Feasts of Apostles	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red	
— Martyrs	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	
— Evangelists	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	White	—	—	Red	
— Virgins	White	White	—	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	
— Confessors	Saffron	Green and Indius	Blue & Green and Yellow	Saffron	Green and Violet	Green and Violet	White, Green and Yellow	Green	Yellow	Green	Yellow	Green	Blue	Green and Violet	Green and Violet	

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NOTES

ON THE

HISTORY OF THE LITURGICAL COLOURS

PART I.

THE SOURCES OF THE LITURGICAL COLOURS.

Ut potero explicabo, nec tamen quasi Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint et fixa, quæ dixerò, sed ut homunculus unus e multis probabilia coniectura sequens.—Cicero, *Tuscul.* i. ix.

THE symbolical use of colours appears to have prevailed amongst civilized nations in all ages. The earliest monuments of China and Egypt testify to this; and even now, if we may trust the newspapers, the influence of symbolical colours can be seen on the political events of the day: for we are assured that it was only his insistence on the use of the white flag throughout France which hindered the heir of Saint Louis from ascending the throne of his forefathers.

In any attempt to consider the sources whence the liturgical colours were derived we are met at once by a very considerable difficulty, and one which it is not easy to overcome, that is, our want of knowledge of what the ancients meant by the various terms *purpureus*, *hyacinthinus*, *coccineus*, *venetus*, *cæruleus*, and the like. More than a hundred years ago Spence complained that the Latin names for colours were very doubtful and very ill-understood;¹ and the confusion has been increased in our own day by the theory that the ancients were but feebly able to distinguish one colour from another. Of this, the various uses of the word *purpureus* seems to be some proof. *Purpureus* is an attribute of the sea, the dawn, the poppy, the blood, the hair, the fig, etc.² It is doubtful whether *cæruleus*, *venetus*, or *hyacinthinus* were blue or green. And the same ignorance prevails as to the value of the mediæval words *rubeus*, *blodius*, *indius*, and others.

The difficulties are also further increased by the changes which time may have wrought upon contemporary representations of the colours; or upon the stuffs themselves,

¹ Spence, *Polymetis*, book VI. dialogue XIV. London, 1747, p. 228.

² It may be noted that one Evangelist says that our Lord was mocked in a purple, and another in a scarlet, robe.

if any such have come down to us. Illuminations and painted windows appear singularly untrustworthy witnesses; for besides the changes due to the effluxion of time, which in some of these may have been active, the artist was not always careful to give faithful representations of the times in which he lived. His end was rather to produce an harmonious and pleasing whole; a point which no one can urge against the early mosaics in the Roman or Ravennese Basilicas.

It would seem that the theories of the source of the liturgical colours must be largely influenced by the theories of the source of the liturgical vestments. In the middle ages, as every one knows, the vestments were thought to be copies or descendants of the vestments of the High Priest under the Jewish Dispensation, and the liturgical colours would, on this view, naturally be allied to the Levitical. But this theory appears to be given up on all sides. Walafriid Strabo, a writer of the ninth century, asserts: *primis temporibus communi indumento vestiti missas agebant*;¹ and Dr. Bock, so well known for his researches into the sources and history of the liturgical vestments, says that in the early Church the Christian mysteries were celebrated in a dress only to be distinguished by its greater richness and costliness from the everyday vesture,² and that the only writer of any authority who holds the contrary opinion is Du Saussay in his *Panoplia Sacerdotalis*.

When the history of the old Roman everyday garments began first to be studied, it was thought that the toga was the ancestor of the chasuble, and that the cope was the descendant of the *pænula*. This last supposition derived some support from the fact that the *pænula* was only worn in bad weather, in fact as an over garment to protect the wearer against the rain, while the name which the cope still retains is *pluviale*, highly suggestive of the same use. But later on, the shape of the *pænula*, so identical with that of the chasuble, caused this view to be given up; and accordingly Cardinal Bona,³ and a host of writers of less authority, forming a consensus for the last two hundred years and more, are agreed that the chasuble is the same garment as the Roman *pænula*. I may also add that the Commendatore De Rossi, the greatest living authority on Christian antiquities, is of opinion that the chasuble is nothing but the *pænula consularis*, just as the vestments of a Greek bishop are a reproduction of the dress of the Roman emperors.⁴ I may add one point from my own observations: the ancient chasubles, and indeed in Italy the modern ones, show in their orphreys a precise reproduction of the stripes of the *pænula*. These chasubles show no cross, either before or behind, only what is called the column, and this is usually formed by two parallel and vertical bands of stuff.⁵

There is nothing antecedently improbable in the theory that the early Christians adopted the vesture of officers high in the civil service, when we consider that in the structure of the early Christian basilica, the details of the old Roman basilica, or justice-hall, were carefully followed. And if the *stola* and *pænula* became the albe and chasuble, it would be likely enough that the colour of the more ancient garments

¹ Walafriidi Strabonis *Liber de rebus eccles.* cap. xxiv. In Hittorpius' Collection.

² Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*, Bonn, 1859, Bd. i. pp. 416 and 422.

³ Bona, *de rebus liturgicis*, lib. i. cap. xxiv.

⁴ The sovereigns have taken the vestments back again. The King of England is crowned in the ornaments of a deacon. The stole and maniple may be distinctly traced even in the prints of the coronation of the Queen, seen in so many English houses.

⁵ See the figure of a woman, Heliadora, clothed in a *pænula* in Aringhi (*Roma subterranea*, Romæ, 1651, t. ii., p. 105, lib. IV. cap. xiv.), and with stripes exactly like the "column" of the chasuble. For a woodcut of the *pænula* see Weiss, *Kostümkunde*, Stuttgart, 1860. II. Abth. p. 963.

would reappear with their shape in their Christian descendants. The colour of the albe would certainly appear to be derived from the *stola*, which may be seen to be almost constantly white in the catacombs and the early mosaics. And the *pænula* we know in the time of Augustus was dark (*pullus*) in colour, and worn by soldiers and plebeians of both sexes: though before the peace of the Church it had become the garment of men of high rank, and there are traces of its having been red in colour.¹

In the catacombs, where the *stola* is no doubt the prevailing garment, may be seen a few figures of men and women clad in the *pænula*, *subfuscus*, or reddish in colour; but in these under-ground places the perception of colour is not always quite accurate, and many of the frescoes have plainly undergone restoration. If the colour of the *pænula*, which we know was *pullus* in the first century, were continued into the Christian chasuble, it would account for the large number of *planetæ fuscae* which we find in the early mosaics and records. There is a tradition among Church writers that the proper colour of the chasuble is purple or red, for it is supposed to represent the purple robe in which our Lord was mocked by the soldiers.

In heathen Rome we find that certain colours were used in a symbolical sense. Thus the toga was fresh whitened, not only when a man sought office, but on solemn days of rejoicing, such as birthdays and the like; and on the other hand, in times of mourning it became dark in colour, (*pullus, fuscus*.) The toga of emperors and of generals on the day of their triumph was purple. Later on, a golden colour appears alongside of the purple; as may be seen in a mosaic, a copy of which was lately published in *Archæologia*, where the gold even predominates over the purple.² There were thus in the old everyday life of Rome four symbolical colours: white, a sign of festivity; a dark colour (*fuscus*), a sign of mourning; *purpureus* and gold, signs of dignity. These four colours are the forerunners of the four liturgical colours, white, black, red, and gold, which we may trace out in early documents and mosaics.

White is seen in the catacombs and the earliest mosaics as one of the colours of the *stola*. In all ages and nations it has been considered a colour highly appropriate to the priesthood.³ S. Jerome speaks of bishops, priests, and deacons being arrayed in white in his time,⁴ and the Eastern Church uses it as the invariable colour of the *phælonion* out of Lent.⁵ As a liturgical colour, used to symbolize a festival season, it has probably come down to us from the whitened toga of festivals at Rome. In the sixth century white appears as the colour of vestments worn at Easter.⁶ But it is not so often seen in mosaics. There is in the apse of the Church of S. Cæcilia, across the Tiber, a mosaic showing a figure in a white chasuble and green *stola*. The date usually given to this mosaic is about 820. The copy of the mosaic in the Lateran Triclinium, however interesting it may be to the student of the history of the Roman Empire, will detain the ritualist but a short time, as it has clearly been very unfaithfully reproduced. It would

¹ Aelii Lampridii *Antoninus Diadumenus*, cap. ii. in *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores*.—Penulas populo coloris rosei dare. Cf. Martial, *Epigrammata*, l. xiv. v. 29. Roma magis fuscis vestitur, Gallia rufis.

² Alexander Nesbitt, *Archæologia*, 1880, vol. xlv. p. 274.

³ Cf. Virgil, *Æneid* xii. 169. Puraque in veste sacerdos.

⁴ S. Jerome *adv. Pelag.* lib. i. cap. xxix. In Hooker's day the surplice gave greater offence than any other ornament: "a mark and a very sacrament of abomination;" (Hooker's *Eccles. Politic*, bk. v. chap. 29) and, it would seem, chiefly from its colour.

⁵ Goar, *Euchologion*, Paris, 1647, p. 113.

⁶ See Part II. of this paper upon Easter.

seem, however, that S. Peter is wearing a white chasuble over the *stola*. The date of the original mosaic is said by Mr. Bryce to be about 800.¹

Black appears very early among the liturgical colours. Cardinal Bona tells us that in the year 476 Acatius, the patriarch of Constantinople, clothed himself, the episcopal chair, and the altar in black as a sign of grief.² Violet, or violet purple, is the most common colour for chasubles amongst the mosaics of the early seventh century at Rome; it may be seen in the apse of S. Agnes outside the walls or in the chapel of S. Venantius in the Baptistery of the Lateran, as the colour of the chasuble of a large number of saints and popes. As a liturgical colour, there is no distinction between black, violet, purple, or blue; *planetæ fuscæ* for Lent and for Good Friday, and black vestments for the procession on Candlemas Day, are spoken of by writers so early as the time of the *Ordo Romanus*, printed by Hittorpius and of the false Alcuin.³

It may be thought by some that the golden colour is the very earliest noted of the ecclesiastical colours, as Constantine the Great is said to have given to Macarius, the Bishop of Jerusalem, a *stola* worked in gold, to be used at Baptism.⁴ In the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Rome the mosaics of the apse show S. Felix in a golden or yellow coloured chasuble; the albe is blue. The date given to the mosaic is 530, but the figure has been so much restored that its evidence can hardly be trusted. There are figures of Pope Paschal in a golden chasuble in S. Praxedes, S. Mary of the little Ship, and S. Cæcilia across the Tiber, all about the same date, 820. The figure of our Lord, in the centre of the apse of S. Praxedes, wears a golden *stola* with red stripes; and there is also another figure in a golden chasuble and a pall on the left of the arch of triumph.

The figures of S. Maximianus in S. Vitalis and of S. Apollinaris in S. Apollinaris in Classe, in the well-known mosaics at Ravenna, are said by Ciampini to be clothed in chasubles of a golden colour.⁵ My own recollections of a visit in 1878 were so different to this, that I ventured to appeal to an antiquary living on the spot, Signor Corrado Ricci, the well-known author of the best guide to Ravenna. He has very kindly not only informed me that the exact colour of the two chasubles is an olive green (*oliva caldo*), but has sent me a drawing in water-colours of the vestments, showing the golden bees (?) on the olive ground. Gally Knight's chromolithographs⁶ do not give at all an exact idea of the colour used. It is thus worthy of note that the earliest representation of the chasuble used in an ecclesiastical way shows the vestment of a green colour.

In the Byzantine Court the emperor wore white on the death of a kinsman, black not being allowed in the palace; a practice which may be compared with that of some part of the Eastern Church which forbids black to be used as a liturgical colour. But when the mourning was relaxed, the emperor wore yellow without jewels, and later on resumed his splendid vestments.⁷ The cardinals, also, while they are shut up in conclave wear saffron, but put it off as soon as the pope is elected,⁸ and the see thus ceases to be

¹ James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, chapter vii. London, 1866, p. 127.

² Theodorus, the reader, lib. i. Collect. Quoted by Bona, *de rebus liturg.* lib. i. cap. xxiv. sec. i.

³ See Hittorpius' *Ordo Romanus* and the Pseudo-Alcuin on these days.

⁴ Theodoret, lib. ii. hist. cap. 27. Quoted by Bona, *de rebus liturg.* lib. i. cap. xxiv. sec. vi.

⁵ Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta* Pars II. Romæ, 1699, pp. 73 and 83.

⁶ H. Gally Knight, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*, London, 1843, vol. i.

⁷ Codinus, *de officiis magnæ eccles. et aulæ Constant.* c. 21. Parisiis, 1648, p. 143.

⁸ Christopher Marcellus, *Rituum Ecclesiasticorum sive sacrarum Ceremoniarum SS. Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, Venetiis 1516, fol. viii. There is a book on the saffron vesture of the cardinals in conclave which I have not been able to see: Joseph Mary Suarès, *de crocea veste Cardinalium in Conclavi*, Romæ, 1670, in 4to.

widowed. In both these cases, the saffron or yellow colour is a sign of dignity, assumed when the brighter purple would be unsuitable.

There is abundance of evidence to show that, in the middle ages, yellow was held to be the same as green, and there is no doubt a certain kindred between the two colours from an optical point of view, just as black and violet and dark blue run into each other. Green itself early appears as a liturgical colour. It has been said that at Ravenna it is seen in the mosaics of the first half of the sixth century (521-547.) And in the Chapel of S. Venantius in the Lateran Baptistery (date about 640), S. Asterius appears in a violet brown chasuble and green *stola*; and the same green colour of the *stola* is seen in a figure of a saint with a white chasuble in the apse of S. Cæcilia across the Tiber (date about 820). The *stola* was anciently a woman's dress, and Octavius Ferrarius tells us that green was one of the colours of the *vestis muliebris*,¹ so that this may be a possible origin for the green *stola*; in some of the early ritualists the *podaris* (which is the same vestment as the *stola*) is said to be hyacinthine. What colour hyacinthine was, no one can now tell; but it is likely that these coloured *stolæ* were the forerunners of the coloured albes of the middle ages.

Besides the testimony of these early mosaics we have some written accounts of the use of green in the eighth and ninth centuries. A certain abbot is said to have given blue (*indicus*), green, and red chasubles to his monastery in the year 800. And Hincmar is said to have sent Amalarius the present of a *casula diaprassina* in the year 860.²

Red is a colour which makes but a small appearance either in mosaics or documents until the eleventh or twelfth century. One instance of a red chasuble has just been spoken of; and on the left of the arch of triumph of the Church of S. Praxedes, at Rome, there is a figure in a reddish chasuble and pallium over a *stola*. The date commonly given is 820. Though there are so few notices of red in antiquity, yet it is quite possible that it is one of the oldest liturgical colours, and descended directly from the imperial purple. In the Roman Church a red colour is to this day a sign of dignity: witness the purple of the cardinals; and Cardinal Bona tells us that a red cope is the proper dress for the pope.³ This statement is borne out by the Roman ritualists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They direct the pope to wear a red cope when he only hears mass, whatever the colour of the day may be.⁴ And when the pope is dead he is clothed for his burial in red vestments,⁵ just as immediately after his election he puts on red shoes, sandals, biretta, and cope.⁶

If we accept red and golden as marks of dignity, their liturgical use becomes more easy to explain. Red, it has been seen, is put upon the pope as soon as he is chosen; he

¹ Octavius Ferrarius, *de re Vestiaria*, lib. iii. cap. xxii. in Grævius' *Thesaurus Roman. Antiq.* t. vi. Venetiis, 1732.

² Krazer, *de liturgiis*, Aug. Vindel. 1786, p. 280.

³ Bona, *de rebus liturg.* lib. i. cap. xxiv. sec. xvii. See also Sicardus, *Mitrale*, lib. ii. cap. iv. "Rubeus mantus tribuitur per quem charitas vel martyrium declaratur."

⁴ Christopher Marcellus, *Rituum Eccles. sive SS. Ceremoni. SS. Rom. Eccles.* Venetiis, 1516, *passim*. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, ordo xv. Lut. Paris. 1724, t. ii. p. 448. Ordo Romanus auctore Paride Crasso in Martene, *de antiquis Ecclesie ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xxxiv.

⁵ Mabillon, *op. cit.* p. ii. p. 527. Ordo xv. Two or three eye-witnesses of the lying in state of the last pope, Pius IX., have assured me that the dead body was vested in white. Clerks in holy orders ought to be buried in violet vestments, though this rubric is ignored in practice, and black vestments are used. (See Baruffaldi, *ad Rituale Romanum Commentaria*, Venetiis, 1763. De exequiis, tit. xxxiv. sec. xi. p. 123.)

⁶ Christopher Marcellus, *op. cit.* fol. viii.

wears a red cope as his ordinary dress for assisting at ceremonies, and he is buried in red. Red is the colour in many rites for the Eucharist and for confirmation. Red is given to Apostles and Evangelists, even if not martyrs; in some rites to confessors also, to the founders of churches, to the patron saint, even if he were not a martyr. In all these the red is a mark of honour. In like manner the golden or green colour is in many rites the episcopal colour. It is worn at the bishop's consecration, his enthronement, the anniversary of his consecration; on the feasts of the Chair of S. Peter; and in some churches again it is the colour of the patron saint, whoever he may be; and as a rule saffron or green is the colour of confessors who have been bishops or doctors. At Mentz there appears a notable instance. The feasts of Apostles were there kept in green, while their vigils were red.

This will also serve to explain the appearance of green or saffron and red as ferial colours. The French ritualists labour to explain the appearance of red between Trinity and Advent by saying that Pentecost dominates the whole time. But this in no way explains the appearance of red again as a ferial colour between Candlemas and Septuagesima, or Candlemas and Lent. I would venture to suggest that the golden or green and purple or red were in early times worn by bishops as marks of honour, being the imperial colours. This we see in the early mosaics of Rome and Ravenna, where popes and bishops are clothed in green, gold, and purple. It is the way of mankind to distribute marks of honour till they become valueless, and thus the red and golden colours were later on assumed by simple priests, when the Church was not celebrating festival or fast, and so neither white nor black was in use. A parallel instance of this is seen in the *Gloria in excelsis*. In the Gregorian Sacramentary bishops only were allowed to say the *Gloria*; priests saying it but once a year, at Easter. Now priests say the *Gloria* daily, out of Advent and Lent. So in the Eastern Church, the *epigonation*, once an episcopal ornament, is becoming a privilege of less dignified ecclesiastics.¹

Another colour is of frequent use in Gallican rites: *cinericius*; I suppose this may be translated *ash-coloured*. It appears, with some few exceptions, to be used only in the Lenten fast, from the first Sunday in Lent to Passion Sunday. It is thought that the colour has its source in the ashes distributed at the beginning of Lent. Claude Villette speaks of it as the "couleur de terre, cendre, et pénitence," and as being used in Lent, and on the Ember Saturdays at the ordination of clerks.²

There are many facts which would lead us to suspect that this ash colour was little else than a substitute for black. For instance, at Westminster the written rule was that black should be worn for Lent. In practice we find in the inventories white, *i.e.* grey or ash coloured. In the English inventories these white ornaments for Lent are of very frequent occurrence; in fact, the use of grey or white for Lent appears from these documents to be the only custom as to colours in which the English dioceses were unanimous. Blue and violet also appear to have been English alternative colours with the grey; they are all three secondary colours to the cardinal, black.

In the year 831, Lewis the Pious caused an inventory to be made of the Monastery of the S. Richarius of Centulum, now called Riquier, on the Somme; and amongst the vestments appear "casulæ castaneæ xl. sericæ nigræ v. persæ sericæ iii. ex plata i. ex pallio

¹ J. M. Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, part i. general introduction. London, 1850, p. 11.

² Claude Villette, *Les Raisons de l'office et Ceremonies qui se font en l'eglise*, Rouen, 1648, p. 86.

xx. galnæ sericæ v. melnæ sericæ iii. ex pisce i. ex cendalo iv.”¹ Further on: “cappa castanea auro parata serica i. Dalmaticæ xxxi.” and some other vestments.

Castaneus is, according to Ducange, the same as *stellaria*, and this would appear to be a kind of purple, probably the same as one sees in the brown-violet chasubles in the mosaics of the apse of S. Agnes outside the walls. *Persæ sericæ* may be blue, though the Dantophil will remember that Dante defines *perso* as “a colour mixed of purple and black, but the black prevails.”² *Melnæ sericæ* to be *color luteus*, or that of an apple; *ex pisce* is, according to Maigne d’Arnis’ lexicon, of a blue colour; and *ex cendalo* of some silk stuff. *Ex plata* may either stand for *ex blatta*, or signify that the vestment was made of plates of metal joined together. If we accept this inventory as of the time stated, it would appear that black, purple, blue, yellow, and perhaps green (*melnæ*) chasubles were worn at Centulum in the ninth century. It is, however, impossible to form any opinion as to the festivals or seasons for which they were employed.

Innocent III. who ruled the Church of Rome at the end of the twelfth century, is no doubt the starting point in history for a definite sequence or law for the use of colours for different seasons or festivals. Before this time little is said of the use of colours for the different seasons. There is one early instance: S. Paulinus, the Bishop of Nola, in his third hymn on the feast of S. Felix, describing the appearance of the church on the festival of the Martyr, says: Aurea nunc niveis ornantur limina velis, (*Carm. de S. Felice, III. 98.*) and the date of the hymn is said to be exactly 396.

In the churches of Gaul the colour for Easter was white in the sixth century if we take the *Expositio Brevis* as written by S. German, who was Bishop of Paris in 555, which says: Albis vestibus in pascha induitur sacerdos,³ and there are other notes on the use of the same colour at this season in the same churches. At Rome the vestments for Lent and Good Friday were dark in colour; on Maundy Thursday the *ampulla* for the *chrisma* was covered with white silk, and the priests wore their solemn vestments on this day, though the colour is not given; at Easter the most solemn vestments are to be worn: deacons wearing dalmatics, and subdeacons albes of linen or silk. On the Purification, black vestments are worn for the procession before mass.⁴ Pierre Lebrun quotes a manuscript ordinary of Monte Cassino before 1100, and one of Metz written in 1105, which direct black chasubles to be worn by the priest and ministers during Advent, and from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday. The clerk at Metz who censed might be *indutus cappa serica quæ nigra sit vel similis nigræ*.⁵

No doubt, a little more research among the earlier Church writers would find further allusions to the use of different colours on certain days and seasons.

If the writer of the *Gemma Animæ* be the Honorius of Autun who flourished about the year 1130, there would be in this work an early allusion, before Innocent III. to the liturgical colours for the different degrees of saints. For example, in all rites, red is the colour for martyrs, and white for virgins; and in very many rites, green or saffron is the colour for bishops or doctors, and violet for monks and layfolk who have been

UVA. BHSC. LEG. 11-1 n°0847

¹ Luc d’Achery, *Spicilegium*, t. ii. Paris, 1723. Chronicon monast. S. Richarii Centulensis scriptum ab Hariulfo monacho, lib. iii. cap. iii.

² See Dr. Carlyle’s translation of the *Inferno*, canto v. London, 1867, p. 54.

³ See S. German’s *Expositio Brevis* in Lebrun’s *Explication*, Paris, 1777, t. iii. p. 242, printed from Martene and Durand’s *Trésor des Anecdotes*, t. v.

⁴ See Hittorpius, *Ordo Romanus* and the false Alcuin for these times.

⁵ Pierre Lebrun, *Explication etc. de la Messe*, Paris, 1777, t. i. p. 63.

canonized. Thus the four liturgical colours are divided amongst different classes: and this passage, I fancy, must refer to these different colours for the different saints, martyrs, virgins, monks, or doctors: "Hic ager vernat floribus dum ecclesia resplendet virtutibus. Odor florum est fragrantia bonorum operum. Rosæ sunt martyres, lilia virgines, violæ seculi contemptores, virides herbæ sapientes, floridæ proficientes, fructibus plenæ animæ perfectæ."¹ Sicardus, Bishop of Cremona, a contemporary of Innocent III. gives the following mystical signification to the four colours: Pallia vel cortina candida munditiam, rubea charitatem, viridia contemplationem, nigra carnis mortificationem, variata coloribus virtutum varietatem, linea tribulationem, holloserica significant virginitatem.²

Innocent III. is known to us from our schooldays through his dealings with King John; and indeed there was hardly any part of Christendom in which he did not make the weight of his hand to be felt. To this pope is often attributed the beautiful prose for Whitsuntide: "Veni, Sancte Spiritus," and all writers agree that he was one of the very ablest of the successors of St. Gregory in the Roman Patriarchal Chair. Jeremy Taylor calls him "a great canonist, and of great authority."³ At the present moment he is chiefly interesting to us from the rules which he gives in his work, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, for the different Christian seasons and festivals. This is the first complete enumeration of the colours that I have been able to meet with, though it cannot be doubted from the evidence of the early *Ordines Romani* that symbolical colours were in use before Innocent III. and that this pope no more introduced the sequence into the Roman Church than he introduced the other ceremonies which he records. Besides, the book was written before he became pope. If further proof were wanted, it could be given by the developement which the sequence had already undergone in Innocent III.'s time, as shown by the use of colours secondary to the four cardinal colours.

There are, says this writer, four chief colours, *albus, rubeus, niger, et viridis*, because there are said to have been four in the vestments of the law: *byssus et purpura, hyacinthus et coccus*. It will be noted that he leaves out the *aurum* from the Levitical colours, just as S. Jerome does,⁴ apparently because it was a material, and not a colour. It may be said that the sequence given by Innocent III. remains for all practical purposes the custom of the Church of Rome to this day.⁵ In mediæval times it was very widely spread, being used in many churches of Germany and Spain, and in England in the dioceses of Canterbury and York, London and Exeter.

But besides these four chief or cardinal colours, Innocent III. already speaks of certain other secondary colours, which were ranged under the heading of the chief colours with which they had some likeness, though they were not altogether identical in tint. Thus violet was allowed instead of black; *coccineus* instead of red, and *croceus* instead of green. Or for certain saints; rose was allowed for martyrs, saffron for confessors, and lily for virgins. In the same way we find in the more modern Gallican missals that yellow ornaments may be used in place of white; *fulva* (d'aurore) *seu aurea* instead of red; blue instead of violet, and brown instead of black.⁶ And this we know was the practice in

UVA. BHSC. LEG. 11-1 n°0847

¹ *Gemma Animæ*, lib. i. cap. 162. Compare two sermons on S. Agnes, attributed to Thomas-a-Kempis, *Sermones ad Novitios*, xxvi. and xxvii. printed by Sommalius, t. i. p. 111. Antwerp, 1615.

² Sicardus, *Mitræ*, lib. i. cap. xii. sub fine. Migne's ed. p. 44, C.

³ Jeremy Taylor, *a Discourse of Confirmation*, section iv. Heber's ed. 1822, t. xi. p. 271.

⁴ S. Jerome, *Epist. ad Fabiolam, de veste sacerdotali*.

⁵ Innocentius III. *de sacro altaris mysterio*, lib. i. cap. lxiv.

⁶ For an instance, see the Paris Missal edited by Archbishop de Vintimille.

Paris in the time of Lebrun-Desmarettes, who says that the colour *d'aurore* was used for the season after Pentecost.¹ Claude Villette, who wrote in a still earlier time, speaks of grey or ash-coloured, violet, yellow, and dove-coloured (*colombin*) as secondary colours to the four chief colours in use in the Gallican Church.²

The greatest number of secondary colours that I have met with in any authoritative document was in a Cistercian Missal printed at Paris in 1627. Much the same sequence is given as that of Innocent III. but under each cardinal colour a certain number of secondary colours is allowed: thus under violet appear also: "ceruleus, violaceus, iacintinus, vel flavus;" under white: "albus vel argenteus;" under red: "aureus, rubeus, purpureus;" the ferial colours are: "viridis, cœlestis;" and Good Friday and the Office of the Dead have: "niger, cineritius," which also seem to be the colours for certain confessors and monks such as S. Bernard, S. Thomas, S. Benedict, and others, though red is given generally to other confessors. The same latitude was allowed in England; as one only has to look over the mediæval inventories to recognise the numberless shades of colour that were in use, though each shade was doubtless ranged under one of the chief four.

<i>Principal Liturgical Colours.</i>	<i>Secondary Liturgical Colours.</i>
WHITE	Lily, Silver, Gold.
BLACK	{ Violet, Purple, Blue, Hyacinthine, Azure, Morello. { Brown, Grey, Ash, Dove, Dun.
GOLD	Green, Saffron, Yellow.
RED	Crimson, Murrey, Tawny, Purple, Rose, Pink, Gold.

Even at the present day, in the Church of Rome, so far from five colours only being the rule, there are several alternative colours in use; for example, cloth of gold is allowed in the place of white, or red, or green. Though I have not met with silver as a substitute for white in any modern book on ritual, yet it is in use at the present day; as on Maundy Thursday, in 1879, I saw cloth of silver vestments worn by the priest and sacred ministers in the parish church of San Remo, in North Italy. Then, what are called rose-coloured vestments are allowed instead of violet on *Gaudete* and *Lætare* Sundays, and Christmas Eve if it fall on a Sunday; at Verona, on last Mid Lent Sunday, the vestments of the sacred ministers of the cathedral church were rather of a very pale lavender, while the priests who said masses at the side-altars wore chasubles rather of a chocolate, than of any distinct liturgical, colour. All over Italy and the south of France the word *violaceus* has a very wide interpretation. For example, being at Rome one year just before Easter, I was interested to note that in some churches the colour of the veils used to cover up the crucifix and sacred images was precisely of the same colour as the chasubles of the popes in the seventh-century mosaics of the apse of S. Agnes outside the walls, that is, of

¹ De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques de France*, Paris, 1718, p. 247.

² Claude Villette, *Les Raisons de l'office et ceremonies, etc.* Rouen, 1648, p. 86.

a violet-brown. Then on the Saturday before Palm Sunday I heard the mass of the feria said in the choir chapel (or whatever it is called) of the Liberian Basilica, and it was hard to tell the colour of the chasubles of the sacred ministers from black. At Pisa the next day it was hard to tell the chasubles of the sacred ministers from red; and one had to look upon some distinctly red object to be sure that the vestments, veils, and other Lenten hangings round the choir were not red. The veil over the large crucifix was violet, and the *velum subdiaconale* was lavender. Elsewhere in Italy the vestments are very commonly purple, a compound of red and blue. At Milan, a peculiar colour is used during Lent to cover up the ambones of the metropolitan church and the images of the saints. I can only compare it to the colour of a fully ripe plum, and it gives in most lights the appearance of being black, just as the *purpura* of the ancients did. Dozio tells us that it is called *morello*,¹ but I have found no mention of it in the authorized Ambrosian books.

The use of a sequence of colours is not universal in Christendom. In the Greek Church, according to Goar, only two colours are used: purple for Lent, or times of fasting; white for all other seasons.² With this, may be compared the practice of some poor parishes in Italy. Purple is used for Lent and Advent; yellow, a substitute for cloth of gold, at other times. Lebrun says that among the Armenians different colours are not worn for different days; and that black is never used, not even in Lent, nor in the Office for the Dead.³

Nor can it be thought that the Easterns look with much favour upon the idea of a symbolism in the liturgical colours. When an Eastern patriarch had explained to him the meaning often given in the West to the four colours commonly used, he laughed aloud, and said that he had never in his life heard anything so ridiculous. In our time an effort has been made in the Church of England to imitate the Greeks, and to abolish the use of symbolical colours (one of the most instructive parts of the ritual revival of the last forty years) by introducing the Sarum colours according to some restoration by modern antiquaries. All these restorations resemble the Eastern custom in the use of two colours only. But the Greek colours are far less painful than the Sarum. The Greeks use red only during Lent, and white at other times, while modern Sarum inflicts red upon the faithful all the year round, save at Easter.

A trace of the custom of using only one colour or an indifferent colour may, perhaps, be found in some early Cistercian *Consuetudines*. Among the directions for the general poverty of the ornaments there appears: ministrorum indumenta sine serico sint preter stolam et manipulum. Casula vero nonnisi unicolor habeatur.⁴ It may of course mean that the chasuble is not to be embroidered, but I would submit that it is patient of the interpretation that the chasuble is to be of only one colour throughout the year.

It may interest those who think that the liturgical colours have some mystical source in the Old Testament if we look into the history of other colours which have nothing to do with religious observances. Take heraldry: the gradual growth of this art in the

¹ Giovanni Dozio, *Seconda Appendice all'Esposizione delle vestimenta della Messa Privata giusta il Rito ambrosiano*, Milano, 1855, p. 125.

² Goar, *Euchologion*, Paris, 1647, p. 113. Gretser also says that purple was used in Lent with the exception of the Annunciation, Palm Sunday, and Easter Eve; and white at other times. (Codinus, *De officiis magnæ Ecclesiæ et aulæ Constantinop.* Paris, 1648. Observationes Jacobi Gretseri, cap. i. cap. xvi. p. 181.)

³ Pierre Le Brun, *Explication de la Messe*, Paris, 1778, t. v. p. 62.

⁴ Guignard, *Les Monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne*, Dijon, 1878, p. 252.

middle ages need not be spoken of: yet the tinctures and metals had become in post-mediæval times, and may be now, highly mystic. Green is the colour of mad men; sable or black signifies prudence and wisdom, with constancy in adversities. Argent or white is the symbol of innocence and purity; red or gules, of love; gold or *or*, is, according to these writers, a mixture of red and white, and represents the most noble qualities, because gold is the colour of the sun, and is the king of metals. Purple represents nobility, dignity, tranquillity; and so forth.¹

In the history of another set of colours, the colours of the Circus, we shall find that each colour had a meaning of its own. Onuphrius Panvinius² tells us that at first the colours were only two in number, white and red; later on, blue and green were added; and thus four factions arose, of which, however, the blue and the green take the lead in history. At last, in the time of Domitian, two more colours were added, gold and purple. Now, it is noteworthy that when there were only four colours they were thought to be highly mystic. They were supposed to represent the four seasons. Cassiodorus says that the green is the spring; red, the summer; white, the autumn; and blue, winter.³ Others refer them to the four elements, and the triumph of the blue or the green foretold an abundance of the fruits of the earth, or a prosperous voyage over the sea.

The Chinese have five symbolical colours which they also referred to their five elements, "Red belongs to fire, and corresponds with the south; black belongs to water, and corresponds with the north; green belongs to wood, and corresponds with the east; white to metal, and corresponds with the west," says the Commentator of Li-Ki. Yellow in this system is the colour of the earth; and it is said that this symbolism in colours prevailed from two thousand years before Christ to two hundred years after.

S. Jerome refers the four Levitical colours to the four elements. *Byssus* is the earth; *purpura*, the sea; *hiacynthus* (sic), the air; and *coccus*, fire. It will be noted that S. Jerome does not count gold amongst the Levitical colours, apparently because gold is a material, and not a colour; though the same remark would apply to *byssus*, the fine linen. So that the Levitical colours would really be reduced to three; but the four suited S. Jerome's allegorizing, and were therefore retained. The whole epistle is highly allegorical, and does not, so far as I can judge after reading it carefully, deal in any way with the vestments of the Christian priesthood.⁴

S. Jerome's allegory came down into the middle ages, applied to the Christian liturgical colours. Rupert, abbot of Deutz, says that the colours of the vestments refer to the four elements.⁵ And the Lyons Missal of 1622 in the *Rationale Missæ* says: *sacræ vestes secundum colorem, materiem, positionemque, cujusque ad quatuor elementa mundi, ad duo hemispheria cœli, partesque zodiaci, etc.* It was natural enough, when it was thought that the Christian vestments were a direct imitation of those of the old law, to connect their colours with the Levitical colours. Thus the false Alcuin says, speaking of the

¹ The reader may find more of this in Geliot and Palliot, *La vraie et parfaite Science des Armoiries*, Dijon and Paris, 1660, under each metal and tincture. There is a strange book of Frederic Portal's, published at Paris in 1837, with the title "*Dés Couleurs symboliques*," in which the writer opens the preface by stating his belief that the symbolical nature of colours will decipher the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and, in fact, prove a key to all the mysteries of history.

² Onuphrius Panvinius, *de ludis Circensibus*, lib. i. cap. x. in Grævius' *Thesaurus Antiq. Rom. Venetiis*, 1735, t. ix.

³ Cassiodorus, quoted by Onuphrius Panvinius, *loc. cit.*

⁴ S. Jerome, *de veste Sacerdotali*, Epistola ad Fabiolam, cap. xix.

⁵ Rupert, *de divinis officiis*, lib. i. cap. xviii. in Hittorpius' collection.

Mosaic vestments and colours: "His ornamentis debet Christi pontifex refulgere, his coloribus exornari."¹

It is unlucky, however, that the facts do not suit the theory of the origin of the liturgical colours from the Mosaic any more than they suit the theory of the kindred source of the vestments. Black, which is not a Mosaic colour, is one of the earliest liturgical colours known, dating from 476, and there is evidence of its continuous use to the present time; but it so little fits into the Mosaic theory that persons who are unfortunate enough to wear black stoles or cassocks at the altar have been made the object of a special invective, and doubts raised as to their safety in the next world. In like manner the use of green goes back to the first representation of the chasuble known; but it does not appear among the five mystic colours of Leviticus. But that the theorists might be afraid of the Greeks when they bring presents, I would offer to get them out of their difficulty by saying that, as it is yet unknown what the *purpura* and *hyacinthus* of the ancients were, so it is just as likely that they were black, or violet, and green, as that they were what we now call purple and blue.

There is another difficulty in the view that the Levitical colours are the only orthodox ones; in the Eastern Church, either only two colours are used, white and purple, or else an indifferent colour is used, so that the five mystic colours do not show themselves even in the degraded condition in which they are found in the West. Had they been part of the early constitution of the Church, some trace of them in the East, always fond of the mystical, might reasonably have been looked for.

The history thus far of the liturgical colours does not greatly incline us to the idea that the colours are mystical, as apart from symbolical. I would venture to draw a distinction between symbolical and mystical. To parody Bishop Butler: symbolical colours are colours the reasons of which we see; mystical colours are colours the reasons of which we do not see. Symbolical I hold the liturgical colours to be; black or violet seems natural in times of mourning, and white seems natural for festivals. But *hyacinthus et coccus*, *byssus et purpura* are highly mystical; we can see no reason for their employment in the Christian mysteries, where all things, says S. Paul, are to be done to edification; and the ceremonies of which are not to be dumb and dark as in the Jewish law, but so set forth that every man may understand what they do mean, and to what end they do serve.

PART II.

A COMPARISON OF THE COLOURS IN USE IN VARIOUS WESTERN RITES.

THOSE who have been accustomed only to the Innocentian sequence of colours may be somewhat surprised to find how much the different local rites vary from one another in their colours. There are but very few points on which unanimity prevails; and they are these: the use of white for feasts of the Blessed Virgin, and of virgin saints; of black for the office of the dead; and of red for the feasts of martyrs.

¹ Pseudo-Alcuinus, cap. *de singulis vestibus* in Hittorpius' collection.

There is an approach to uniformity in the use of white for Christmas and Easter, and for the anniversary of the dedication of the church; and in the use of red for Whitsuntide, and Feasts of Apostles. But in all other matters the bishop of each diocese has seemed to do that which was right in his own eyes. There will be found white, ash-coloured, and even, in one case, as at Mentz, red for Advent. Red, green, violet, and black at Christmas. Red, green, and violet for Epiphany. Red and violet for the ferial season. Black or ash-coloured for Lent; red or black for Passiontide; green, white, or red for Palm Sunday; red, green, or black for Maundy Thursday; yellow, green, or red for Good Friday; red or green for Easter, and so on. But I ought to warn the less experienced against imagining that there is any essential difference between all these rites, because they vary so much in their outward appearance, their colours, and ceremonies. They may indeed differ in these and other unimportant and varying parts of the service; but the words of the really important part are always the same. Take for example the Sarum Canon; this has only the most infinitesimal divergencies from the modern Roman, such differences as *cum* for *et*, *posteaquam* for *postquam*, and in similar particles. So that it is really the same.

Most of the French Missals from which I have taken the colours are unfortunately not very old. The early printed Missals of the sixteenth century do not give colours, except perhaps for the last few days of Holy Week. The Paris Missal of 1543 gives no colours; the Rouen Missal of 1544 gives one colour only: that of black for Good Friday. It is not till quite the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century that a complete sequence of colours begins to be given. And it is to be remembered that at the end of the seventeenth century there began a movement the effects of which lasted quite down into our own time: instead of announcing that the Missal was in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, or *juxta Romanum restitutum*, each bishop began to try to make his Missal scriptural, as we should call it, that is, to use none but the exact words of the Bible in public worship. It was indeed only in the variable and unimportant parts of the service that the changes were made; not in the Canon, if we except the attempt of the Bishop of Meaux to introduce an *Amen* after the words of consecration, obviously in imitation of the Oriental Rites, an attempt considered "scandalous" by Prosper Guéranger.¹ It is quite possible that the colours may have been altered about this time with the other parts of the service. It was so in the Church of Paris; where the sequence of 1666, when de Perefixe was archbishop, is a very different thing from the sequence of 1685, when de Harlay was archbishop. It is this last sequence which came down through the eighteenth century to at least as late as the year 1846. (See comparative table.)

Then there are two ancient churches, Lyons, and Vienne in Dauphigny, of which it is, or was, the boast that each *nescit novitates*.² I have seen the Lyons Missals of 1556 and 1622, but I can find nothing about colours in either edition; and the colours given here are taken from the edition of de Montazet, published in 1771. Then as to Vienne. I have seen an early printed Missal of this Church, but the only information as to colours

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¹ The reader may find a history of this "anti-liturgical" movement, written from not too friendly a point of view, in the second volume of Prosper Guéranger's *Institutions liturgiques*.

² This was not always the case. The ancient Gallican Rite, which the dream of some ritualists takes back to Ephesus and S. John, was destroyed by Charles the Great so completely that not a single copy of the canon has come down to modern times; and a Bishop of Lyons hastened to tell the Emperor that all was now done at Lyons according to the Rite practised in the Imperial palace. See Pierre Le Brun, *Explication de la Messe*, Paris, 1777, t. iii. p. 266, diss. iv. art. iv.

which it gives is that the archbishop begins the service of Good Friday in a black cope. The rest of my information I have gathered from various authors, the Missal of 1840 giving little more about colours than its predecessor of the sixteenth century.

The province of Auch adopted the Roman books at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the colours of the Missal of 1853 are purely Roman. Charles Guyet says that Rouen, Tours, Orleans, and Angers had adopted the Roman colours;¹ this is true of the Missal of Orleans of 1696; but even in 1751 Rouen had not adopted Roman colours wholly; and it is a matter open to discussion whether these colours, which seem to be a modern borrowing from Rome, were not the ancient use of the Church of Rouen.

Sicily can be looked upon as part of Italy only for modern political purposes. When the Normans conquered this island, they introduced their own Rites under the name of *Missale Gallicanum*, which continued to be printed at least to the year 1568. The sequence is Innocentian with slight variations; the colours are white, red, green, and black; though the Roman Church, it is said, uses also violet and saffron.

There is one Italian diocese noted for its peculiar use, that of Milan; but here again, the date of the Missal that I have seen is quite modern, that of 1795. This sequence is that still in daily use in this diocese.² I may say that Canon Ceriani most kindly undertook to search among the early manuscripts of the Ambrosian Rite for any allusion to colours, but he found none; not even in a manuscript of the twelfth century which specially treated of the vestments of the bishop and priest.

Of the German Rites I have been fortunate enough to see the colours of the primatial see, Mentz, which shows in 1602 a great many peculiarities, set forth in the comparative table. I have also the colours of two other important metropolitan sees, of Trier in 1608, and of Colen in 1626. Those of Trier are almost the same as the Roman. In Germany it would appear that the Roman books were very early adopted. In a Missal of Constance of 1603, of Basel of 1586 (suffragan of Besançon), of Colen of 1756, and in a *Missale Romano-Moguntinum*, published just before the French Revolution, the Roman colours, are followed. The Constance Missal of 1579 gives no colours. At Eichstadt the colours in 1619 were Roman as far as they are given.

Of the Spanish dioceses I have only four complete sequences to show, those of Toledo, the primatial see, in 1550, of Sigüenza in 1552, of Burgo de Osma in 1561, and of Palencia in 1568, both these last in the province of Burgos. I have also the colours at Seville for a few days.

There is tolerably complete information as to the colours of thirty of the Gallican Rites; and partial information of many others, such as may be gathered from Martene's *De antiquis Ritibus*, Grancolas' *Commentarius historicus in Romanum Breviarium*, P. Le Brun's *Explication de la Messe*, De Moleon's (pseudonym for Le Brun-Desmarettes) *Voyages liturgiques*, and lastly, a work by a living author, the Abbé Malais' *Des Couleurs liturgiques*.

In order to avoid frequent repetition I may say that when Innocent III. is quoted the

¹ Charles Guyet, *Heorto'ogia*, Urbini, 1728; t. iii. cap. xxix. quest. 9, p. 344.

² There is a notion prevalent in England that the Ambrosian Rite is restricted to one Church only in the city of Milan. It is possible that this may arise from a statement of Bishop Cosin's that the Roman Mass had "confined that which is intituled to St. Ambrose to his own Church only at Milan." (*Liturgica*, Works in Lib. of Anglo-Cath. Theology, vol. v. p. 409.) To Cosin, of course, church and diocese were synonymous, and he means that the Ambrosian Rite was now confined to the Diocese of Milan, which is still the case. The Rite formerly prevailed over the province of Milan, which stretched from Chur on the north to Nizza on the west.

reference is to his work: *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, lib. i. cap. lxiv. When Durandus, to his *Rationale*, lib. iii. cap. xviii. but in other cases the book and chapter are quoted.

When there are no references at the bottom of the page to the authority for the statement, search must be made in the bibliography for the name of the church or order.

The monastic orders commonly follow the Roman sequence rather closely; so it is only when they differ that the change will be noted.

ADVENT. In Innocent III.'s time black was the colour for Advent at Rome up to Christmas Eve. Durandus, who lived a century later than Innocent III. gives violet, while Radulphus, Dean of Tongern, who died in 1403, says that black was used at Rome in his day.¹ This well shows that black and violet were considered to be liturgically synonymous.²

Guyet says that the Church of Paris used white from the first Sunday in Advent to Candlemas; or to Septuagesima if Candlemas fell before, and that red was worn from Septuagesima to the first Sunday in Lent, even on the Vigils of Saints; and that this was formerly the custom of all the Churches of Gaul.³ The Paris Missal of 1666 gives a sequence like this, though the Advent colour was altered to violet in 1685. White was also used at Auxerre in 1738; and an alternative of ash-coloured or violet at Beauvais in 1756, though in 1846 violet only was allowed.⁴ Here some confusion between white and grey may be noted; and perhaps the same thing also at S. Germain de Près and Corbie, where white was used during Advent; but the deacon and subdeacon wore chasubles⁵ as on Ember Days, Vigils, and in Lent. At Westminster white was also worn from Advent to Candlemas.

White for Advent was not universal among the Benedictines, for black is said to have been the colour at Monte Cassino,⁶ though in 1515 the colour was violet. At the ancient Church of Vienne in Dauphigny, and at Tours, the colour for Advent was black, and this custom is said to have spread from Tours to the suffragan Church of Le Mans. In 1655 the colour at Le Mans was not black, but violet. At Colen the colour was also black, while at Mentz, the primatial see of Germany, the colour for Advent was, strange to say, red.

At Toledo, Burgo de Osma, and Palencia in Spain the colour for Advent was violet. At Siguenza it was white.

In the English Pontificals the colour was violet. At Wells the colour is written *medius*; some have thought this a mistake of the scribe for *indius*. At York the colour was probably *blodius*. On the Ember Saturday in Advent one of the lessons and one of the tracts were sung in red silk copes. The colour for Advent at Sarum remains unknown.

In the Gallican Missals of the eighteenth century, violet is the almost invariable colour for Advent. Violet is used throughout Advent at Milan; but in this church, as in the Mozarabic rite, Advent begins six weeks before Christmas; on the sixth

¹ Radulphi, *de Canonum observantia*, prop. xvi. In Hittorpius' Collection.

² See the *Ordo Romanus* xiv. in Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, t. ii. p. 289.

³ Charles Guyet, *Heortologia*, Urbini, 1728, t. iii. cap. xxix. quæst. 9, p. 344. See also Claude Villette, *Les Raisons de l'office et Ceremonies qui se font en l'église*, Rouen, 1648, p. 86.

⁴ Malais, *Des Couleurs liturgiques*, Dieppe, 1879, sec. ed. p. 21.

⁵ Martene, *de antiquis Monachorum ritibus*, lib. iii. cap. i. sec. xi.

⁶ Martene, *loc. cit.*

⁷ De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques de France*, Paris, 1718, p. 37. Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. x. sec. xii.

Sunday in Advent, or the last before Christmas, white is used, for on this Sunday a solemn commemoration of the Incarnation is made. For the same reason, in some of the Gallican rites, the Ember Wednesday is white. In several churches, such as Bourges, Rouen, Paris, and Meaux, the gospel of the day was sung after matins with lights, incense, and ceremonies like those at mass. The great bell was also tolled, and in some churches the celebrant held a palm in his hand while the gospel was sung.¹ At Wells the deacon and subdeacon wore white.

The origin of the use of white vestments on this Ember Wednesday would seem to be the special mention of the Incarnation in the epistle and gospel. This latter is that of the Common Prayer Book for the Feast of the Annunciation. Is this a relic of the old Gotho-Hispanic rite? Leslie, in the second appendix to his edition of the Mozarabic Missal, gives a Gotho-Hispanic calendar, probably later than the ninth century, as All Saints is celebrated on Nov. 1st; on the 18th of December in this calendar is celebrated "Festivitas gloriosæ sanctæ M. Virg." and in the Mozarabic Calendar the Annunciation is kept on the same day.

The *Missa de Beata in Sabbato* in Advent is often white; and some churches keep both Ember Wednesday and the Saturday Lady-mass in white; others only one of these; thus at Le Puy, Fréjus, Poitiers, and Toulouse white is used on the Ember Wednesday only; at Rennes and at Lyons on the Saturday Lady-mass only, while at Albi, Paris, Bourges, Sens, Autun, Troyes, Mende, and Pamiers white is used on both Ember Wednesday and the Saturday Lady-mass in Advent. At Coutances, Rheims, Rouen, and Soissons, neither of these days is white.

At Rome, the ornaments on the third Sunday in Advent are rose-coloured. This appears to be of somewhat recent introduction, far more recent than the change of colour on Mid-Lent Sunday, of which Innocent III. speaks.

CHRISTMAS. At Rome, if the vigil of Christmas fall on a Sunday, rose-coloured vestments are used instead of violet. It seems to be a Gallican custom to use the colour of the coming feast on the vigil, and in many of the rites which I have looked at white is the colour of the Christmas Eve mass, which on a vigil ought not to be said before three in the afternoon (Shakspeare's "evening mass"), but of which modern custom has made a morning service; or of lauds or matins on Christmas Eve. In some churches, as at Sens, white is used from the vespers of Dec. 23rd, probably on account of the antiphon *O Virgo Virginum* at these vespers.

White is almost universally the colour for Christmas. There are some few exceptions: the Church of Lyons used red from Christmas to Septuagesima. This Church also preserved a curious custom, of much antiquity, of using three different colours for the three masses on Christmas Day: violet for the mass *sub galli cantu*, white for the mass *in aurorâ*, and red for the mass in the day, after terce. There is a reference to this custom in Johannes Belet, who, however, speaks of these colours being used for the three nocturns at matins; he says that three cloths, black, white (*subcandidus*), and red, are put on the altar and that one is taken away after each nocturn. Later on, speaking of the Paschal ceremonies, he describes the same thing as being done in certain great churches at the matins of Easter. The reason given is what may almost be called the stock reason of the earlier ritualists when any three things follow in succession: the

¹ See Grancolas, *Comment. Histor. in Rom. Brev. lib. ii. cap. ix.* and De Moleon, *op. cit.* p. 144. Martene (*de Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, lib. iii. cap. ii. sec. xxv.) says that the day was kept with like ceremonies throughout the Benedictine order.

first, black, shows the state of the world before Moses, before any revelation; the second, white, the Jewish dispensation; and the third, red, the Christian.¹ Sicardus notes the use of the same three colours of the frontal both at Easter and Christmas.² But Durandus only at Easter; the altar then, he says, in certain churches is adorned with a rich pall; and afterwards covered with three veils, red, white, and black, which are removed, as Beleth and Sicardus tell us, at the end of each lesson and response.³

It may be worth noting what Durandus says of certain customs followed by varying churches at Christmas; in some, the altars were left bare, a sign of the shame that men should feel at our Lord taking on Him the form of a servant; in others, common (*viles*) altar-cloths were used to show the poor swaddling-clothes of Bethlehem; and in the third and last, rich and precious frontals were hung on the altar to show the joy of Christians at the birth of their King. It is this last custom which has become universal in Christendom at the present day.

The custom of using various colours for the three masses of Christmas seems to have been widely spread. Grancolas tells us that at Paris different colours were used for the masses and nocturns, though I find nothing of this in the Missal of 1666.⁴ Martene says that the custom of changing the frontals after each nocturn was observed in the diocese of Narbonne, only in the reverse order to that of Lyons: red, white, and violet.⁵

Traces of this custom may be found elsewhere. At Mentz, the primatial see of Germany, the colour for Advent was red, and the first mass of Christmas was sung in red. The mass *in aurorâ* was white. The colour for Christmas itself is not given. In the diocese of Laon the vigil and octave of Christmas were red, except the mass *in aurorâ*, which was white. At Narbonne the colour for Christmas may also have been red, as the vespers of this day were sung in red copes.⁶

The first mass of Christmas was red at Corbie and S. German at Paris, the vigil being also red at S. German.⁷

At Langres the genealogy was sung by the deacon vested in a green dalmatic.⁸

In England the colour, directed by the Pontificals, was white, so also at Wells (except the mass *in Aurorâ*) and Westminster. At York the mass *in Aurorâ* was white, and also the sixth day in the octave, that is, the only day not taken up by a saint's day; so that it is likely that white was the colour at York for Christmas.

At Sarum the colour is again unknown.

It has been said that the prevailing colour for Christmas is white. This colour continues in use in most Gallican dioceses up to Candlemas, provided that Septuagesima do not fall beforehand. At Rouen, the colour of the frontal is not to be changed, whatever be the colour of the ornaments of the celebrant and sacred ministers, until the octave of the Epiphany. After this date, I suppose, the rule is relaxed, but the colour continues white up to Candlemas.

Sens, Auxerre, Bourges, Poitiers, and Toulouse kept their white vestments up to

¹ Johannes Beleth, *Explic. Div. Off. BMS*, cap. 69, de Nativ. Dom. 847 cap. 115, de Ornatu Templi Materiali.

² Sicardus, *Mitræ*, lib. vi. capp. vi. and xv. Migne's ed. pp. 220 and 344.

³ Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. i. cap. iii. sec. 39 and 40.

⁴ Grancolas, *op. cit.* lib. ii. cap. xiv. Venetiis, 1734, p. 214.

⁵ Martene, *de Antiquis Eccles. Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xii. sec. v. Ed. Venetiis, 1783, t. iii. p. 33.

⁶ Martene, *de Antiquis Eccles. Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xii. sec. xlv.

⁷ Martene, *de Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, lib. iii. cap. iv. sec. ix. and cap. iii. sec. xi.

⁸ Grancolas, *op. cit.* lib. ii. cap. xiv. p. 217.

Septuagesima whether Candlemas fell before or after. The same was the rule in the old Paris sequence; but with this addition: that if Candlemas fell after Septuagesima, the white colour was to be continued up to Candlemas on all Sundays and week-days.

In some dioceses, the Christmas or Epiphany colour is left off at the octave of the Epiphany; as at Rheims, Nimes, and Milan. At Soissons, the violet of the Epiphany is left off at the octave and green assumed: at Le Mans the green of the Epiphany is left off, and violet assumed.

At Wells the Christmas colour is left off at the octave of the Epiphany, and red worn up to Septuagesima. According to the English Pontificals white should be worn only up to the octave of the Epiphany. At Sarum it seems likely that the Christmas colour, whatever it was, was worn up to Candlemas.¹

S. STEPHEN. The colour is universally red. It may be noted that the pope, in going in procession on this day to S. Stephen's on the Coelian, and in returning thence, wore a white chasuble; but he said the mass in red.²

S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. This day is almost universally white. It was white in the Sarum use. Soissons, Le Mans, and perhaps Colen use red. It may be noted that Innocent III. does not make S. John an exception to the general rule that the feasts of the apostles are red. Green may have been the colour at Mentz.

HOLY INNOCENTS. Even as early as the time of Innocent III. there was some discussion as to the colour to be used on this day. Some used the violet-coloured vestments, proper to Mid-Lent Sunday, or black vestments and mitre without orphreys, *propter tristitiam*, the voice heard in Rama. Others, on account of the martyrdom, which is the chief thing held in memory by the Church, used red, though at the same time a mitre without orphreys. At the present day violet is used at Rome, unless the feast fall on a Sunday, when red is the colour. Red is also used for the octave and votive masses of the Holy Innocents.³

Apart from the Roman sequence, the colour is almost universally red. Red is used at Milan, the churches of Wells, Mentz, Sicily, and Spain, and almost universally in the Gallican rites; so universally that Rouen is, I think, the only exception, and here the Roman rule is followed. At Trier, black or violet may be used, if it be a week-day. And Martene says that at Monte Cassino black chasubles were worn by the deacon and subdeacon.⁴ Violet is the rule of the English Pontificals, though it is noted that it is only according to Roman custom.

CIRCUMCISION. In most churches the colour of this feast appears to be white, following the colour of Christmas. But there is a good number of important exceptions. For example, Milan, Trier, Siguenza and Palencia in Spain, Le Mans, the churches of Sicily, and some others used red, and before 1669, the order of Maturins.⁵ At Mentz, blue, the penitential colour, was used. The Carmelites used red on the day, though votive masses of the Circumcision were white. At Wells, the principal rulers of the choir wore white, the secondaries red.

At Lyons red was the colour, though it may be noted that this was also the

¹ Candlemas was thought to be the last day of Christmas as late as the end of Queen Anne's reign. See Swift's *Journal to Stella*, 1711-12, Feb. 2. "This ends Christmas, and what care I?"

² Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* Ord. Rom. xii. t. ii. p. 171.

³ Romsée, *Opera Liturgica*, Leodii, 1810, Collectio Decretorum, t. v. p. 73.

⁴ Martene, *de Antiquis Monach. Ritibus*, lib. iii. cap. v. sec. xvi.

⁵ De Moleon, *op. cit.* p. 222.

colour for Christmas. At Laon, though red was the colour for Christmas, yet the Circumcision was celebrated in white, the reason given being that the office was all about the Blessed Virgin.

THE EPIPHANY. This is also white in the greater number of cases.¹ Even at Lyons, where red is the colour from Christmas to Septuagesima, the course is broken by the Epiphany. At Laon and Mentz the Epiphany was white. At Toulouse yellow vestments are to be used; at Lisieux red or gold.² At Le Mans the vigil and feast are green. At Clermont, in Auvergne, red was used on the day, and thence to Septuagesima.³ At Soissons the colour of the feast and octave was violet. At Toledo the vigil and octave were red, but white was used after the octave up to Septuagesima.

In an *Ordo Romanus*, issued by the authority of Gregory X. that is somewhere between 1271 and 1276, the feasts of Confessors and Virgins from Christmas to the octave of the Epiphany are to be white, but red if they fall on a Sunday. If the mass be of the Sunday, and not of any other feast, white is to be used.⁴

Apart from the Gallican rites, the custom seems to be to adopt the ferial colour at the octave of the Epiphany. Green is then begun at Rome, Milan, the churches of Sicily, Sigüenza in Spain, Rheims, Soissons, Nîmes, Colen, Trier, and the English Pontificals; saffron, at Palencia in Spain; violet at Le Mans; but red at Mentz, and Wells in England. Toledo is an exception, and white is used from the octave of the Epiphany to Septuagesima.

CANDLEMAS is nearly always called the Presentation of the Lord in the eighteenth-century Gallican Missals, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin in the sixteenth-century Missals, and *Ypopante Domini* in the early Missals, and the earliest writers on ritual. White is the colour for feasts of the Blessed Virgin everywhere; but the colour for the procession with candles before mass is violet at Rome. And the use of black vestments for the procession is spoken of by the false Alcuin, and in the *Ordo Romanus* of Hittorpius.⁵ Later on, in Cardinal Gaietano's *Ordo Romanus* of the fourteenth century, the junior cardinal presbyter is to bless the candles in a white cope, the assistants being in violet, while during the procession the pope wears a red cope ornamented with pearls and orphreys, having apparently worn a simple red cope during the distribution.⁶

The Benedictines and Dominicans also have the blessing of candles and procession on Candlemas Day in white. And the same colour was used at York, Mentz, Vienne in Dauphigny,⁷ Paris, Rouen, and many Gallican churches.

After the Purification, the ferial colour is assumed almost everywhere. Green is worn at Albi, Rennes, Nancy and Toul, Luçon, Rouen, Troyes; red, in the modern Paris sequence, Le Puy, Fréjus, Autun, Mende, and of course Lyons.

SEPTUAGESIMA. It seems likely that at Westminster red was worn from Candlemas to the first Sunday in Lent; and this was also the rule in the Paris sequence

UVA. BHSC. LEG. 11-1 n°0847

¹ There is a most whimsical reason for this: because the star which led the Magi shone in the milky way. (A. Bellotte, *Ritus Eccles. Laudunensis*, Paris, 1662. Observations, p. 767.)

² Malais, *op. cit.* p. 10.

³ Charles Guyet, *Heortologia*, Urbini, 1728, t. iii. p. xxix. quæst. 9.

⁴ Mabillon, *Museum Ital.* Paris, 1724, t. ii. p. 235. *Ordo* xiii. cap. 18.

⁵ See this day in the *Ordo* and false Alcuin in Hittorpius' Collection.

⁶ Mabillon, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 343.

⁷ De Moleon, *op. cit.* p. 33.

of 1666, Septuagesima having no special colour of its own; but white, or the ferial colour red, just as it fell before or after Candlemas. In the Gothic and Gallican rites, printed by Muratori, and in the Mozarabic rite, there is no Septuagesima, and this custom at Paris may possibly be a survival of the old Gallican rite.

At Mentz red was the colour from the octave of the Epiphany to Ash Wednesday. And it is likely, too, that at Sarum, red was the colour from Candlemas to the first Sunday in Lent, as on Ash Wednesday the colour was still red.

Before passing into the details of the Lenten colours it may be worth while to take a sort of bird's-eye view of the different rites, so as to have some general idea of them. Rome preserves the same colour, violet, from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday, while nearly all other rites, in whatever country they may be found, adopt a different colour, usually black or red, for the last fortnight of Lent. Then, as a division of the non-Roman rites, some of the eighteenth-century Gallican sequences adopt the following rule: violet from Septuagesima to Ash Wednesday; ash-colour from Ash Wednesday to Passion Sunday, and red or black from Passion Sunday to Easter. It would seem likely that in the Gallican rites the use of these ash-coloured ornaments in Lent is more ancient than the use of violet; or that formerly black was used from Septuagesima to Passion Sunday.

Thus Rome, it would appear, almost stands by itself in preserving the same colour at the end as at the beginning of Lent. But there are a few churches who keep their violet to the end, as Rouen, Coutances, Troyes, Soissons, and the churches of Sicily. Lyons, which begins ash-coloured vestments on Ash Wednesday, keeps them to Maundy Thursday. Besançon, Vienne in Dauphigny, and the Collegiate Church of S. Aignan at Orleans are said by Grancolas¹ and Le Brun-Desmarettes² to wear black from Septuagesima to Easter, though in a *Cérémonial* of Besançon of 1707, the colour is given as violet from Ash Wednesday to Passion Sunday.

At Mentz, blue, the penitential colour, was worn from Ash Wednesday to Passion Sunday; and at Colen and Trier, black from Septuagesima to Passion Sunday. The same is said by Guyet to have been the rule at Bourges,³ though in the Missal of 1741 the Gallican sequence of violet, ash-coloured, and red, is given. Ash-coloured vestments were worn at Poitiers from Septuagesima to Passion Sunday, and Malais says the same rule prevailed at Beauvais.⁴ Violet at Albi, Luçon, Rennes, Nancy and Toul, Nimes, Cahors, Toulouse, Rheims, Auxerre and Mende from Septuagesima to Passion Sunday.

Among the Benedictines at Monte Cassino, and in Spain at Toledo, Sigüenza, Burgo de Osma, and Palencia, and according to the English Pontificals, violet was worn from Septuagesima up to Passion Sunday. At Wells the Lenten colour was also worn from Septuagesima to Passion Sunday; but there is in the manuscript a most unfortunate hiatus, just where the name of the colour is about to be expressed. It is a mere speculation to say that it was *indius*, from analogy with the Advent colour; for the Advent colour in the MS. is undoubtedly *medius*.

At the end of the seventeenth century it was noted that the Lenten colour was not assumed at Paris until the first Monday in Lent;⁵ but in most of the modern eighteenth-

¹ Grancolas, *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. xlvi.

² De Moleon, *op. cit.* pp. 37 and 205.

³ Guyet, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Malais, *op. cit.* p. 23.

⁵ De Moleon, *op. cit.* p. 247.

century Gallican Missals, the use of the ash-coloured ornaments began on Ash Wednesday, and continued to Passion Sunday, as at Pamiers, Meaux, Bourges, Poitiers, Autun, Fréjus : and it may be said that at Westminster, black was worn from the first Sunday in Lent to Passion Sunday ; and that the same thing was done at Sens, only the Lenten black was relieved on Sundays by violet to mark the Lord's Day. This change of black to violet on Sundays also prevailed at Colen whenever black was worn on week-days, and the rule at Milan is the same, though black continues up to the *Sabbato in Traditione Symboli*, that is, the Saturday before Palm Sunday, when the creed was anciently imparted to the catechumens preparing for baptism at Easter.

Many of the modern Gallican Missals enjoin black as the colour for the ceremonies connected with the blessing and distribution of the ashes on Ash Wednesday. According to Martene this is a practice of some antiquity, as the manuscript Paris *Ordines* prescribe it.¹ Besides Paris, black was used at Albi, Pamiers, Mende, Luçon, Cahors, Le Puy, Meaux, Autun, Fréjus, Toulouse, and, according to Martene, Bayeux.

At Toledo ash-coloured vestments were used on Ash Wednesday.

MID-LENT SUNDAY. A change from the Lenten colour of the ornaments on Mid-Lent or *Lætare* Sunday may be traced back to the time of Innocent III. He speaks of the colour being violet, instead of the more sombre Lenten black ; and at the present day rose-coloured vestments are worn at Rome, instead of the penitential violet. At Sigüenza and Palencia in Spain white, and at Burgo de Osma red, vestments were worn, while at Lyons green was the rule.

PASSION SUNDAY. It has been already said that in almost every sequence away from Rome a colour different from the Lenten marks the last fortnight of Lent. At Paris black ornaments with red orphreys were worn. Black was also worn at Albi, Toulouse, Autun, Pamiers, Luçon, Cahors, Le Puy, Fréjus, Mende, and at Toledo, Burgo de Osma, Sigüenza, and Palencia in Spain. The Benedictines at Monte Cassino also wore black for this fortnight.

Red was worn at Sens, Rheims, Bourges, Besançon, Le Mans, Auxerre, Nevers, Chalons, Chartres,² and in the German dioceses of Mentz, Colen, and Trier, and in England at Sarum, Westminster, and Wells. At Meaux a choice is given of red, or brown, or black with red orphreys. At Exeter, a choice of red or violet is allowed ; and some variation also is allowed by the English Pontificals : possibly the same colours as at Exeter, only unfortunately particulars are not given.

PALM SUNDAY. An *Ordo Romanus* of the thirteenth century tells us that, though the Gallican Churches used red on Palm Sunday, yet the Roman Church used violet.³ A later *Ordo* of the next century gives the pope a choice whether he will wear violet vestments or those of a green colour without pearls.⁴ A still later *Ordo* directs the pope, if he bless the palms only, to wear a red cope, but this is very likely only as a sign of his dignity, the same *Ordo* directing the pope to wear a red cope on most other occasions ; if the pope celebrate as well, he is to wear *paramenta violacea vel Indii coloris*.⁵

UVA. BHSC. LEG.11-1 n°0847

Martene says, just as the thirteenth-century *Ordo* says, that red was a common

¹ Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xvii. Ordo vi.

² Martene, *de Antiquis Eccles. Rit.* lib. iv. cap. xix. sec. xxiii.

³ Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, t. ii. p. 237. Ordo xiii. cap. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 353. Ordo xiv. cap. 82.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 474. Ordo xv. capp. 53, 54, and 55.

colour for the mass on Palm Sunday. He notes this at Strassburg in Germany, Langres, the two churches of SS. Stephen and Martial at Limousin, and S. John at Chartres.¹ Red would naturally be the colour in those churches where red was the colour for Passiontide, just as black would be the colour in those churches where black was the Passiontide colour. Thus black is the colour at Paris, and red at Besançon.²

To this, of course, there are exceptions. At Milan, the colour for the procession on Palm Sunday is violet, though red is the Holy Week colour. At Cahors violet is used for the blessing of the palms and the procession, though black is the Passiontide colour; the same at Luçon, only red is used instead of violet for the procession.

Red was also the colour at the Monastery of Fleurus in the Low Countries, when the abbot wore a red cope in the procession, and at S. Benignus, at Dijon, the priest wore at mass red vestments embroidered with gold.³ At Wells all wore red, except one black cope for the part of Caiaphas. The day is marked as red at Mentz, and at Agram, the capital of Croatia, the celebrant wore a red cope in the procession. At Sigüenza, in Spain, red was the colour for the procession, and up to the reading of the passion. Afterwards the mass would appear to have been black.

It has been noticed that in Mabillon's *Ordo Romanus* xiv. the pope might on Palm Sunday wear green vestments in the procession. This colour appears again at Laon, the reason therefor being that green is the colour of palms and of triumph. Green also was the colour at Seville and Toledo in Spain, and Vienne in Dauphigny,⁴ though the Vienne Missal of 1840 directs violet.

Martene prints a Rouen *Ordinarium* in which the Palm Sunday procession with the Host is directed to be met by four priests clad in red and green copes before the doors of the church.⁵ With these colours may be compared the green and red satin canopy for Palm Sunday which was found among the goods of the Church of Moulshord, in Berkshire,⁶ though it should be remembered that green is a very common complement to red in mediæval vestments.

We are now met by a custom which introduces the colour proper to the Eucharist into the Palm Sunday procession: that of carrying the Blessed Sacrament in the procession to commemorate our Lord's entry into Jerusalem. This is a custom which seems particular to England and Normandy.⁷ It was common all over England down to the Reformation; and it existed at Coutances even in 1825, though it had disappeared from the Rouen Missal of 1544.⁸ It dates from the time of Lanfranc, who when Abbot of Bec ordained a like ceremony. At Sarum, the priest blessed the palms in a red cope, and the priest, who carried the shrine in which the Eucharist was, wore a red cope; (see British Museum manuscripts, Lansdowne 432 and Harl. 4919) so that it becomes a sort of likely guess that red was also the colour at Sarum for the Eucharist. At Wells red was also used, which is both the Eucharistic and Passiontide colour. At York white was used for both the blessing of the palms and the procession. The

¹ Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xx. sec. xix.

² *Ibid.* sec. xxiii. The colour was to be rubicundus aut ex purpura sanguinea.

³ Martene, *de Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, lib. iii. cap. xii. sec. xiv. and xx.

⁴ De Moleon, *op. cit.* p. 37.

⁵ Martene, *de Antiq. Eccles. Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xviii. ordo v.

⁶ Money and Parker, *Inventories of Furniture, etc. (Berks.)* Oxford and London, 1879, p. 29.

⁷ See Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xx. sec. xi.

⁸ Grancolas, however, speaks of this ceremonial as persisting in his time. (*Comm. in Rom. Brev.* lib. i. cap. xlvi. Venetiis, 1734, p. 144.)

palms were blessed by a prelate in a white silk cope and stole. The Blessed Sacrament was then brought into the church from the archbishop's house, another priest in a cope of cloth of silver bearing the Host under a canopy. The colour for mass does not appear. At Coutances, white is likewise used for the blessing of the palms, and the Blessed Sacrament is brought into the church in procession as at York, but the colour of the mass is violet.

The colour used in the procession at Monte Cassino and at Palencia in Spain was white, though no like ceremony seems to be practised; the colour of the mass was black. White for the procession was also used by the Dominicans and Carmelites. This custom of using white is spoken of by Durandus, who says that in his time certain churches used white at the blessing of the palms and procession, while the gospel was read, and the *Gloria laus* was sung. Durandus in no way connects the colour with the Eucharist; but says that white signifies the joy that should accompany a festival of our Lord.

MAUNDY THURSDAY. Violet is the colour at Rome for the offices of this day, and in most other rites also the colour for Passiontide is not changed. But the colour for mass and certain ceremonies which accompany mass is often different. At Rome white is the colour for the mass of Maundy Thursday, and the reason given for this by Innocent III. is that during the mass the holy oil is blessed; (*propter confectionem chrismatis.*) Amalarius notes that in his time the ampullæ were covered with a white silk veil;¹ and the same thing is noted in the first of the two *Ordines Romani* printed by Muratori.²

At Lyons, and this also was the rule at Exeter, the colour of the mass at which the oils are blessed was white; otherwise red; and red would also appear always to have been the colour for any office save mass. At Milan, red is used even if the sacred oils be blessed, thus preserving the ordinary Passiontide colour: though the priests and other ministers who assist in the blessing of the oils wear white. In the Gallican rites, it has been said, a large number use red like Milan as the Passiontide colour, and in these, red is continued on Maundy Thursday as on the other days of Holy Week. Where black is the Passiontide colour it continues to be used on Maundy Thursday, and is only changed for red at mass, to which in some rites are added vespers, absolution, and the washing of the feet. For example, at Mende, red is used for the absolution and mass only; at Paris, for the absolution, mass, and washing of feet only; at Luçon, only for the absolution, mass, vespers, washing of the altars and feet.

Red, then, was the general colour for the mass and special offices of Maundy Thursday throughout France. Saving those churches which have adopted the Roman colours altogether, I find that white is only used at Besançon, Rheims, Rouen,³ Coutances, Beauvais, Nimes, Le Mans, and Vienne.⁴

¹ Amalarius, *de Eccles. Officiis*, lib. i. cap. xii. de Sexta varietate Cœnæ Domini. It may be noted that even in those Gallican rites where red is used for the ministers, the ampulla for the *chrisma* is covered with a white silk veil.

² Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748, t. ii. p. 992. FERIA V. Cœnæ Domini.

³ At one time the colour for the reconciliation of penitents on this day was red at Rouen, (Martene, *op. cit.* lib. iv. cap. xxii. sec. ii. ordo ii.) but the mass has been white at Besançon and Beauvais for some ages. (Lib. iv. cap. xxii. among the *Antiqui Ritus.*)

⁴ De Moleon, *op. cit.* p. 37. The Missal of 1840 directs the priest to wear a red stole for the procession after mass.

Red was the colour for the day at Sarum and Wells. At York, the festival vestments were to be worn at mass, but the colour is not expressed. It is likely to have been white.

At Exeter, white was used if the chrism were blessed by the bishop, but red in parish churches; in the other English pontificals white only seems to have been used. White is also directed in an office for the blessing of the oils in Archbishop Chichele's Pontifical in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

At Mentz, in Germany, red was worn, continuing the Passiontide colour, but at the washing of the feet the deacon sang the gospel in green. (Cf. the German: *Grüner Donnerstag*.) At Trier white was used, but red at Colen.

Green also appears as the colour of the deacon's vestments during the Maundy at S. Martin's, at Lyons, and green was also the colour for the mass on this day.¹

At Toledo, Burgo de Osma, Siguenza, and Palencia, in Spain, the colour for Maundy Thursday was white if the chrism were blessed; otherwise the Passiontide colour, black, was retained, except at Siguenza. When the Eucharist was placed in the sepulchre on this day, the priest at Palencia covered the sacred vessel with a black veil.

GOOD FRIDAY. In the *Ordo Romanus*, printed by Hittorpius, the vestments for Good Friday were to be of the Lenten colour, that is, *fuscus*. The same rule is given by the false Alcuin. In Innocent III.'s time the colour was black; and this has been kept at Rome down to our own days, apparently the sole survival of the time when all Lent and Advent were kept in black.

Red is also a colour which is widely spread. Martene, indeed, says that red was used in almost every church,² and Grancolas points out that in the ancient Pontificals the bishops were bidden on this day *cum casula rubea celebrare*.³ Red may be found in many countries as the colour for Good Friday. It is red at Milan, at Mentz, and indeed throughout Germany, at Sarum, Westminster, and partly at Wells, and the English manuscript Pontificals also direct it until after the solemn prayers. In the Gallican Rites it was very common.

To enter more into details. At Rouen, the colour was black in 1544, and this colour was used at mass in 1751, though violet was the colour for the offices. In the early eighteenth century purple was the colour for mass at S. Lo, in Rouen, Angers,⁴ and Besançon.⁵ Black was the colour at Coutances. At Lyons, the ash-coloured vestments of Lent changed to violet on Good Friday. At Soissons, the violet of Lent changed to red; at Troyes, to black.

In the Gallican rites generally the rule seems to be that the Passiontide colour, if black or red, was kept on Good Friday. Thus it was black at Paris, red at Bourges, Maundy Thursday being kept in red at both. Martene notes that red was the colour at Langres, Noyon, S. Martial at Limousin, S. John at Chartres, but black at Senlis and Chalons, and S. Germain de Près. In some churches the deacon and subdeacon ministered in albes only; and at Narbonne these were to be *de sindone nigro*.⁶ Bishops often wore only the vestments of a simple priest.

At Laon an extraordinary colour makes its appearance: saffron, (*croceus*). This is

UVA. BHSC. L.F.G. 11-1 n°0847

¹ Martene, *de Antiq. Eccles. Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xxii. Rit. Lugd. Monast. S. Martini Athan.

² De Moleon, *op. cit.* pp. 101 and 401.

³ Martene, *de Ant. Eccles. Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xxiii. Antiqui Ritus Insignis Ecclesiae Bisuntinae.

⁴ De Moleon, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 and 401.

⁵ Martene, *de Ant. Eccles. Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xxiii. Antiqui Ritus Insignis Ecclesiae Bisuntinae.

⁶ Martene, *de Antiquis Eccles. Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xxiii. sec. viii.

the only day on which saffron was worn at Laon; and the reason that the commentator, Antoine Bellotte, gives is that yellow is the colour of bile, which again is the cause of anger, and so the yellow colour of the vestments shows the spite of the Jews against our Lord. It is used only in the office of the Præsanctified.

At Vienne, a colour akin to *croceus* shows itself. The præcentor and cantor in green copes carrying the cross to be venerated began the antiphon: *Ecce lignum*.¹ It is probable that black was the colour for the celebrant, as in the early edition of about 1520 the archbishop begins the office in *capa serica nigra*. The priest and ministers in 1840 wore black, but two cantors in red copes sang the reproaches alternately with two cantors in black copes, as in many other Gallican rites.

At Milan red is the colour for Good Friday; but the Gallican Missal of the Sicilian churches directs black to be used, and one of the rubrics of the office speaks of *planetis fuscis*.

In England there is no doubt that red was the colour at Sarum; the priest wore a red chasuble to begin the office of the Præsanctified. At Wells, red was the colour of the day, but the deacon and subdeacon wore purple, if there be any difference between the two colours; the English Pontificals think it more convenient to wear red until the solemn prayers be over, and then to wear black, rather than during the whole of the office; but at Exeter, violet was worn instead of red.

Red seems to have been common throughout Germany. At Mentz and Colen the colour was red; at Trier the priest might wear either a red or a black chasuble, and the cross to be venerated was covered with a red pall.

But the early introduction of the Roman books turned out the local customs of Germany almost before they could be given to print. It may be worth noting that Thomas Naogeorgus, (or Kirchmaier) the author of a scurrilous and indecent poem, *On the Popish Kingdom or Reign of Antichrist*, speaks of crimson as the colour of the cope in which apparently the reproaches on Good Friday were sung.² Also in a sort of *Rituale*, printed at Würzburg in 1564, with the title *Agenda Ecclesiastica* for use in all dioceses, the priest is bidden to begin the office of the Præsanctified in a red chasuble. In many of the early German Missals the colour for Good Friday is the only colour given. At Passau in Bavaria the Missal of 1522 gives red as the colour. The Salzburg Missals of 1507 and 1515 give this rubric: "Finitis orationibus portatur crux velata de sacrario a duobus sacerdotibus indutis sacerdotalibus vestibus et rubeis casulis: sequentibus cantoribus quæ cantant *Popule meus*, quibus finitis tres scolares induti cappis purpureis greco sermone succinunt *Agyos*." At the Monastery of Bursfeld the crucifix was covered with a red veil, and the ministers wore red chasubles, as the *Ceremoniale Benedictinum*, written in 1502, but published at Paris in 1610, sets forth at page 97.

At Strassburg, however, Martene says the colour was black. It was black at Eichstadt; but in a modern Missal of Nancy and Toul, red is the colour.

At Agram, the capital of Croatia, the priest and ministers are told to wear black chasubles if they have them; otherwise only albes.

At Toledo, Seville, Burgo de Osma, Siguenza, and Palencia the colour on Good Friday was black. And in Alexander Leslie's reprint of Cardinal Ximenes' edition of the Mozarabic Missal, black is given as the colour of the ornaments at the mass of the

¹ Martene, *loc. cit.*

² "Being clad in coape of crimozen die, and dolefully they sing." See p. 334 of the New Shakspeare Society's edition of Philip Stubbes' *Anatomy of Abuses*.

Præsanctified on Good Friday. Further, the Lenten ornaments were retained until the end of the last litany after the blessing of the font on Easter Eve; the black frontals were then removed from the altars, and the ministers vested in white for the mass of Easter Eve.¹

EASTER. Until after None have been said on Easter Eve there is no assumption of any festival colour. The Paschal ornaments are only taken at some point in the long office which precedes the mass said immediately before the first vespers of Easter. This mass is really the first mass of Easter Day, as the expressions in the *Exultet*, Preface, and Canon show. Even down to the eighteenth century, in some of the stricter monasteries, the new fire was not blessed till six or seven o'clock in the evening, so that the mass could hardly have been begun before midnight. The fireworks, which any tourist may now see let off at Florence in full daylight as soon as the *Gloria* is begun, are a testimony to the fact that at one time the *Gloria* was not sung until it was dark.

As Easter is the earliest of the Christian festivals to appear in history, so it would seem to be the first to have particular ornaments set apart for it. In the sixth century S. Cæsarius of Arles bequeathed his "indumenta paschalia" to his successor,² together with "casula villosa et tunica, vel galnape," which the Bollandists think may have been so called *à colore sublucido, subalbo, et pallido*, and in one of the lives of this saint, printed by these writers, he is said to have ordered "casulam processariam albamque pascalem" to be sold to redeem captives.³

S. Remigius, who lived about the same time, bequeathed to his successor in the See of Rheims "amphybalum album paschalem."⁴

S. Gregory of Tours in his life of S. Nicetius, Bishop of Lyons, speaks of the priestly vestments being white at Easter.

Cranzius says that certain heathen Saxons, conquered by Charles the Great, came and saw him communicate at Easter *de manu purpurati sacerdotis*.⁵ This can hardly be accepted as evidence that amongst the Franks purple was the colour for Easter, as in S. German's *Expositio Brevis* the priest is said to be clothed in white; but it may possibly refer to some of the days before Easter; such as Maundy Thursday or Good Friday.

There is a great uniformity as to the Paschal colour; it is almost universally white; but although the white colour at Easter is so universal that it must be of the very greatest antiquity, yet it is not spoken of by the early Ritualists of Hittorpius' Collection; few will allow the following sentence out of the *Ordo Romanus* to be a reference to the white colour of Easter: Pontifex, sacerdotes, et levitæ induunt se vestimentis solemnissimis. diaconi dalmaticis, subdiaconi lineis aut sericis albis. The same words appear in an *Ordo* of the Church of Verona to which the date 990 is given. (MS. No. lxxxvii. in the Capitular Library of Verona.)

At Rome the rule for white is so strict that the Pope's everyday garments are

UVA BHSC LEG 11-1 n°0847
¹ Alex. Leslie, *Missale Mixtum dictum Mozarabes*, Romæ, 1755, pp. 173 and 190.

² Baronius, *Annales*, A.D. 508, xxiv. It seems doubtful if this document be genuine. See the Bollandist life of S. Cæsarius of Arles, Aug. 27.

³ See *Vita S. Cæsarii*, (auc. Cyp. Firm. et Vivent.) lib. i. cap. iv. Printed by the Bollandists.

⁴ Labbei *Bibliotheca*, quoted by the Bollandists in the life of S. Remigius, Oct. 1.

⁵ Cranzius, lib. i. cap. ix. quoted by Claude Villette, *Les Raisons de l'Office et Ceremonies qui se font en l'Eglise*, Rouen, 1648, p. 131.

changed from Easter Eve to the Saturday before Low Sunday. The biretta and caputium must be white, not, as is usual, red; and if the Pope wish to wear a cloak, this must be white and not of any other colour.¹

At Rome the changes of colours on Easter Eve are as follows: the office of this Church begins with the blessing of the new fire outside the church by a priest in violet cope and stole; then the deacon, changing to white vestments, says the *Exultet* in the pulpit, and blesses the Paschal candle. Next, the prophecies are said at the altar, the priest and sacred ministers all wearing violet vestments. The violet vestments are continued through the blessing of the font and the one litany of this rite until the *Kyrie eleison* which begins the mass, and then the priest and ministers appear in white vestments, which continue in use for the rest of the Paschal season.

At Milan terce having been said, a lesson from the vi. vii. and viii. chapters of Genesis is read, and then the *minor diaconus*, vested in a red dalmatic, sings the gospel from S. Matthew beginning: *altera die quæ est post Parasceve*. Then after Sext and None have been sung, the new fire is blessed, and three deacons in white vestments bless the Paschal candle. White vestments seem to be assumed by all immediately after None, and no change made for the rest of the office.²

At Paris, white was used at the blessing of the new fire, of the Paschal candle, of the baptismal font, during the litanies, and at mass; and violet was used only during the reading of the prophecies. This seems to have been the rule at Albi, Le Puy, Fréjus, Autun, Troyes, Auxerre, Mende, and among the Carmelites.

At Lyons the blessing of the new fire takes place near the altar without much ceremony; and the office begins with the prophecies, the priest wearing no cope or chasuble, but only albe, amice, and white stole and maniple; in like manner the deacon and subdeacon are without dalmatic and tunicle, or chasuble, but wear a white stole and white maniples. The prophecies are sung by readers in albes with maniples held between the middle and ring finger, as is the custom at Lyons for readers. When the prophecies are ended, the first litany is sung and the Paschal candle blessed by the deacon in cloth of gold stole, and maniple, over the albe; the fonts are then blessed; and the chasuble, dalmatic, and tunicle, are only taken at the *introitus Missæ*, when the bells are rung, white having been worn through the whole of the office.

At Bourges white is not assumed until the beginning of the tract *Quemadmodum*³ sung just before the blessing of the fonts.

At Monte Cassino white was used for the blessing of the new fire and the Paschal candle; but this being ended, violet or blue was worn until the mass, which was white.

Some churches begin to use white from the beginning all through the office, as at Seville and Burgo de Osma in Spain; but at Palencia, white was used for the blessing of the candle, red for the procession and blessing of the fonts, and until the mass, which is white. At Mentz something out of the way is done: red is used at the blessing of the new fire; and then the deacon announces the coming Easter festival, and blesses the

UVA. BHSC. LEG. 11-1 n°0847

¹ Christopher Marcellus, *Rituum Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. lviii. Venetiis, 1516, fol. cvii.

² Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xxiv. Ritus Eccles. Mediol. ex Missali anno 1560 et 1669. edito.

³ To avoid any uncertainty I may say that Ps. xli. begins in the Gallican version as in our Prayer Book: *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes*, while the Roman version begins: *Sicut cervus desiderat*. (See Thomasius, *Psalterium juxta duplicem editionem quam Romanam dicunt et Gallicam*, in *Opera omnia*, Romæ, 1747, ed. Vezzosi, t. ii. p. 77.)

Paschal candle in green vestments: for the blessing of the font the priest uses red as before; but blue, the penitential colour, is the colour for the mass. At Trier the colours seem to be Roman.

At Le Mans there was also an exception to the general rule, and the mass together with the blessing of the Paschal candle and font was done in red, the Passiontide colour,¹ though this does not quite agree with the rubrics of 1655. At Sarum the new fire was blessed by the *executor officii indutus vestibus sacerdotalibus cum capa serica rubea* (British Museum additional MSS. 25, 588), and the last litany was sung by a priest in a red cope or by three clerks; the two outer in red copes, the one in the middle in a white cope; (see British Museum MSS. Harl. 3866, and Add. MSS. 25, 588); but the colour of the mass and other ceremonies is unknown. At York the priest blessed the fire in a white cope, and after the epistle two vicars in white copes began to sing *Alleluia*.

The same sort of ceremony was observed at Chalons, where after the epistle the subdeacon began in the great pulpit to sing *Alleluia* in a red cope.² Also at S. German of Paris the colour would appear to have been red; for the *Hebdomadarius*, who censed the altar at the *Magnificat* during the Easter season, wore a red cope.³

In England red was the Paschal colour at Wells and Westminster up to the Ascension. Low Sunday, however, was white at Wells. At Sarum the Paschal colour was strictly white, so that all holidays falling in Easter were kept in white, except the Invention of the Holy Cross, which was red.

At Soissons also an exception is found. In this diocese green vestments are put on immediately after None, and continued through the office of Easter Eve up to the vigil of Pentecost, including even the procession on S. Mark's Day and the Rogations. Of the use of this colour, Malais says that a canon of Soissons gave two explanations: one, natural; the other, mystical. The natural reason is, that in the sixteenth century the Protestants destroyed all the precious vestments except the green ones. The mystical reason is the hope which our Lord's Resurrection gives to the human race.⁴ The first of these reasons is destroyed by finding that Martene prints a manuscript Soissons ritual of date before the sixteenth century, in which the bishop, deacons, and subdeacons are directed to wear green during the ceremonies of Easter Eve, and the reason given is: *Viror namque vestimentorum redemptionem nostram appropinquante jam die resurrectionis vivere designat.*⁵ As to mystical reasons, it is not hard to manufacture such in abundance. We may say that as the festival is celebrated on this side of the equator in the spring, when all nature is bursting into a fresh life, green is especially symbolical of the Resurrection. Portal also has something about green which may be useful here. He says: *Le vert, la régénération céleste et la dégradation infernale, la sagesse et la folie.*⁶ Green would thus set forth the new birth through the Resurrection, and the destruction of the infernal powers of death and hell.

There are also some other churches where green appears during the Paschal season; Colen, Milan, and Rheims. In these, white is worn for the Easter week itself, but green is put on at Milan, and perhaps at Colen, on Low Sunday, and thence up to the Ascension.

¹ De Moleon, *op. cit.* p. 222.

² Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xxiv. sec. xxx.

³ Martene, *de Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, lib. iii. cap. xviii. sec. iii.

⁴ Malais, *Des Couleurs liturgiques*, Dieppe, 1879, 2nd ed. p. 11.

⁴ Martene, *de Antiq. Eccles. Ritibus*, lib. iv. cap. xxiv. *Antiq. Rit. Eccl. Suesson.*

⁶ Frédéric Portal, *Des Couleurs symboliques*, Paris, 1837, p. 33.

Here it might be thought that this is but a return to the ferial colour, were it not that at Rheims green is worn (whether on Low Sunday or after Low Sunday is not plain) to the Ascension and during its octave up to the vigil of Pentecost. Here it is clearly not the ferial colour, as it is worn on the Ascension.

ASCENSION DAY. Rheims, and possibly Soissons, are the only exceptions that I have found to the rule that Ascension Day is white.

ROGATION DAYS. An old English name for these days is Cross Week. At Rome violet was apparently the colour for the mass and procession on these days, though the wording of the rubric is somewhat obscure. Black is the colour at Trier and at Milan. At this last church the Rogations are kept on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday after Ascension Day. At Lyons red is used for these three days, green at Soissons, and saffron at Palencia in Spain.

In the Paris sequence of 1666, the Rogations were kept in white; but in that of 1685 the Monday is violet. At Mentz, ornaments of divers colours were used, as on the feast of Relics and All Saints; and perhaps green was used at Colen.

PENTECOST. In the German, Spanish, and Gallican rites, there is no difference as to the colour of this feast; it is universally red. Only in England is there any question as to the colour. At Westminster, the colour was to be *scintillatus croceus*, or *glaucus*, and the vestments were not to be embroidered. At Wells, the colour was red, and it is likely enough that it was red at Sarum, though it is not certainly known.

At York, on the vigil of Pentecost, after the epistle, *Sequatur a duobus Vicariis in capis albis ut in Vigilia Paschæ, alleluya. Quo incepto exuantur capæ nigræ.* Does this suggest that the York Pentecostal colour was white?

The colour for Whitsuntide in the churches of Sicily was red, yet votive masses of the Holy Ghost might be said in green.

TRINITY SUNDAY is not spoken of by Innocent III. A thirteenth-century *Ordo Romanus*, just a hundred years older than Innocent, also ignores Trinity Sunday, and prescribes green as the colour from the Saturday before Trinity Sunday to the first Sunday in Advent, giving as a reason that Pentecost has no octave.¹ White is now the colour for Trinity Sunday at Rome and at Milan.

A considerable variation in the colours for Trinity Sunday may be noted. For example, green was used at Rheims, Alby, Mende; yellow at Poitiers; blue at Toledo and Mentz; violet at Soissons. Red was used at Paris, Laon, Le Mans, Meaux, Cahors, Le Puy, Fréjus, Autun, Toulouse, Coutances, and white at Rennes, Troyes, Auxerre, Luçon, Nimes, Bourges, Sens, Rouen, Lyons, and the Spanish churches of Siguenza, Palencia, and Burgo de Osma.

In England, red was worn at Wells; green at Exeter, if the vestments were precious and sufficient in number; but if not, white was to be used; and white is the direction of the other English Pontificals. Though the churches of Sicily used white on Trinity Sunday, yet votive masses of the Holy Trinity were said in green.

CORPUS CHRISTI, being so modern a festival, is not spoken of by Innocent III. Its colour is first given in the *Ordo Romanus* of Peter Amelius, at the end of the fourteenth century, as white. This has continued to be the Roman colour down to the present day.

There is, however, a strong consensus among the Gallican rites in favour of red. It is red at Milan also. This colour is seen at Paris, Alby, Soissons, Sens, Auxerre, Troyes,

¹ Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, t. ii. p. 241. Ordo xiii. c. 27.

Rennes, Pamiers, Meaux, Nancy and Toul, Luçon, Cahors, Le Puy, Bourges, Fréjus, Poitiers, Autun, Toulouse, Le Mans, Mende, Laon, and Lisieux,¹ and, according to Le Brun, at Cambrai,² and to Malais, at Evreux, Chartres, Versailles, Amiens.³

White is the colour at Lyons, and, as Maundy Thursday is white at Vienne, probably there also. It is white at Besançon, Rheims, Rouen, Coutances, and Nîmes, and, according to Malais, at Bayeux, Beauvais, and Metz.⁴ White was the colour in the Sicilian churches, Toledo, Burgo de Osma, Siguenza, and Palencia, in Spain, and at Trier, in Germany.

Red, yellow, or gold was the colour at Mentz; green at Clermont in Auvergne.⁵

It has been noticed that the procession on Palm Sunday at York was white; and this was probably because the Blessed Sacrament was carried in the procession. It thus becomes somewhat likely that the colour for Corpus Christi at York was white also. On the same grounds, the colour at Sarum would be red. At Wells the colour was red; at Exeter the colours were to be both white and red, for a reason which I have found nowhere else; the likeness of bread and wine to the Body and Blood of the Lord. The priest was to wear white, the deacons red, and subdeacons white; and the clerk, whom I suppose would nowadays be called assistant priest, red; so that the colours were equally divided amongst the ministers.⁶ The other English Pontificals direct white.

TRINITY TO ADVENT. Here the ferial colour, whatever it may be, is in use, differing according to the custom of the church. The Roman colour is green, and this is widely distributed. Red, on the other hand, is met with in not a few of the Gallican rites, at Mentz in Germany, and in some English churches. Red was the ferial colour at Paris, Lyons, Toulouse, Sens, Coutances, Le Puy, Fréjus, Autun, and, according to Malais, at Lisieux, Chartres, and Versailles⁷; green at Albi, Rennes, Rheims, Bourges, Rouen, Soissons, Meaux, Laon, Nancy and Toul, Luçon, Nîmes, Cahors, Mende, Troyes, and Auxerre. It was green at Colen, Trier, and the churches of Sicily and Siguenza; saffron at Palencia in Spain (an instance of the identity of saffron and green), and violet at Le Mans, where violet was also the colour for Advent and Lent.

I have met with blue as a ferial colour only in a Cistercian Missal of 1627, where *cælestis* is allowed as an alternative to *viridis*, and at Toledo, where this same *cælestis* is used throughout the summer. The blue ornaments which are so often found in the inventories of the English churches were, in all likelihood, for use in Advent or Lent.

Red was the ferial colour at Sarum, Wells, and Westminster, but green or saffron is directed in the English Pontificals. Green appears also to have been the colour for the summer at York.

At Milan the time after Pentecost is divided between red and green. Red is used

¹ *Rituale Lexoviense*, Paris, 1744, p. 94.

² Pierre Lebrun, *Explication littérale, etc.* Paris, 1777, t. i. p. 64.

³ Malais, *Des Couleurs liturgiques*, Dieppe, 1879, p. 14.

⁴ Malais, *op. cit.* p. 13. UVA. BHSC. LEG. 11-1 n°0847

⁵ Charles Guyet, *Heortologia*, Urbini, 1728, t. iii. cap. xxix. quest. 9.

⁶ This is another testimony to the use of red wine for the Eucharist in the Early English Church, a tradition which has come down into our own times. See Mr. Maskell's *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (London, 1846, 2nd ed. p. 32, note), for a constitution of the synod of the diocese of Sodor and Man in 1350, ordering red wine rather than white. White wine is now used always in the West, as anyone can notice for himself, and it is ordered by the Roman books; but in the Greek Church red wine is said to be used.

⁷ Malais, *op. cit.* p. 26.

from Trinity to the vespers of the Saturday before the Sunday of the Dedication of the Great Church, and green from the Sunday of the Dedication to Advent. This Sunday of the Dedication is the third in October; Advent begins six weeks before Christmas; so that the green season at Milan lasts but a month.

FEASTS OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN. There are only two or three points upon which the rites are unanimous as to the colour of a season or festival; and one of these is, that white must be used for feasts of the Blessed Virgin. I have met with no exception to this rule, nor with any ground for the opinion that blue was ever used instead of white. This idea must have sprung up from the custom of the painters; but it receives no countenance from authorized liturgical books.

S. JOHN THE BAPTIST. The nativity of S. John has been a white day at Rome from the time of Innocent III. who says: In nativitate Salvatoris et præcursoris, quoniam uterque natus est mundus; id est, carens originali peccato. White seems to be the rule; I have found some exceptions; at Soissons and the Metropolitan Church of Bourges (not in the diocese) violet is used. At Sens and Luçon violet is used for the vigil, contrary to Gallican custom of using the colour of the coming feast, which is white. If there be any reason for the use of violet for S. John's Day, it would be the same as that given by some Roman ritualists for the use of violet on Innocents' Day, to wit, that they died before our Lord and went down into hell and suffered its pains; and in some dioceses, such as that of Rouen, all saints of the Old Testament have violet for their colour. The colour *indius* was also used at Wells; but white appears to have been the colour recommended by the English Pontificals, and in use at Westminster. The printed Sarum rubric does not speak of S. John the Baptist; but Archbishop Chichele's Pontifical (Trin. Coll. Camb.), and a manuscript thought by some to be of Lincoln use (British Museum, Additional MSS. 21, 974), gives the Sarum rubric of colours, and counts the Nativity of S. John the Baptist amongst the white days. At York the colour appears unknown. At Mentz it was green, like feasts of Apostles, and green was also used at Le Mans, Toledo, and Burgo de Osma in Spain.

The Decollation of S. John the Baptist seems to be almost universally red, but there are certain exceptions, chiefly in England. The English Pontificals use violet; and at York it is possible that *blodius* was the colour, as on this day the king was received by the chapter in copes of *blodius*; only it should be remembered that certain rites have a special colour for the reception of princes; and this may have been the case at York.

Green seems to have been the colour for the Decollation at Toledo and Burgo de Osma.

MICHAELMAS. White is directed to be used on the feasts of Angels by Innocent III. and the use of this colour seems very widely spread. In certain dioceses, however, yellow vestments are recommended; as at Toulouse, Pamiers, Le Puy, Fréjus, Poitiers, Autun.

Red was used for Michaelmas at Mentz, Le Mans, and Laon; the reason given by the commentator on this last rite is the fiery colour of the angel in the burning bush, and other passages of Scripture. (Dan. vi. 6; Revelation i. and x. Psalm civ. 4.) At Wells the colours were *indius* and white. At Westminster it was blue.

ALL SAINTS. In the time of Innocent III. there was a choice allowed at Rome of either white or red for this festival. It may be remembered that when first founded by Boniface IV. the festival was in honour of the Blessed Virgin and all martyrs. Rome now allows white only, though at Trier white or red could be used, and at Wells white and red. Divers colours were worn at Mentz (the vigil in red) and Toledo, Siguenza,

Palencia, and Burgo de Osma in Spain (though as to Palencia the festival occurs among the list of red days), and Exeter, though here white and red are preferred.

Red is the colour in an overwhelming majority of the Gallican rites: Lyons, Paris, Alby, Rennes, Sens, Bourges, Toulouse, Soissons, Auxerre, Troyes, Coutances, Pamiers, Meaux, Cahors, Le Puy, Mende, Fréjus, Autun, Le Mans. There may be added Arras and Cambrai¹; Evreux, Chartres, Versailles, Laon, Amiens and Beauvais.²

White is used at Milan, the churches of Sicily, Colen, Nancy and Toul, Nimes and Rouen. Malais tells us that in this last church, the colour was changed for red at the sixth response at matins. Yellow also was used at Lisieux.³ White is the colour of the English Pontificals.

MARTYRS. Red is the universal colour for martyrs. Innocent III. notes that some used rose-coloured vestments.

APOSTLES. Red is very common indeed as the colour for apostles. I have met with only one exception, at Mentz, where the feasts of Apostles are green, but their vigils are red.

Certain apostles and certain feasts of apostles are exceptions to the general rule. For instance, the Feast of S. John the Evangelist at Christmas is white in most rites; but it is red at Le Mans and Soissons. It does not appear as an exception to the general rule of apostles either at Mentz or Colen, or among the rules of Innocent III.

So also of the Conversion of S. Paul. It is now white everywhere, but in the old Gallican sequence it was red; it was red at Le Mans, Laon, Paris in 1666, and Wells, Toledo, Siguenza, and Burgo de Osma in Spain.

S. Peter's Chair is white at Rome, and in this colour Rome is followed by Milan, and among the Gallican rites by Luçon, Rennes, Nimes, and Rouen. Green is, however, the colour in most Gallican rites, as green is the special colour of bishops, being used on their feasts and at their consecration; thus the Chair of Peter is green at Alby, Le Mans, Pamiers, Cahors, Coutances, Le Puy, Bourges, Fréjus, Sens, Autun, Mende, Meaux, Toulouse, Laon, and even Soissons. Green was the colour in the Paris sequence of 1685, but white in the earlier one of 1666. It was violet at Rheims and Auxerre, blue at Mentz, and red at Toledo, Siguenza, and Burgo de Osma in Spain.

White is also the colour at Rome for Lammas or S. Peter's chains. It is white at Rouen, Coutances, Nimes, Luçon, Nancy and Toul. Red seems to be the prevailing Gallican colour, at least most of the churches which used green for the Chair used red for the Chains. Red was used at Rheims; was it green at Mentz? Both the Chair and the Chains were green and saffron at Wells.

S. John before the Latin Gate seems to be red almost everywhere; it was white at Rheims, and at Sarum and Wells; yellow or white at Westminster.

EVANGELISTS. The colour of S. Mark's Day must be carefully separated from that of the litany and mass, akin to those of the Rogations, which are said on this day. Red is undoubtedly the prevailing colour for both S. Mark and S. Luke, the only two evangelists who were not apostles. I have taken special pains to make out the colour for S. Luke, the patron saint of physicians, as some ingenious persons in England declare that his colour is white because he did not suffer martyrdom. After much searching, I can

¹ Le Brun, *op. cit.* p. 64.

² Malais, *op. cit.* p. 18.

³ Malais, *loc. cit.*

find only two churches in which white is the colour : Meaux, in 1845, tho' it was red in 1836 ; and Palencia in Spain. In this Spanish diocese white was also the colour for S. Mark's Day. S. Mark was white also at Sarum, from falling in Easter.

The litany on S. Mark's Day often follows the same colour as the Rogations ; whether violet as at Rome, white as at Toledo, and Paris in 1666, or black as at Trier. If, however, S. Mark's Day fell in Easter week, white was used at this church and also at Rouen and Coutances.

CONFESSORS. Under this heading a considerable number of canonized persons are collected, and they may conveniently be broken up again into classes. At Rome white has been the colour for all confessors since the time of Innocent III. though he notes that some in his day used the colour *crocus*. On the other hand, certain rites divide confessors into bishops, doctors, monks, holy women and some others. In these, green is a widespread colour for bishops ; violet for monks, holy women, and lay folk.

Red, violet, blue, green, saffron, or white appears in others ; red was the colour for confessors generally at Bourges, Sens, Auxerre, and in the Cistercian rite ; but the word here must have a different meaning to that usually given, as the colour green is assigned to bishops and doctors, and violet to abbots ; in the Carmelite rite, white to bishops and doctors, and black to monks. At Nancy and Toul, all confessors seem to be green ; Sarum and the English Pontificals directing saffron to be used. At Wells, saffron and green were worn for the most part, but *indius* also makes its appearance. At Lincoln, green, yellow, and black (*fuscus*) were worn in the thirteenth century. Blue is the colour for confessors generally at Mentz.

It would weary my readers as much as myself if I were to try to lead them through the mazes of the colours proper to different confessors in the different rites. Thus, in the Paris sequence of 1666, green is the colour for the semi-double and simple feasts of confessors, whether bishops, abbots, or doctors ; violet for those not of the first or second class. Grancolas tells us that at Lyons yellow was used for confessors, with four exceptions, SS. Antony, Louis, Justin, and Martin, for whose feasts green was used ;¹ but, in the sequence of Archbishop de Montazet, white is used for bishops (with an alternative of golden or yellow), doctors, and holy women, while green is used for the feast and translation of S. Justus (a Bishop of Lyons), and for all priests, abbots, monks, anchorets, confessors, and just men. At Milan, white is used for feasts of bishops, doctors, and priests ; green for S. Antony, abbots, and confessors not priests ; while violet is used for the feasts of holy women.

In some Gallican churches, as Alby, Rennes, Pamiers, Cahors, Le Puy, Bourges, and Sens, this rule prevails : green for bishops, violet for monks and holy women. This is also the rule at Palencia in Spain : green for bishops ; all other confessors, violet. At Colen, much the same : green for bishops and doctors ; violet for holy women not martyrs, as SS. Anne, Helen, Elizabeth.

In several rites the use of green is extended to doctors and priests. In the Sicilian churches yellow is used for confessors not bishops. At Rouen the feasts of bishops and priests are white, but doctors are green ; violet for saints of the old law, abbots, monks, laymen, and holy women.

In many of the Gallican rites, at the consecration of bishops, the elect wears white, but the consecrator and his assistants, green. At Rome the elect wears white, the

¹ Grancolas, *Comment. Hist. in Rom. Brev.* lib. i. cap. xlvi. Venetiis, 1734, p. 147.

consecrator and assistants the colour of the day. In Bishop Clifford's Pontifical (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), the elect wears a white cope when he is questioned by the metropolitan, but the colour of the vestments at the actual consecration is not expressed.

For S. Mary Magdalen, together with the three saints, Lazarus, Mary, and Martha, of whom tradition asserts that they founded churches in the south of Gaul, many Gallican churches use white, as Rome does. But there are exceptions, at least for S. Mary Magdalen. At Rouen, violet is worn; at Exeter, *indicus id est aerei coloris vel blani*; according to the English Pontificals, saffron; at Westminster, green; at Wells, green and saffron; at Soissons, green; at Toledo, Siguenza, Burgo de Osma, and Le Mans, red. The commemoration of the Holy Sepulchre at Soissons was also kept in green, and it should be noted that the Easter colour in this church was green.

VIRGINS. For Virgins the colour seems to be white everywhere. Innocent III. speaks of white or lily colour as proper for maiden saints. In most churches the colour is changed to red if the virgin have been a martyr. But at Lyons, and Nancy and Toul, this rule is not followed, but white is retained. At Wells and Exeter white and red were used.

TRANSFIGURATION OF OUR LORD appears to be white in most rites; it is red at Laon.

FEASTS OF THE HOLY CROSS. Red is the colour nearly everywhere for both feasts; even Sarum makes the Invention the only exception to all feasts in Paschaltide being red. But Palencia and Siguenza keep the Invention in white; the Exaltation in red. It is something of this sort to which Durandus alludes when he says that in his day some thought it better to use white for feasts of the Holy Cross. In the churches of Sicily green was used for votive masses of the Holy Cross.

It may be noted that Durandus says, that if saints' days fall in Advent or after Septuagesima, black is not to be used, but violet. In the same way, at Exeter, indigo or blue was to be used on double feasts of saints in Advent or Septuagesima, and this included the Conversion of S. Paul and S. Peter's Chair; and red on simples at Sarum.

CONFIRMATION. White is the Roman colour for administering confirmation. At Lyons, Alby, Sens, Bourges, Paris, Mende, and Poitiers it is red.

THE DEDICATION FESTIVAL of a church is white everywhere, with the exception of Le Mans, where it is red. This does not, of course, mean the festival of the patron saint, which commonly follows his own colour; red, green, or violet, as the case may be. In some churches the patron saint has a special colour, as at Paris in 1666, where the patron saints were green; or at Le Mans, where S. Julian (not a martyr), the first Bishop of Le Mans, was kept in red, all other bishops being green. At Orleans the festival was on the Invention of the Cross, and the colour was partly white and partly red. Those parts of the office which spoke of the Cross were said in red; the rest in white.¹

For **HARVEST FESTIVALS** the colour would seem to be white, as I find in the Nancy and Toul and Luçon Missals that the thanksgiving *post collectos terræ fructus* is to be in white.

REQUIEM. For the office of the dead there appears to be no divergence of custom. Black is universally used. It was used at Rome in the time of Innocent III. and was not changed when, except on Good Friday, black almost wholly gave way to violet.

Black appears to have been universally used throughout England, though, possibly,

¹ Charles Guyet, *Heortologia*, Urbini, 1728, t. iii. cap. xxix. quest. 5.

the obits for princes and great men may have been celebrated in purple vestments, as we find purple vestments spoken of for solemn exequies at Exeter and Lincoln¹; but at Wells it was ordered that, whether for kings or bishops, the vestments should be black and simple.² Lebrun records that at the obits of certain kings of the Franks, and even of a king of the Capetian dynasty, as Philip Augustus, the ornaments were violet; and that at Narbonne, also, the obits were said in violet.³ In England I find that, so late as 1760, purple was the colour of the pall and canopy used to cover the body of King George II. the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, in their copes, with wax candles in their hands, preceding the body.⁴

PART III.

ENGLISH LITURGICAL COLOURS.

It would seem to be asserted by almost all historians that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Sarum Use had displaced all the other old English books in the dioceses of the southern province; in fact, that the Sarum Missal played in England in the middle ages the same part that the Roman Missal played so successfully in Germany in the seventeenth century, and in France in our own time.

The changes, however, involved by the adoption of the Sarum books in England were probably but small. A careful distinction must be made between the words of the Sarum Missal, what was said or sung, and the ceremonies of the Sarum Missal which accompanied the saying or singing. The words of the Sarum, York, Hereford, or Bangor Canon are for all practical purposes identical with the Gregorian Canon which has been in use on the Continent on either side of the Rhine, or across the Alps or Pyrenees, for the last thousand years, ever since the destruction of the old Gallican rite by Charles the Great. Before the Reformation, there was practically Liturgical uniformity from Sicily to Iceland, and from Portugal to Norway. But with the ceremonies which accompanied the Liturgy it was far otherwise. Nearly every diocese retained its own, and, though in England it might have been thought that the Sarum ceremonies were accepted with the Sarum books, this proves not to have been the case. The *Defensorium Directorii ad Usum Sarum* is evidence of this. It is an important work often attributed to Clement Maydeston, a Brigittine monk of the first half of the fifteenth century.⁵ There appear to be several editions of the *Directorium*, the first printed being much alike and longer than the later ones, which vary and have been cut down. It is from one of the earlier editions that Mr. Maskell reprinted the work at the end of the second volume of his *Monumenta*

¹ *Manuale et Processionale ad Usum BnHGs Ecclesie Ebbw'nsis*, 1875. Surtees Society: edited by Dr. Henderson, Preface, p. xxiv.

² Pro defunctis omnia erunt nigra et simplicia: licet agatur pro rege vel episcopo. Statutes of Wells in Lambeth Palace Library.

³ Pierre Lebrun, *Explication, etc. de la Messe*, Paris, 1777, p. 63. Martene prints the rite of S. German's at Paris. (*De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, lib. iii. cap. xxiv. § viii.)

⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1760 (November), p. 539.

⁵ See p. xii. of Mr. Bradshaw's Introduction to Messrs. Procter and Wordsworth's *Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesie Sarum*, fasc. ii. Cantab. 1879.

Ritualia. From this reprint I shall quote, because a copy of it is in my possession and thus convenient for reference.

The *Defensorium* sets out by saying that the *Ordinale* of Sarum contains two kinds of rubrics: one, general; the other, ceremonial. The general rubrics direct what antiphons or responsories are to be sung, and the like. The ceremonial rubrics are particular to the Church of Sarum, and binding only on the clergy of the Church of Sarum. He then gives instances of certain points in which the clergy of the colleges of Winchester and Oxford disobeyed the Sarum rubrics, although bound by oath to say mass and the hours according to the use of Sarum. Like instances are given of the clergy of the Royal Colleges *de vento morbido* (? Wind-sore), of S. Stephen at Westminster and of S. Katherine near the Tower, and of the chapters of the cathedral churches of Wells and S. Paul's, London.

He further adds: "Ut autem plura brevi sermone concludam. Dico assertive quod illa quæ scribuntur in costumario, seu consuetudinario ecclesiæ Sarum, de dignitate festorum, de pluralitate benedictionum, de termino quatuor temporum, de velo quadagesimali, de cereo paschali, de sepulchro habendo sunt generaliter observanda in omnibus ecclesiis quæ non possunt de congruo omitti. Cætera vero quæ in illo scribuntur, videlicet de diversitate vestimentorum, de iiiij. rectoribus chori habendis, de processionibus ad altaria faciendis, de antiphonis in superiori gradu vel inferiori incipiendis, de Responsoriis a tribus vel duobus cantandis, de quinque vel quatuor pulsationibus ad vespervas, solummodo pertinent ad clericos ecclesiæ Sarum, et ad omnes qui voto vel juramento se obligaverunt ad talia perficienda. Probatur ista assertio esse vera per venerabiles viros ac patres canonicos ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli Londoniensis, qui totum officium divinum in cantando et legendo observant, secundum usum Sarum ecclesiæ. Sed de cærimoniis vel observationibus ejusdem nihil curantes: sed custodiunt antiquas observantias in ecclesia Sancti Pauli a primordio illic usitatas."

If we are to believe what Clement Maydeston says, it would appear that the Sarum ceremonies, and of course amongst these the Sarum colours, were confined to the diocese of Sarum. The very first rubric spoken of as of no authority outside the diocese of Sarum is that *de diversitate vestimentorum*. It is likely that each diocese in England had a sequence of its own ordained by the bishop; and that this sequence continued in use until the time of Edward VI. when the rights of the bishop and chapter to control the services of the diocese were taken away, and all the realm was ordered to have but one use. This step was the natural outcome of the wide distribution of the Sarum books.

Unfortunately very little is known of the rules for colours in the various English dioceses; in only one or two, such as Wells and Exeter, has the sequence been found entire. And in some dioceses, such as Sarum and York, only such information can be had as may be gathered from the incidental mention of the colours in the rubrics, or now and then from the mention of a certain coloured vestment for a certain season in the inventories of the church goods.

Any attempt to construct the sequence of colours from the number of the particular coloured vestments found in an inventory must lead to untrustworthy results. For example, in a modern Italian church, green is hardly seen except perhaps on a Sunday, red being a largely prevailing colour, owing to the number of feasts of martyrs. Yet it would be a wholly false inference to conclude that red was the Roman ferial colour. The same abundance of feasts of martyrs prevailed in England before the revision of the calendar. In the first Sarum calendar printed by Mr. Maskell there are 72 red feasts,

apóstles, martyrs, and such like ; in the second 104 ; in neither case including Pentecost : so that in the inventory of any mediæval church a preponderance of red might be expected whatever the ferial colour might be.

SARUM. The colours of this church have been followed with a good deal more interest than of right belongs to them, apparently owing to the belief that the Sarum sequence had spread all over England at the beginning of the sixteenth century ; or at least some sequence closely akin to it. Of either of these two points there is, however, not merely no evidence, but evidence rather to the contrary, so that the Sarum sequence takes its place only as one among the sequences of the other English dioceses. It is a sequence, moreover, which is very imperfectly known, the colours for the greater part of the Christian year and for many important festivals being yet undiscovered.

The earliest authority upon the Sarum colours is a MS. said to be preserved in the chapter library at Salisbury, and to be of the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, though I do not know if it have been lately examined by an expert. This is the *de Officiis Ecclesiasticis Tractatus* of S. Osmund, and the rule as to colours appears in cap. xix. and is printed by Dr. Rock at the end of the second part of the third volume of *The Church of Our Fathers*, p. 13 in the second pagination, as follows : "In Paschali tempore utuntur Ministri altaris ad missam dalmaticis et tunicis albis. Rectores chori cappis similiter albis et in annunciatione dominica et in Octabis Beatæ Mariæ et infra Octabas et in commemorationibus ejusdem et in utroque festo S. Michaelis et in festo cujuslibet Virginis. Rubeis vero utuntur indumentis in utroque festo S. Crucis et in quolibet festo martirum et in tractis¹ cantandis. In festis simplicibus in Quadragesima et in Dominica Passionis Domini et Dominica Palmarum rectores chori cappis utuntur rubeis."

There is nothing in this fragmentary sequence in any way particular to Sarum. Setting aside the red for Passiontide, the other directions might have been taken from Innocent III. or Durandus ; and admitting the red in Passiontide, the rubric might have come from any church of Italy, Germany, or Gaul, so little distinctive is there about it.

It would be as reasonable to conclude that only red and white were used at Sarum in the twelfth century, because this rubric speaks only of red and white, as to conclude that only the festivals spoken of in this same rubric were observed. It is known that other colours were in use at this time from their appearance in the inventory of 1222 (*purpureus, indicus*, Rock, *op. cit.* p. 104.) although this of course gives us no sort of clue to the sequence in which they were used.

In the fifteenth century, the author of the *Defensorium Directorii ad Usum Sarum* (whoever he was, says Mr. Maskell, he was an excellent ritualist) described the Sarum books of his age as grievously corrupt. "Mirabile est valde quomodo tanta cæcitas contigit in ecclesia Sarum, quæ solebat totius Angliæ esse clara lucerna." He complains both of the text and rubrics of the "modern books of Sarum," and his book is full of such expressions as these : "Item illa rubrica non est vera" ; "Rubrica illa est abjicienda" ; "Ecce quomodo illud verbum nisi pervertat totum sensum ordinalis, et facit infinitos errare" ; "Item illa rubrica est falsa," "est falsissima," etc.

Such blind guides, then, in the matter of ritual had the Sarum books become in the fifteenth century, and it is to this age, or later, that most of the printed copies of the Sarum Missal belong. The rubrics of this book have been treated of late years in England

¹ The tract appears to have been nearly always sung in red copes.

with an almost superstitious reverence, and regarded as of authority little inferior to that of the New Testament. Yet it now appears, on Clement Maydeston's evidence, that these rubrics are exceedingly corrupt. It thus became of interest to search back among the MS. Sarum Missals, and see what variations the colour rubric might present. But as a result of this search, it was soon found that the rubric was but rarely to be met with in the MSS. Whether this be evidence how little it was regarded I do not know. It could not be found in any of the MS. Sarum Missals in the British Museum, save one sixteenth-century MS. (Add. MSS. 21, 974.) nor in any at the University Library, Cambridge. At the Bodleian, twenty-two MS. Missals were examined, and the rubric was found in five only. In four of these (Miscell. Liturg. 372 folio 107 verso, Laud 253 folio 13 verso, and Hatton i. folio 91, Barlow MS. i.) the rubric is nearly, but not quite, verbatim as in the printed editions; but in the fifth, however, a manuscript of the fourteenth century (Rawl. A. 387, folio 14), thought by some to be the oldest manuscript Sarum Missal at Oxford, the rubric differs in its arrangement, and in one or two other points: I therefore print the two in parallel columns, the order followed being that of the MS. while for the sake of comparison the rubric of the printed editions is placed in paragraphs opposite that of the MS. according to the colour treated of.

Fourteenth Century MS.

Rubeis autem utuntur vestibus omnibus diebus dominicis per annum extra tempus Paschale; quando de dominica agitur; et in iiiij. feria in capite jejunii; et in die Cœnæ; et in utroque festo Sanctæ Crucis; et in quolibet festo martyrum, apostolorum, evangelistarum, extra tempus paschæ.

In festis autem unius Confessoris vel plurimorum Confessorum utuntur vestimentis crocei coloris.

In paschali autem tempore utuntur vestimentis albis de quocumque fit servicium, nisi in inventione Sanctæ Crucis. Similiter in annunciatione Dominica, et in omni festo ejusdem et infra octavas assumptionis et nativitatis ejusdem et in singulis commemorationibus ejusdem et in festo cujuslibet Virginis et in octavis et in festo dedicationis ecclesiæ et in festo Sancti Johannis Apostoli et in hebdomada nativitatis Domini et in utroque festo Sancti Johannis Apostoli in hebdomada nativitatis Domini et in utroque festo Sancti Michaelis.

In omnibus missis pro defunctis per totum annum utuntur vestimentis nigris.

Printed Editions.

Rubeis vero utantur vestimentis omnibus Dominicis per annum extra tempus Paschæ; quando de Dominica agitur; et in quarta feria in Capite jejunii; et in Cœna Domini; et in utroque festo sanctæ Crucis; in quolibet festo martyrum, apostolorum, et evangelistarum, extra tempus Paschæ.

In omnibus autem festis unius confessoris vel plurimorum confessorum utantur vestimentis crocei coloris.

Ita tamen quod in tempore Paschali de quocumque dicitur missa, nisi in Inventione sanctæ Crucis utantur ministri altaris vestimentis albis ad missam. Similiter fiat in festo Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ et in Conceptione ejusdem et in utroque festo sancti Michaelis et in festo sancti Johannis Apostoli in hebdomada Nativitatis Domini et per octavas et in octavis Assumptionis et Nativitatis beatæ Mariæ et in commemorationibus ejusdem per totum annum et per octavas et in octavis Dedicationis ecclesiæ.

Two unimportant variations of this rubric may be found in Archbishop Chichele's Pontifical in Trinity College, Cambridge, and in a MS. in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 21, 974), thought by Dr. Henderson to be of Lincoln use and which belonged to John Longland, who was Bishop of Lincoln from 1520 to 1547. Both these MSS. give among the white days: "et in festo S. Johannis Baptistæ et per octavas," and "et in festo cujuslibet Virginis per totum annum."

The MS. rubric is the earlier, as the expression *Annunciatio Dominica*, shows, in distinction to the Romanized *Annunciatio Beatæ Mariæ* of the printed copies. But it is hard to understand the many repetitions of the directions as to the use of white, upon which several interpretations may be put, and still harder to guess what was the original form. The rubrics as to red and white seem the most corrupt; those as to the use of saffron and black vestments are probably in their original state.

It may be noted that in the early MS. we have the four everyday liturgical colours: white, red, saffron, (which is the same as green,) and black. The appearance of this last must seem almost an act of treason towards the upholders of the Levitical theory, who have hitherto pointed to Sarum as an "incomparable rite," that admitted none but Mosaic colours.

But if we take the rubric as it is, and try to make the best of it, how far do we get? First, that the Easter season is to be white; that is, from Easter Eve to the eve of the Ascension; secondly, that all Sundays out of Easter are to be red when the office is of the Sunday. Now, what is the precise value of the expression *quando de Dominica agitur*, when the office is of the Sunday? Does it restrict the use of red to the Sundays between Pentecost and Advent, or Candlemas and Septuagesima? or is red to be worn on every Sunday from Whitsuntide to Easter, Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, and Lent included? If we may judge from the analogy of other rites, we should answer without any hesitation, that the red is for use at ferial times only, and not in Advent or Lent, when the office on these Sundays can hardly be said to be of the Sunday pure and simple, but of the season. The Sarum Missal was hardly likely to break away from its congeners of Gaul on this point; for all the Gallican Missals who have red for their ferial colour have different colours for Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, and Lent. There is no known instance of a rite in which one colour only prevailed throughout the year, with the exception of Easter.

Nor, in itself, can the rubric be thought to be full in its directions, and to admit of no exceptions to its rules about all Sundays out of Easter being red. We read in another sentence that red is to be worn "in quolibet festo martyrum, apostolorum, et evangelistarum extra tempus paschæ." This is more peremptory than the directions about Sundays out of Easter; but we are told a little above, in the same rubric, that the feast of S. John the Apostle and Evangelist in the Christmas week is to be white, not red. This feast is *extra tempus Paschæ*: so that the rubric is not always consistent with itself. If, then, the rubric be inconsistent in one place, it may be so in another, and the colour of some Sundays *extra tempus Paschæ*, like the feast of an apostle *extra tempus Paschæ*, may be of a different colour from red. Indeed, this ~~has been acknowledged by some~~ of the partisans of Sarum, as we shall see later on; they allow white to be worn on the Sundays from Christmas to Candlemas; and if a change from the red be allowed on one Sunday out of Easter when the office is of the Sunday, why not on others, such as those of Advent and Lent, when the office is less of the Sunday and more of the season than on the Sundays after Epiphany?

Another want of consistency is to be noted in the directions about feasts of con-

fessors: *in omnibus autem festis* saffron is to be used; yet the rule of white in Easter is equally peremptory; all feast-days are to be white. Which are we to follow?

Then as to the week-days following the Sunday "quando de Dominica agitur." In all rites that I have seen the feria is of the same colour as the Sunday, except the feria of Lent in one or two rites; Milan, Colen, and Sens. Here the Sunday colour is violet, and the ferial black; but this is no real difference, violet and black being the same from a liturgical point of view: a statement reiterated by the Milan rubric on colours. As an example of the Sunday dominating the week, there may be noted in the Siguenza colour rubric these expressions: *Albis indumentis utendum est in Dominicis Adventus et iiij. temporibus usque ad natalem Domini. Colore viridi utitur a Dominicâ Deus omnium post octavas Corporis Christi usque ad Adventum, et ab octava Epiphaniæ usque ad Septuagesimam, diebus Dominicis quando fit officium de eis, et in iiij. temporibus.* This rubric clearly means that white is to be the colour for all Sundays and week-days in Advent as much as green for all Sundays and week-days after Trinity.

From rubrics embedded in the Sarum Missal we know, besides, that the priest blessed the ashes on Ash Wednesday in a red cope, that the palms were blessed on Palm Sunday in a red cope, that the penitents were reconciled on Maundy Thursday in a red cope, and that on Good Friday the priest began the office of the Præsanctified in a red chasuble, and that on Easter Eve the last litany was, according to the printed editions, sung in a red cope, though according to several MSS. in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, it was sung by three clerks, the two outer wearing red copes, the one in the midst a white cope. According to another MS. the new fire on Easter Eve was blessed by the priest in a red cope. From these rubrics it has been somewhat hastily inferred that the Sarum Lenten colour was red from Ash Wednesday to Good Friday, and, as a matter of analogy, that the Sarum Advent colour was red also. But to argue in this manner shows very little of the mediæval spirit, but rather a mind which cannot shake off the influence of the Roman rite. Ash Wednesday in the middle ages was not considered ritually a part of Lent. The breviaries show this still: the Lenten hymns and antiphons are not begun until the first Sunday in Lent, the ferial hymns, lessons, and the like, being continued up to the vespers of the first Saturday in Lent. In England, the Lenten veil between the sanctuary and choir was not hung up till then; and in the early Gallican rites the Lenten colour was not assumed until the first Sunday, or even the first Monday. This custom we find in the sequence of the Paris Missal of 1666, the ferial colour (red) being continued from Candlemas, through Septuagesima, to the first Sunday in Lent, when the Lenten ash colour was assumed. Much the same thing was done at Westminster. It seems, therefore, a better explanation of the appearance of red on Ash Wednesday, to suppose that it is the ferial colour, than to imagine that it is the Lenten colour, red being found in no known western rite as the colour of the Quadragesimal ornaments.

But it will be said, from the rule of S. Osmund, we know that the colour was red for the last fortnight of Lent, and surely this is evidence that red was the Lenten colour. This, again, is an argument drawn from Roman analogy. ⁴⁷ Away from Rome, nearly every rite lays aside the Lenten colour for the last fortnight before Easter, and black, brown, or red is worn; so that this argument is useless.

If there be no other evidence, then, to show that red was the Sarum colour for Lent, is there anything else that points out what really was the colour? There appears to be no rubrical evidence whatever. It seems not impossible that Sarum had the same Lenten colour as the Gallican churches, that is, ash-coloured; all over England, even in

the northern province, there may be found in the church inventories mention of grey or white vestments for Lent, with altar frontals and veils of the same colour; and the same thing may be noted in the inventories of parish churches in the old diocese of Sarum.¹

For the colour of the remaining seasons and festivals, not spoken of in the rubrics, there is really not a particle of evidence. It is not too much to say that no man living knows for certain what was the Sarum colour for Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Ascension, Whitsuntide, or Trinity Sunday. And, unfortunately, no good grounds have yet been discovered for forming a reasonable opinion upon these points. Further researches are much needed, both in libraries and in the parish registers of the old Salisbury diocese, to bring more information to light.

The difficulties of an attempt at a restoration are great; and it has been forgotten that a liturgical sequence is not exactly like a fossil brute, of which, one bone being given, it is possible to reconstruct the whole of the beast. Nevertheless, there have been several restorations published, none of which, however, appear to be universally accepted by the Sarum Ritualists.

I. Red is the colour for the whole of the extra-Paschal time, Sundays and week-days, with no variation for Advent, Christmas, or Lent.² This is so unlike any other Western rite, that it may be set down as an impossibility, if analogy is to have any weight with us.

II. As a variety of the foregoing, another restoration has come into use; some one, worn out by the intolerable deal of red in Restoration I. and knowing how ignorant we are of what the mediæval *rubeus* really was, has mercifully suggested the use of three distinct shades of *rubeus*; ordinary red, for ferial days; salmon, for festivals; purple, for Lent and Advent. This is an edifying comment upon the foregoing first restoration, and shows how instructive it is felt to be.

III. Red is preserved as before for most of the extra-Paschal season, but white is allowed from Christmas to Candlemas.³ The great fault here is the retention of red for Advent and Lent. The little evidence that there is for believing that red was the colour for Lent at Sarum has been discussed and found wanting; and red has only been assigned to Advent because it was thought to be the Lenten colour. Besides the saints' days named in the Sarum rubric, white is given in this restoration for the Conversion of S. Paul, and red for the feast of All Saints. With the latter I should agree; but as to the former, the writer shows, as in certain other parts of his book, that Rome still dominates, despite his efforts to free himself from such influence. The early Gallican rites direct red for the Conversion of S. Paul; the modern Gallican, white. This is one of the differences between the Parisian sequences of de Perefice and de Vintimille, which latter seems to be the one that this writer follows.

IV. There is another restoration which was more in vogue fifteen years ago, in the infancy of the Sarum revival, than at present. It simply fills up with the modern Roman colours⁴ what is left unspoken of in the Sarum rubric. Red is kept for every Sunday, but green for the week-days between Trinity and Advent, and violet for the week-days in

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¹ MS. Inventory of S. Mary Chantry, Sarum, "a vestment for Lent of whyte sylke," quoted by Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, *Trans. of the Lond. and Middlesex Archæol. Soc.* vol. iv. 1875, p. 369.

² Clopton Rolfe, *The Ancient Use of Liturgical Colours*, Oxford and London, 1879, p. 208.

³ *Notes on Ceremonial*, London, 1876, p. 91, published anonymously by Pickering.

⁴ W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, London, 1876, 2nd ed. p. 120. See also Charles Walker, *The Liturgy of the Church of Sarum*, London, 1866, 4to, p. 8 of the Preface. But this last learned writer informs the world that in the Sarum rite the fraction took place at the Consecration. ("wafer which the priest broke in two at the consecration," p. 51, note.)

Advent and Lent. This, again, appears contrary to the usage of the rest of Western Christendom; for in all other dioceses the colour of the Sunday is followed on the unoccupied days of the following week. It would appear more reasonable to follow the suggestion of Restoration III. and fill up the unknown parts of Sarum from early Gallican rites, or from the rubrics of Wells, which is closely akin to Sarum. There is said to be a close relation between Rouen and Sarum; but the earliest Rouen Missal that I have seen (1544) gives black for Good Friday, and the later Missals give a modified Roman sequence. Some help might be given by the churches suffragan to Rouen, such as Coutances and Lisieux; and it is in this direction that investigations should be pushed.

V. I do not think that the following variety has been given to print, but I have seen it in use, and it may be instructive as an illustration of the vagaries of the Sarum ritualists. All Sundays in the year, excepting those from Christmas to the octave of the Epiphany, and from Easter to Pentecost are kept in red. Every other day in the year is kept according to the Roman colour. Ash Wednesday, with Passion tide, Maundy Thursday, and Good Friday, are kept in violet, white, and black, respectively; SS. Philip and James and S. Mark in red: the few points about which there are data in the Sarum books being thus carefully forgotten. A more fantastic ritual *olla podrida* was certainly never before devised.

In the face of so many failures, it may seem presumptuous to attempt a restoration; but there can be nothing more monstrous than the last, and in my own speculation I shall rely chiefly upon the evidence given as to the early Gallican rites by Claude Villette,¹ Guyet,² and the Paris sequence of 1666. I choose the early Gallican rites, because of the connexion believed to exist between them and Sarum.

Upon these lines, then, it would appear that white should be the colour of the time from Advent Sunday to Candlemas, both inclusive, red being worn only on the feasts of apostles and martyrs (not, of course, on St. John's Day), the Holy Innocents, and the Conversion of S. Paul. Red is begun on the morrow of Candlemas (whether Septuagesima fall before or not), and worn up to the first Sunday in Lent, exclusive; grey or ash-colour from the first Sunday in Lent to Passion Sunday; red from Passion Sunday to Easter Eve, the Palm Sunday procession being also in red. Maundy Thursday and Good Friday red; the morning of Easter Eve, red; from Easter Eve to Whitsun Eve, white, including feasts of apostles and evangelists and the Rogations; red from Pentecost to Advent, the September Ember days being ash-coloured. All feasts of the Blessed Virgin, the Nativity of S. John the Baptist, and Michaelmas, to be in white; All Saints and Corpus Christi, red; all Ember days, except at Whitsuntide, ash-coloured or white.

Thus, roughly speaking, white would be worn during the winter, from Advent up to Pentecost, with the short exceptions of Septuagesima and the fortnight before Easter; while red would be worn during the summer, from Pentecost to Advent. No one can call this sequence instructive or edifying; but it seems to be the one for which there is the greatest amount of evidence.

A sequence, not at all unlike this in many points, was in use in Westminster Abbey in the thirteenth century. White was worn from Advent to Candlemas, and red, (*subrubeus*) the ferial colour, from Septuagesima to the first Sunday in Lent. The Lenten colour, however, was black, and red was the Passion and Easter colour. White was the colour

¹ Claude Villette, *Les Raisons de l'Office et Ceremonies qui se font en l'Eglise*, Rouen, 1648, p. 86.

² Charles Guyet, *Heortologia*, Urbini, 1728, t. iii. cap. xxix. quæst. 9.

for the Ascension, red or saffron for Whitsuntide, and red for the rest of the year up to Advent.

WESTMINSTER. Richard de Ware was Abbot of Westminster from 1258 to 1283, and caused a customary to be written, which some say was not finished until after the death of Henry III. that is, after 1272. This *Liber Consuetudinarius* was one of the Cotton MSS. injured by the fire of 1731. It is now in the British Museum, (Otho, C. xi.) and has been restored within the last few years so perfectly that it can be read with hardly any trouble. There is a transcript in the Chapter Library at Westminster. Mr. G. G. Scott also possesses a transcript, which, thanks to his courtesy and the aid of my friend Mr. Knight Watson, I have been able to consult.

The following directions are to be found in chapter vi. folio 30 b of the original MS. :

Et sciendum quod de capis et casulis atque dalmaticis secundum dies et festa diversa : color est discernendus, nam in Dominica prima Adventus Domini et in aliis Dominicis ex tunc usque ad Purificationem Beatæ Mariæ vel usque ad Dominicam Septuagesimæ cum ante Purificationem evenerit, sacerdos ad vespervas et hebdomadarius capæ ad missam, albis capis induentur ; atque Sacerdos utriusque missæ, si de Dominica aut de Natali celebrentur alba casula induetur necnon et diaconus et subdiaconus albis casulis sive dalmaticis juxta quod tempori congruit indui debent atque albarum paruræ si habeantur ejusdem debent esse coloris quod similiter est observandum ad missam de vigilia et ad primam et secundam missam de die natalis Domini et ad utramque missam in die circumcisionis et ad missam capitalem in die S. Edwardi et ad utramque missam in octavis ejusdem et ad missam capitalem in die atque ad magnam missam per octavas Epiphaniæ et quotiens usque ad Purificationem missa in conventu de Natali aut de Epiphania vel etiam de Dominica nisi Septuagesimæ intervenerit aut de Beata Maria celebretur, quod videlicet casula sacerdotis tunica et dalmatica ministrorum cum capa in choro et albarum si habeantur paruris albi debent esse coloris nisi cum fuerint capæ ad formam in chori medio aut etiam casula sine dalmatica ad missam bru

Quod insuper ex recta consuetudine est observandum [in] die et per octavas Dominicæ ascensionis et in vigilia atque in die [et infra] octavas Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et assumption[is et] nativitatis beatæ Dei genetricis Mariæ quando de eisdem [fest]ivitatibus celebratur obsequium, nec non et in festo beati Jo[hannis?] videlicet quod hujusmodi indumenta albi coloris esse debent.

Dominica quidem Septuagesimæ et Sexagesimæ ac Quinquagesimæ utramque missam si fuerint de Dominica casula sacerdotis et casul[æ] omnium ministrorum ad magnam missam atque capa in chori [medio?] subrubei coloris esse debent, et casula similiter ad magnam missam privatis diebus infra idem tempus : quæ quidem indumenta a Dominica prima Quadragesimæ usque ad Dominicam in Passione Domini tam dominicis quam privatis diebus omnino nigri, seu quasi nigri coloris erunt ; quibus etiam albarum parura si habeatur in colore convenient.

In die vero et infra octavas Pentecostes et infra octavas Trinitatis predicta diebus quibus brudata non sunt scintillata aut rubea, vel etiam crocei aut glauci coloris.

Dominica vero in passione Domini et ex tunc usque ad Ascensionem atque in ceteris dominicis per annum exceptis tantum modo prelibatis quando scilicet de dominicis agitur et in decollatione S. Johannis Baptistæ et in utroque festo beati Regis Edwardi et beati Thomæ archipræsulis aliorumque martirum utriusque sexus erunt omnino rubea aut etiam subrubea aut etiam hujusce modi indumenta

In festo autem beati Johannis ante portam Latinam capæ cantorum ad vespervas albi coloris erunt et capæ sacerdotum crocei sive glauci coloris.

It will be noted that this gives a tolerably complete account of the colours for the seasons, but for such festivals as Corpus Christi, Michaelmas, and All Saints, the colours are wanting. There was an inventory taken at the time of the Dissolution, now preserved in the Land Revenue Record Office, which has been published by Mr. Mackenzie Walcott,¹ and part of which is very useful, both for comparison and to supply deficiencies.

For Lent we find various colours:—

Page 327.—*Lent Stuff*.—A Travers of grene sylk.

A yellowe awter clothe with the iiij. Evaungelysts.

Page 328.—ij. drawyng perpull curteyns for the vayle afore the highe awlter.

Page 345.—A white clothe of sylk with a red crosse servyng for Lent.

iiij. chezabulls of whyte one sute and a cope.

Page 354.—In S. John the Evangelist's Chapel were found "ij. Cortens of blew bokeram for Lent. j. whit cloth for the auter for Lent;" but in this chapel were found a secular (*i.e.* Sarum) Missal and a Missal of the Place Use. So also (p. 369) white vestments for Lent were found in S. Stephen's Chapel; but this was a royal foundation, and Sarum was in use.

Page 350.—In S. Edward's Chapel, "a nether frounte of white sarsenett with a redde crosse for the same alter for Lent."

There thus seems plenty of evidence that white was used in Lent before the Dissolution, though Abbot Ware orders black or quasi-black, which would include blue, and probably, also, ash-coloured, which the middle ages included among the secondary colours of the cardinal colour black.

Page 332.—A cope and iiij. chezabulls of purpull satten servyng for Good Friday ffor Palme Sondag.

Page 329.—"Crymsyn bawdekyn" for Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday.

Red is ordered for Passiontide by Abbot Ware. Purpull and red are, no doubt, the same.

Page 332.—"A tunycle of red satten for the Skons berar on Easter Evyn; ij. other tunycles of dyvers collors oon to hallowe the Pascall and the other for hym that beryth the Dragon on Easter Evyn."

Red is the colour for Easter up to the Ascension, according to Abbot Ware.

Page 331.—A suit of vestments "of course crymsyn satten" for Sundays.

Page 342.—*Curttteyns*.—A nother payr of crymsyn tartarne for cotidyans.

Red was certainly the ferial colour in Abbot Ware's time; but at p. 332 we find "a chezabull of grene dyapur bawdkyn" "when the Quire dothe fery." If this mean that green was used as a ferial colour, it is a change from the time of Abbot Ware. Green was used for principal vigils (pp. 326, 327) and perhaps other fast days, as Ember Days, and this may be the choir doing fery.

Red was used for apostles (p. 331), and we know that martyrs were to be red (*subrubea aut etiam hujuscemodi*) in Abbot Ware's time. We find (p. 330) purple with orphreys of blue for S. Lawrence, and red and blue for S. Alban's Day (p. 331).

¹ Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, 1875, vol. iv. p. 113.

At p. 331 we find vestments of "blewe bawdekyn," serving for "some confessors in three copys," and "darke changeable grene bawdkyn" for S. Benedict, and (p. 333) "iiij. yellow caddas" copes and ij. of russet for the first iiij. days of the octaves of S. Edward's translation, and at p. 331, a suit of vestments of "blew satten" for the octave of S. Edward. At p. 342 there are green sarsenet curtains for S. Edward's days.

Thus blue, green, and yellow were used for confessors at Westminster; green for the founder of the order; blue for the founder of the church. It is the translation in October here spoken of, for S. Edward's Day at Christmas was kept in white. The S. Edward spoken of by Abbot Ware as having red for his colour, is S. Edward the King and Martyr. Green was used (p. 330) for S. Mary Magdalen; a complete set of (p. 331) yellow vestments for S. John before the Latin Gate, and a set of vestments of "blewe sarsenett" and a pair of blue curtains (p. 330) for Michaelmas Day.

At p. 330 red is given as the colour for Holy Rood Day.

Black was the colour for requiem. (p. 334.)

YORK. There is no complete sequence of colours in the York books; and I am indebted to the notes of the learned editor of the *York Missal and Manual*,¹ Dr. Henderson, for the greater part of my information as to the York colours.

Blodius appears to have been the colour of a suit of vestments for Advent and Septuagesima, as well as for a veil for S. Peter in Lent, so that it becomes likely that *blodius* was the colour at York for both Advent and Lent. A rubric exists, directing one of the lessons and the tract on the Ember Saturday in Advent to be sung in red copes (*capis sericis rubeis*). Probably *rubeus* meant the same as *blodius*, whatever either may have been.

White was the colour for Christmas, being the colour for the mass *in aurora*, and on the sixth day after Christmas, the only unoccupied day in the octave. This may have continued in use up to Candlemas.

Blodius, we have seen, was the colour for Septuagesima; this also was continued into Lent, both for the vestments themselves and for the coverings of the images; in the inventory we find "a blew vestment with two dalmatickes (N.B. not chasubles) for Lent;" but we also find from the same source that white was the Lenten colour at York as well as in the rest of England. The ash-colour may have been adopted after the first Sunday in Lent.

On Palm Sunday the colour for the procession was white; the priest, also, who bore the Blessed Sacrament from the archbishop's house to the church, wore a cope of cloth of silver; but the colour of the mass is not expressed. On Maundy Thursday, at mass, the festival vestments were worn, but their colour is not given; probably they were white. On Good Friday, the prelate wore a chasuble, the ministers only albes; and the lessons in the early part of the service and the tract were read by priests in black copes, that is, the ordinary dress.

The new fire on Easter Eve was blessed by a priest in a white cope, and at the beginning of the *Alleluia* the black copes of the choir were laid aside, and the office finished in surplices. It would thus seem highly probable that the Easter colour at York was white. If so, white would be worn in all likelihood from Easter Eve to Whitsun Eve.

As to Pentecost, the manuscript *York Missal* in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, says that the *Alleluia* on the vigil is sung by two vicars in white copes as on Easter Eve. Can this be looked upon as evidence that the colour for Whitsuntide at York was white?

¹ *York Missal*, published by the Surtees Society, 1874, vol. i. p. xix. and the *York Manual*, 1875, p. xxii.

The colour for Corpus Christi was probably white, as the colour for the procession on Palm Sunday was white.

Green was the ferial colour for the summer, as a York will bequeaths *unum vestimentum viride pro æstate*.

Green was also the colour for the feast of relics. Was green therefore the colour for All Saints?

White was the colour for the feasts of S. Mary; the procession at Candlemas was white.

For other festivals the colours are rather uncertain. In 1378 the altar of S. Paulinus and S. Chad in York Minster had "unum vestimentum pro festis duplicibus de rubeo sateyn," and Dr. Henderson thinks that all doubles were therefore red. But there is an objection to this that in Edward VI's. time there were four green copes for doubles. I would venture to suggest, with all the deference that is due to Dr. Henderson's special knowledge, that red is perhaps not the colour for all doubles, but only for certain doubles, say martyrs; and in the same way that green is not for all, but for certain, doubles, say of bishops or confessors. It would be very unlike what we know of other rites to suppose that all doubles were of one colour.

Dr. Henderson also thinks that blue was used for feasts not doubles, as Sundays and feasts of ix. lections; blue being the festival, and green the ferial, colour. But at another altar we find also a white vestment for Sundays. I would suggest that in these cases the vestments are spoken of as for Sundays, and doubles, and lesser feasts, not so much owing to their colour as to the greater or less amount of embroidery or some other circumstance which fitted them for the festival or feria.

On reviewing the little that we know of the York colours, they would seem to have more affinity with the sequence of certain monastic orders, as the Benedictines, Dominicans, and Carmelites than with any other; that is to say, they are Innocentian at bottom. They certainly have no kindred with the Sarum; the difference is well shown in the ferial and eucharistic colours. Canon Simmons, who is as well able to form an opinion as any living man, thinks that the Gregorian rite was introduced direct into York by Alcuin without filtering through Normandy.¹

WELLS. The following is taken from a MS. copy of the Statutes of Wells, written out in Archbishop Laud's time, and preserved in Lambeth Palace Library (MS. No. 729.) This volume is about to be published under the editorship of the Rev. Herbert Edward Reynolds, librarian of Exeter Cathedral:

Kalendarium de coloribus vestimentorum utendis et variandis prout festa et tempora totius anni requirunt in Ecclesia Wellensi.

Dominicus primus Adventus Domini et per totum Adventum quando chorus regitur sint omnia media nisi tantum feria quarta quatuor temporum ad missam diaconus et subdiaconus vestimentis albis induantur.

In die natalis Domini omnia alba preter in secunda missa.

Sancti Stephani Martyris omnia rubea.

Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ omnia media et alba.

¹ Simmons, *Lay Folks Mass Book*, Early English Text Society, 1879, p. 353.

Sanctorum Innocentium omnia rubea.
 Sancti Thomæ Martyris omnia rubea,
 Sancti Sylvestri omnia virida et crocea.

In festo circumcisionis Domini principales Rectores sint in vestimentis albis, et alii sacerdotibus in vestimentis rubeis: ad Magnificat et Benedictus primum rubeum et aliud album: ad missam tres rectores principales in rubeis, et duo secundares una in albis vestimentis et aliam rubeis.

In Oct. S. Stephani sicut in die.
 „ S. Johannis Apostoli „
 „ SS. Innocentium „
 „ S. Thomæ M. „

In Epiphania Domini et per octavam et in octava sicut in die Natalis Domini omnia in albis.

Dominica prima prius Octavam Epiphaniæ usque ad Septuagesimam quando de tempore agitur omnia erunt rubea.

Dominica in Septuagesima usque ad Passionem Domini quando de tempore agitur omnia [*verbum deest.*]

Dominica in passione omnia rubea. Dominica in Ramis Palmarum omnia in rubeis, excepto una capa de nigris ad opus Caiaphæ.

In die Cœnæ omnia rubea tum vexillo de albo.

Feria sexta in parasceve vestimentis rubeis Diaconus et subdiaconus vestimentis sive purpura.

Sabbato in vigilia paschæ omnia rubea.

In die paschæ omnia sunt rubea.

Feria secunda	}	omnia rubea
„ tertia		
„ quarta		
„ quinta		
„ sexta		
Sabbato		

Dominica in albis omnia in albis vestimentis.

Omnibus Dominicis ab octava paschæ usque ad Ascensionem Domini quando de temporali agitur omnia in vestimentis rubeis.

In Vigilia Ascensionis et in die et per octavam et in octava et etiam Dominica infra octavam tam in vestimentis quam in altare omnia in albis.

Dominica post octavam Ascensionis omnia rubea.

In Vigilia Pentecostes et in die omnia in vestimentis rubei coloris et per totam hebdomadam sequentem.

In die Sanctæ Trinitatis omnia rubea.

Feria quinta post festum Sanctæ Trinitatis videlicet in festo Corporis Christi omnia rubea.

UVA. BHSC. LEG. 11-1 n°0847

Dominica prima post festum Sanctæ Trinitatis et in omnibus Dominicis usque ad Adventum Domini quando de temporali agitur omnia in vestimentis rubeis.

In dedicatione ecclesiæ media et alba.

A few pages on, there follows a calendar with the colours opposite each festival. I choose some of the more important:—

Conversio Pauli	omnia rubea
Cathedra S. Petri	omnia viridia et crocea
Annunciatio Dominica	omnia alba
Inventio Sti. (<i>sic</i>) Crucis	omnia rubea
Johannis ante Portam Latinam	omnia alba
Translatio S. Edwardi	omnia crocea
S. Petroci	omnia india
Natalis S. Johannis	omnia india
S. Mariæ Magd.	omnia viridia et crocea
S. Annæ	omnia viridia et crocea
Ad Vincula S. Petri	omnia viridia et crocea
Decollatio S. Johannis	omnia rubea
Sancti Michaelis	omnia india et alba
Omnium Sanctorum	omnia rubea et alba

Memorandum quod regulariter quando agitur de Apostolo vel Martyro omnia sunt rubea.

Quande de Confessore omnia india et virida mixtum sicut honestius et magis proprie possunt adoptari festo.

Quando de virgini non martyro omnia erunt alba.

Quando de virgine et martyro rubea et alba.

Also : Memorandum quoties et quandocunque agitur pro defunctis omnia erunt nigra et simplicia, licet agatur pro rege vel episcopo.

The colour for the Blessed Virgin was white ; so also the prayers for peace. Commemoration of the Holy Ghost or of S. Andrew, the patron of Wells, was always to be in red.

This sequence has a great affinity to what is known of the Sarum. Witness especially the ferial, eucharistic, and Good Friday colours ; it differs from the Sarum chiefly in the use of red for Easter.

LINCOLN. When the see of this, the largest diocese in England, stretching from the Humber to the Thames, was moved from Dorchester to Lincoln, the books were ordered to be *juxta ritum Ecclesiæ Rothomagensis*.¹ This would lead one to expect a likeness in the Lincoln colours to those of Rouen, but I have not been fortunate enough to see an early Rouen sequence.

Mr. Bradshaw has kindly pointed out to me the following passage in the *Lincoln Liber Niger*, written between 1258 and 1279, which touches on the Lincoln colours.

Quomodo capæ variantur colore secundum quod varia festa postulant.

Post hæc faciat sacrista vel suus clericus magnum altare cum ornamentis præparari tali altari decentibus pro festo solempni. Deinde etiam capas præparat sericas pro chorum regentibus et videat quod capæ sint sicut postulant festa ; scilicet si martyr sit cujuscunque fuerit gradus (sive apostolus, sive evangelista, sive virgo) capæ sericæ rubeæ sint pro majori parte : si confessor, viridis coloris sive fuscæ : si matrona sive sponsa, crocei coloris ; et illis capis debent principales chorum regentes quia a principali denominandum est unumquodque.

This, so far as it goes, agrees with the gifts of Sir Thomas Cumberworth in 1440 to

¹ *Statuta Eccles. Cathed. Lincoln.* 1873, p. 3, quoted by Canon Simmons, *Lay Folks Mass Book* (E. E. T. S. 1879), p. xxxiv. of Introduction.

a chapel in the diocese of Lincoln. Amongst others, there were given white vestments to be used for feasts of our Lady and for her virgins, black for requiem and confessors; red for martyrs; white for Lent, vigils, and ferial days.¹ This last, probably, does not mean that white was the ordinary ferial colour, but that it was used on such days as Ember days and vigils when the prayers were said *flexis genibus*. The multitude of holy days in the early calendars made it rare for days to be unoccupied.

There is in the British Museum a sixteenth-century MS. thought by Dr. Henderson to be of Lincoln use. (Additional MSS. 21, 974.) This gives the Sarum colour rubric as in the printed editions, but with the addition of white for the nativity of S. John the Baptist and for virgins. If this MS. be admitted as one of the use of the diocese of Lincoln, which seems doubtful, it will be some evidence that although the Sarum rubric for colours appears in the books of the Lincoln diocese, yet it was not acted upon; for the colour for confessors was saffron according to Sarum, while in actual use in Lincoln black is found. Red was used in 1536 for Good Friday and ferial days.

CHICHESTER. It is recorded that in 1480 the four liturgical colours were in use in one of the north chapels of Chichester Cathedral: red, black, white, and green.²

HEREFORD. The MS. Ordinale (Harleian, 2983.) and the printed edition (Rouen, 1502.) of the Missal in the British Museum give but few of the rubrics as to colours, but they hardly differ in what they say. For a modern reprint of this most important Missal, the student is again indebted to the unceasing labours of Dr. Henderson.

On Palm Sunday two priests in black copes sang *Circumdederunt* just before the procession entered the choir: *Postea duo Sacerdotes in capis nigris, velatis capitibus et demissis vultibus in terram subtus Crucifixum humili voce cantent Responsorium.* On Good Friday two priests in red chasubles brought the veiled cross to the altar, singing *popule meus*, while two others in black silk copes, standing in the midst of the choir, answered, *Agios*.

On All Souls Day the *executor officii in albis revestitus et desuper capa de nigra samita indutus* began the solemn commendation.

DURHAM. The British Museum contains the MS. of a Durham Missal (Harl. 5289.) of the fourteenth century; but though it contains tolerably full rubrics as to the vestments of the prior or other priest saying the office, yet I have been unable to find any directions as to the colours of the vestments.

EXETER. In Leofric's *Sacramentary*, the altars on Maundy Thursday are to be stripped by persons in *planetis fuscis*. The same direction is found in the *Ordo Romanus* of Hittorpius, and it is said that the two documents very closely resemble each other. Mr. Warren, the editor of Leofric's *Sacramentary*, tells me this is the only allusion to colours in the manuscript.

The following are the Exeter colours, taken from Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale*, the date of which is said to be about 1337, and for a copy of which I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. Herbert Edward Reynolds, librarian of Exeter Cathedral:

UVA. BHSC. LEG.11-1 n°0847

¹ Edward Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, London, 1866, p. 182.

² Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, *Archæologia*, 1877, vol. xlv. p. 171, note.

XXIII. DE VARIACIONE COLORIS VESTIMENTORUM.

Colores vestimentorum sunt quatuor vel sex varietates iuxta morem curie romane videlicet . candidus . rubeus . viridis . seu . croceus . violacius . blanus vel niger. Et quilibet horum colorum ita considerandus est . si maior pars qui campus panni dicitur huius fuerit quamvis auro vel alio colore fuerit permixtus . unde quilibet horum colorum est utendus prout infra hic continetur. Ita tamen quod auro mixta et nobiliora maioribus festis suo loco . et plana simpliciora in festis simplicioribus induantur. Tamen si valde preciosa et aspectu pulchra utpote ymaginibus debrondata vel variis coloribus singulariter adornata habeantur vestimenta . eisdem in festis precipuis maioribus est utendum. Ceteris vero predictis coloribus utendum est hoc modo videlicet. Dominica prima in adventu usque ad vigiliam natalis Domini inclusive violaciis est utendum. Similiter a septuagesima usque ad cenam Domini vel secundum quosdam usque ad dominicam in passione. In die eciam parasceves usque post oraciones solempnes dictas et in vigilia pasche et pentecostes tantum dum lecciones et tractus dicuntur . necnon in rogacionibus et aliis ieiuniis ecclesie per annum et in processionibus vel missis pro quacumque tribulacione atque in decolacione Sancti Iohannis Baptiste quia ad limbum descendit violacio colore eo quod sit lividus et ad nigredinem tendens est utendum. Ita tamen quod si sint aliquae auro mixtae in dominica prima et tertia adventus et dominica quarta in quadragesima specialiter induantur. ¶ Ab octavis vero epiphaniae usque ad septuagesimam quociens de tempore agitur viridibus est utendum. Et eodem modo a prima dominica post trinitatem usque ad adventum Domini quociens de Dominicis vel feriis agitur est faciendum . nisi in vigiliis sanctorum et quatuor temporibus septembris quando violaciis induantur. ¶ In die natalis domini in festo Sancti Iohannis ewangeliste et sexta die a Natale Domini et in die Circumcisionis secundum quosdam et in octavis Sancti Iohannis ewangeliste et in vigilia ac festo et per octabas epiphaniae et in purificatione ac omnibus aliis festis beate marie et eiusdem octavis et Commemoracionibus. Item in Cena domini quando episcopus consecrat crisma albis alias rubeis. In vigilia eciam pasche nisi dum lecciones et Tractus dicuntur qui tunc violaciis. Et in die pasche et ab hinc usque ad octavam Ascensionis. In Nativitate eciam Sancti Iohannis Baptiste et quando de eo per octavam agitur. In festo eciam Sancti Gabrielis et in omnibus festis Sancti Michaelis. Similiter in omnibus festis virginum non martirum semper vestimentis albis seu candidis est utendum. ¶ In vigilia vero pentecostes post lecciones et tractus sacerdos rubea capa ad fontes benedicendos ac deinceps ipse cum suis ministris ad missam et post ea ad vespervas et per totam ebdomadam pentecostes usque ad vespervas sabbati sequentis et in festo Sancte Crucis necnon in omnibus festis apostolorum ewangelistarum ac martirum et per eorum octavas quando de eis agitur. Et secundum quosdam infra passionem et in Cena Domini . si Episcopus non celebrat . vestimentis rubeis est utendum. ¶ Tamen in conversione Sancti Pauli et in Cathedra Sancti Petri et aliis duplicibus festis quibusdam sanctorumque infra adventum vel septuagesimam usque ad pascha contingunt. Et in festo marie magdalene secundum quosdam vestimentis indici id est aerei coloris vel blani si pulchra habeantur non inconvenienter indui

possent. In festo tamen Magdalene quidam albis quidam croceis utuntur. ¶ In festo autem trinitatis si habeantur pulchra viridia vestimenta cum capis et tunicis et dalmaticis in numero sufficienti ad tantum festum . eis est utendum . alias alba totaliter vel candida assumantur. ¶ In festo vero corporis Christi et per octavas propter similitudinem panis et vini et corporis et sanguinis ihesu Christi et qui candidus est et rubicundus . mixtum candidis simul et rubeis est utendum. Ita videlicet quod duo principales rectores utantur candidis et duo alii secundarii rubeis. Sacerdos vero qui exequitur officium candidis tam ad missam quam ad vespas et collateralis suus ad thurificandum rubea et ad missam diaconi rubeis et subdiaconi albis et modo quo conveniencius album et rubeum equaliter dividi poterunt induantur. Eodem modo fiat de virginibus martiribus. ¶ In festo vero omnium sanctorum et reliquiarum et Dedicacionis ecclesie omnibus coloribus indifferenter ita tamen quod candidum et rubeum preponantur ad libitum est utendum. ¶ Generaliter ergo ut ex predictis patet in festis Apostolorum. Ewangelistarum et martirum rubeis est utendum. In festis vero confessorum croceis vel viridibus qui pro eodem habentur. In festis virginum et martirum partim albis partim rubeis vel eisdem coloribus mixtis. In festis virginum non martirum totaliter albis. In adventu et septuagesima et quadragesima necnon vigiliis sanctorum et quatuor temporibus extra pentecostis et rogacionibus vestimentis violaciis. In dominicis vero inter epiphaniam et septuagesimam et omnibus dominicis per estatem et quando de tempore tunc agitur, viridibus est utendum. ¶ Nigro vero colore in die parasceves post adoratam crucem et in omnibus exequiis mortuorum et similiter propter defectum violaciorum loco eorumdem est utendum. Tamen in solempnibus exequiis mortuorum et eciam sepulturis eorum satis congrue violacio colore est utendum. Si autem aliqua alia vestimenta varii et incerti coloris forte habeantur, iuxta iudicium seniorum secundum eorum pulcritudinem et valorem in usum ponantur aliis vestimentis interim parcendo. Et in virtute obediencie bene et munde custodiantur omnia vestimenta. Ita quod quater in anno in fine cuiuslibet termini supervideantur Per Thesaurarium vel subthesaurarium et que disuta et lacerata fuerint reconsuantur et que linea sunt et sordida laventur.

It will appear immediately that the Use of Exeter as to colours was followed in the metropolitical see of Canterbury and the hardly less important see of London.

LONDON. In a manuscript Pontifical of Bishop Clifford of London (1406—1426) preserved among the MSS. of Archbishop Parker at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, appear the following directions for colours :

De colore vestimentorum secundum Romanam Curiam quando et quotiens per annum variis coloribus in ecclesia utendum est. *DVA BHSC LEG. 11-1 n°0847*

De albo colore.

Albus color inter omnes colores est prior purior simplicior et festivior. Ideo utendus in die natalis Domini propter virginis partum. Et in die Sancti Johannis

Evangelistæ et Virginis. Et sexta die in natale. Et in die circumcisionis; et in octava Sancti Johannis. In vigilia, in die, et per totas octavas Epiphaniæ. In purificatione et omnibus festis et commemorationibus et octavis Beatæ Mariæ. In die Cœnæ Domini propter consecrationem chrismatismatis et institutionem eucharistiæ et lotionem pedum. Et in vigilia Paschæ et per totas octavas et in omnibus dominicis et feriis usque ad Ascensionem propter renatos et gaudium resurrectionis. Et in die et per octavas Ascensionis propter duos viros in albis assistentes. Et in festo nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ et per octavas ejusdem propter ejus munditiam. Et in festo et per octavas Eucharistiæ; quia candor est lucis æternæ. Et in die Sanctæ Trinitatis. In festis etiam angelorum et virginum. Et secundum Romanam curiam in festo omnium sanctorum albis est utendum; et etiam in dedicatione ecclesiæ et per octavas propter nuptias Christi et ecclesiæ.

De rubeo colore.

Rubeus color igneus est et sanguineus: caritati Spiritus et effusioni sanguinis consimilis. Ideo in vigilia et in die et per hebdomadam Pentecostes usque ad festum Sanctæ Trinitatis: et in festis omnium apostolorum et evangelistarum et omnium martyrum per totum annum: præter decollationem S. Johannis Baptistæ et festum SS. Innocentium, quando secundum Romanum morem violaceis utendum; quia ad limbum descenderunt. In octava tamen SS. Innocentium quia octava resurrectionem significat rubeis indumentis est utendum. Et similiter in utroque festo Sanctæ Crucis et commemorationibus ejusdem quia Christi sanguine est sanctificata.

De croceo colore.

Croceus color aspectu est maturus et medius inter album et rubeum, auro similis fulgenti. Ideo in omnibus festis confessorum et secundum quosdam in festo Magdalene croceis est utendum vestimentis. Tamen ecclesia Romana albis utitur in festo confessorum.

De violaceo colore.

Violaceus vel purpureus fuscus et obscurus de visu disparsus, pœnitentiæ et despectus mundi est indicativus. Ideo in dominica prima adventus Domini propter tempus anxie expectationis. Et omnibus diebus ferialibus quando de tempore agitur usque ad vespas in vigilia nativitatis Domini: et a vespas in Sabbato Septuagesimæ quando clauditur *alleluia* usque ad cœnam Domini; vel secundum quasdam ecclesias usque ad dominicam in Passione; et in Rogationibus et Quatuor Temporibus, extra hebdomadam Pentecostes, et in omnibus vigiliis sanctorum, propter tempus pœnitentiæ, purpureis vel violaceis est utendum. Et nota, quod purpureus et violaceus color pro eodem tenetur.

De viridi colore.

Viridis color vividus est et visu jocundus atque confortaturus. Illis igitur temporibus congruit quibus fides incarnationis et infantie Salvatoris, necnon fides Sanctæ Trinitatis recolitur: quia justus ex fide vivit et virescit pariter et resurget. Ideo in omnibus dominicis et feriis ab octava Epiphaniæ usque ad Septuagesimam et a festo Sanctæ Trinitatis usque ad Adventum per totam æstatem quando de tempore agitur, vestimentis viridibus est utendum. Et sciendum quod color croceus et viridis pro eodem reputatur.

UVA. BHSC. LEG. 11-1 n°0847

De nigro colore.

Niger color lugubris est et novissimus. Ideo utendum est eo in commemoratione animarum et quotiens agitur de mortuis. Et in die parasceves nigris est utendum. Tamen videtur convenientius in die parasceves usque post orationes solemnes rubeis uti et postea nigris. Et sciendum est quod secundum quosdam color violaceus et niger pro eodem habentur.

Tamen in ecclesia Exon. in tribus festis utuntur indifferenter omnibus coloribus simul, sicut in festo omnium sanctorum et reliquiarum et dedicationis ecclesiæ.

There is another Pontifical in the British Museum (Lansdowne, 451) of the fourteenth century, which Dr. Henderson assigns to London, and says "would refer only to the Use of S. Paul's, so far as it referred to any Use at all." It has, however, been assigned by some to Evesham and by others to Exeter, notwithstanding that it contains a promise by the abbess of obedience to the Bishop of London. This Pontifical contains a rubric on colours almost identical with that of Bishop Clifford's Pontifical. A few verbal changes only are to be noted, the most important being that under *De viridi colore* the word *mundus* appears instead of *vividus*; *vividus*, to me, being a distinctly better reading; and that, at the end, the contraction for *nostra* is inserted between *ecclesia* and *Exon*.

It would thus appear that these colours were in use at London during the fourteenth century, before the adoption of the Sarum Breviary by Bishop Clifford in 1414; if so, they would be part of the "antiquas observantias" which Clement Maydeston tells us were retained at S. Paul's.

CANTERBURY. At Trinity College, Cambridge, is preserved a Pontifical of Archbishop Chichele (1414-1443) in the index of contents of which appears the following entry: *De colore vestimentorum secundum Romanam Ecclesiam*, etc. And, corresponding to this, appears a direction almost identical with that of the Lansdowne MS. Pontifical just spoken of, and with the same ending of *Ecclesia nostra Exon*.

Some pages farther on is an *Ordinarium*, and mingled with the other rubrics is the colour rubric of Sarum, with the additions as in the MS. spoken of above. (Add. MSS. 21,974.)

Dart gives Canterbury Inventories which would correspond with the use of the colours described in the long rubric, that is, they show black, purple, red, white, green, and saffron; and further, it is added that red was used for martyrs, and green chasubles for confessors;¹ this agrees, because according to the rubric: *color croceus et viridis pro eodem reputatur*.

The colour rubrics in these last four MSS. are almost identical, and are evidently derived from a source akin to the Innocentian sequence, though they are by no means the same as that sequence or as the modern Roman sequence. This common source was probably some English document of the thirteenth or twelfth century, which has not yet been discovered; and this, again, in its turn, may have come from Rouen in the times following the Norman conquest. *V.A. BHSC. LEG. 11-1 n°0847*

These English sequences differ among themselves, however, not only in their arrangement but in a few minor points. For example: Bishop Grandisson gives green as the desirable colour for Trinity Sunday; the Pontificals white. Bishop Grandisson gives white for Maundy Thursday if the bishop celebrate, otherwise red; the Pontificals white only.

¹ Dart, *Canterbury*, 1726, London, appendix vi.

At Exeter, the Conversion of S. Paul and S. Peter's Chair, with other saints' days falling in Advent or Septuagesima, are to be *aerius vel blanus*, but the Pontificals say nothing about this.

It has been said that these rubrics are no authority for local usage inasmuch as they occur in Pontificals. Martene, however, frequently quotes MS. Pontificals in evidence of local usage; so that the opinion of this great Ritualist would be rather in favour of Pontificals being evidence of local use. Then it is said that they are merely *secundum Curiam Romanam*; but this is no valid objection; all the western rites, Sarum included, are *secundum Curiam Romanam*, and the Exeter sequence varies more from the Innocentian sequence than the Sarum Canon does from the Roman Canon.

I must own that, as far as I have gone, I can see no grounds for believing that there was any common English sequence before the Sarum books spread over the country. It seems likely that each diocese followed its own customs in ceremonies, whether the Sarum books were adopted or not; and that these ceremonies were the use of the cathedral church, which again was determined by the bishop with the consent of the chapter.

So far from there being any general agreement in England as to the use of colours, the only point on which I find the inventories of parishes unanimous is the use of grey or white in the Lenten season, and it is likely that this ash-colour for Lent was tolerably widely distributed all over England up to the time of the Reformation, as the inventories so often speak of simple white vestments for Lent with orphreys of black or red, and white or grey frontals and hangings for the high altar.

If indeed it were known that there was one sequence of colours spread over England in the two hundred years before the Reformation, the chances seem in favour of this common sequence having been that of Exeter. Its appearance in three several Pontificals points to this.¹

To come to a practical matter. How shall we decide the question, now so often put to us, what sequence of colours shall be used? If the church chance to be in any of the old dioceses whose colours are known, the question is decided. But outside of these dioceses, what shall be followed? There is no authority for using Sarum; for the ancient Sarum colours had no authority outside the diocese of Sarum, and we do not even approximately know what these ancient Sarum colours were. The modern Sarum colours are a mere restoration, and no consideration whatever need be shown to such; they are only interesting as telling us what the men of the nineteenth century think about Sarum. All the restorations yet proposed have a great flaw, considered as ceremonies, namely, that they teach nothing; and the dispute about the Sarum colours is really becoming narrowed to a very small issue: shall symbolical colours continue to be used in the Church of England or not? We may of course laugh heartily with the Eastern Patriarch at the folly of the whole question; but so long as men are so weak as to use white at weddings and black at funerals, so long it will be worth considering whether something may not be taught by means of colours. He who uses the Sarum colours throws away his chance of

UVA, BHSC, LEG.11-1 n°0847

¹ It is very commonly said that the Eucharistic office of Edward VI's first prayer book was a translation of the Sarum Missal; or at least derived in great part from it. This theory does not explain the appearance in King Edward's first book of the word *introit*, a name unknown to the Anglican books, which always speak of *officium*. The words of the administration of the sacrament, also, seem to be derived from no native Missal, but rather from a foreign source. It is noteworthy that the earliest Reformers thus showed a freedom from the fetters of Sarum which are now again sought to be imposed on us.

teaching by means of colours. He practically uses but one or two colours¹ all the year round, employing no sequence, very much like the Eastern Church. Some of the supporters of Sarum have felt how much they were thus crippling themselves, for they have introduced different shades of red for different seasons, and tried to vary their uniformity by using highly ornamented or plain vestments, with orphreys coloured black, or green, or gold, according to the time of year. Such small changes, however, will often fail to be noticed by those whom it is most wished to strike. But to be consistent the partisans of Sarum ought to discard the use of decorations, flowers, and, in fact, anything that appeals to the eye.

Lately, however, there has been an attempt to take the question in dispute out of the hands of antiquaries and ritualists, and to carry it into the domain of sentiment and perhaps expediency. Some of the arguments used can hardly be seriously meant. For example, it is said that there are three colours in the Union Jack, red, white, and blue, and that these three colours are found largely represented in the Church inventories of the sixteenth century. A moment's reflection upon the history of the flag, its first appearance as the red cross of S. George on a white field, and the successive additions of the cross of S. Andrew in James I.'s reign, and of S. Patrick's in George III.'s reign, will show how much influence the Union Jack can have had on the colours in use in the reign of Edward VI.

There is another argument of the same sort, if it be worthy of the name of an argument, that would make us have red in our churches (*risum teneatis*), because the British army is clothed in red. Now red has been used by soldiers before the name of England was heard of; but it so happens that red only began to be worn by English soldiers in the time of the Commonwealth, a fact to which Lord Macaulay and the first Duke of Wellington bear witness.² As we are for the moment in the realms of sentiment, it may be thought strange if English Churchmen should choose as a predominant colour one which, until quite modern times, had no claim to be considered national, but might rather be thought the emblem of the old Puritan Commonwealth, or even now-a-days of the Socialist red Republic. Rather let us say with good George Herbert: *et triumphat Albion albo*.

But if a choice has to be made of some sequence for an English diocese, what shall be done? I should have little hesitation in recommending the Exeter sequence, or the colours of Bishop Clifford's Pontifical, because there is evidence that this sequence had spread into several English dioceses, and further, it is highly practical and instructive. The Innocentian colours undoubtedly teach the most; and of the many varieties of the Innocentian sequence which I have seen, none is better than the sequence of Bishop Clifford, which among other improvements allows a different and more sombre colour for the last fortnight of Lent. No one can be reproached for not being English when he follows the use of the English Pontificals, and he will have the satisfaction of reflecting that he is throwing away no chance of the edification of the faithful when there is set forth before them a sequence, one of the most easy to understand that Christendom has ever seen.

¹ This, I am told, has been made another argument for the use of the Sarum colours, on the ground of their economy; but surely cheapness ought not to be a prevailing motive in our material worship.

² Sir Sibbald David Scott, *The British Army*, London, 1868, vol. ii. p. 449.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Special treatises on the Liturgical Colours appear to be few in number. I here give all that I have seen or heard of, marking with an asterisk the works which I have not myself personally inspected.

- * Krausen, *Dissertatio de Colore Sacro, speciatim Vestibus Sacerdotalis (sic.)* Wittemberg, 1707.
 Malais, *Des Couleurs liturgiques*, Dieppe, 1879. 2me éd. A comparison of some of the Gallican colours.
 Piazza, Carlo Bartolomeo, *l'Iride sagra*, Roma, 1682. Seen in Ambrosian Library, Milan; an explanation of the meaning of the five modern Roman colours.
 C. C. Rolfe, *The Ancient Use of Liturgical Colours*, Oxford and London, 1879. A sort of ecclesiastical romance, which asserts that the Liturgical Colours are Mosaic in origin, but shows no appreciation of the difficulties which surround the proof of such a matter.
 * Suarès, Joseph Maria, *de Crocea Veste Cardinalium in conclavi*, Romæ, 1670, in 4to.

To avoid repetition, I have arranged in alphabetical order the dioceses and orders of whose colours I have spoken in Part II. with the authorities which I have for the statements that I have made.

- Agram, capital of Croatia: *Missale Zagrabense*, printed by Liechtenstein at Venice in 1500 + α ; the year being left blank as 15 . Gives red for procession on Palm Sunday; black for Good Friday. (In Barberini Palace, Rome: catalogue gives date as 1500.)
 Alby: *Missale Albiense*, Tolos. 1846. Modern Gallican Colours.
 Auch: *Missale Auscitanum*, Paris, 1853. Roman.
 Autun: *Missale Aeduense*, 1845.
 Auxerre: *Missale Sanctæ Autissiodorensis Ecclesiæ*, Trevis, 1738.
 Basel: *Missale Basiliense*, Monachii, 1586. Wholly Roman.
 Bayeux: *Missale Bajocense*, Lugd. 1790. Roman, save violet for feasts of abbots, Benedictine: See Monte Cassino, Bursfield.
 Besançon: *Cérémonial du diocèse de Besançon*, Besançon, 1707.
 Bourges: *Missale Bituricense*, Avarici Biturigum, 1741. This Church calls itself Patriarchal. The colours follow the modern Gallican type.
 *Burgo de Osma: *Missale secundum usum et consuetudinem sanctæ ecclesiæ Oxomensis*, Burgo Oxomensi, 1561. National Library, Madrid.
 Bursfield: *Ceremoniale Benedictinum*, Paris, 1610. Said to have been written in 1502.
 Cahors: *Missale Cadurcense*, Paris, 1760. Follows a Gallican type.
 Canterbury: Archbishop Chichele's MS. Pontifical in Trinity College, Cambridge.
 Carmelites: *Missale Fratrum Carmelitarum*, Romæ, 1684. Roman, save that the procession on Palm Sunday is white: white, too, on feasts of Virgin Martyrs, red on S. Elias, white on S. Eliseus. Seen in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.
 Carthusian: *Missale Cartusiani Ordinis*, Fauratii in Sabaudia, 1679. Roman.
 Cistercian: *Missale ad usum sacri Cisterciensis*, Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1627. Roman.
 *Cöln: *Missale Coloniense*, 1626. I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. A. Ditzges, Parish Priest of S. Martin, for the rubrics in this missal.
 Constance: *Missale Constantiense* 1603. Roman.
 Coutances: *Cérémonial du diocèse de Coutances*, Coutances, 1825.
 Dominican: *Missale Prædicatorum*, Paris, 1721. Roman; but processions on Palm Sunday and Candlemas are white.
 Eichstädt: *Liber Rituum Eystellensis*, Ingolstadt, 1619. As far as it goes it is Roman.
 English Pontificals: See Exeter, Canterbury, and London.

- *Exeter: Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale* in the Cathedral Library of Exeter; to be edited by the Rev. Herbert Edward Reynolds.
- Fréjus: *Missale Forojuliense*, Paris, 1786. Modern Gallican.
- Laon: Antonii Bellotte, *Ritus Eccles. Laudunensis redivivi illustrissimi Laudunensis episcopi ac venerabilis matricis eccles. capituli consensione*, etc. Paris, 1662. To which are added *Observationes*, at p. 767 of these are remarks on the colours peculiar to Laon.
- *Le Mans: *Missale ad Usus Ecclesie Cenomanensis*, 1655. For the extracts from this Missal I am indebted to the courtesy of Canon Albin, Master of the Ceremonies of this Church.
- Le Puy: *Missale Aniciense*. Paris, 1783. Modern Gallican.
- Lincoln: MS. *Liber Niger*, in the possession of Mr. Bradshaw.
- London: MS. Pontifical, in the British Museum, Lansdowne MSS. 451.
MS. Pontifical of Bp. Clifford, in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
- Luçon: *Missale Lucionense*, 1828. More Roman than Gallican. Red for Palm Sunday procession.
- Lyons: *Missale Lugdunense*, 1771 and 1825. The edition of Abp. De Montazet. See Comparative Table.
In the *Missale Romano-Lugdunense*, Paris et Lugd. 1866, the colours are Roman.
- Mentz: *Missale Moguntinum*, Moguntiae 1602. See Comparative Table.
Missale Romano-Mogunt. (Eighteenth Century). Roman.
- Meaux: *Missale Meldense*, 1845. Gallican; S. Luke is white, though red in Missal of 1836.
- Mende: *Missale Mimatense*, Paris, 1766. Gallican.
- Milan: *Missale Ambrosianum*, Mediol. 1795.
- Monte Cassino: *Missale Monasticum secundum morem et ritum Casinensis Congregationis. Venetiis*, 1515. Seen in Ambrosian Library, Milan. Chiefly Roman; but white for processions on Palm Sunday and Candlemas, and black for Passiontide.
- Nancy and Toul: *Missale Nanciense et Tullense*, 1838.
- Nimes: *Missale Nemausense*, 1831. Nearly Roman, except red in Passiontide, Good Friday, and Holy Innocents.
- Orleans: *Missale Aurelianense*, Aureliaris, 1696. Roman.
- Palencia, in Spain: *Missale Pallantinum* 1568. See Comparative Table. Seen in the Barberini Palace, Rome.
- Pamiers: *Missale Appamiense*, Tolosae 1845. Gallican.
- Paris: *Missale Parisiense*, Paris, 1666. (Archbishop de Perefice.)
Missale Parisiense, 1685. (Archbishop de Harlay.) See Comparative Table.
- Passau: *Missale Pataviense*, Leichtenstein, Venetiis 1522. Good Friday red.
- Poitiers: *Missale Pictaviense*, Pictavi, 1767. Gallican.
- Rennes: *Missale Rhedonense*, Filicerii 1731. Gallican: except black on Good Friday, and green as a ferial colour.
- Rheims: *Missale secundum usum et consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Rhemensis*, Rhemis, 1553. Red for Good Friday.
Missale sanctæ ecclesie metrop. Remensis, Paris, 1688. Uses green from Low Sunday to Pentecost.
- Rouen: *Missale Rotomagense*, 1751. Nearly Roman.
Missale opus divinum juxta Rothomagi episc. instit. facientibus. Rothomagi, 1544. In small 4to. Chasuble of priest on Good Friday is black.
- Saltzburg: *Missale Saltzburgense*, 1507. Leichtenstein, Venice: also another edition of 1515. Red for priest on Good Friday; purple for cantors.
- Sarum: *Missale ad usum insignis et præclaræ Ecclesie Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861.
De officiis ecclesiasticis Tractatus, cap. xix. in Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, vol. iii. part ii. p. 13 in second pagination.
I may take this opportunity of noting that an edition, apparently unknown to Frère, and even to Mr. Dickinson, may be seen in the Biblioteca Casanatense at Rome. It is entered in the catalogue as *Missale ad usum Hospitalis Anglorum*, in 8vo. Rhotomagi per Martinum Morin 1512. It is really a *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum nuper accuratissime castigatum*, etc.; below this title is an oblong wood-block, having *Devant Saint Lo imprimé à Rouen*, as a legend round the border, and Magister Martin Morin at bottom. The colophon sets forth that the book was printed at Rouen, in 1511, at James Coussin's expense.

Sens : *Missale Senonense*, Senonis, 1715. Gallican.

Seville : *Missale secundum ordinem almæ ecclesiæ Hispalensis*, 1534. (In Barberini Palace, Rome.)
Missale secundum usum almæ ecclesiæ Hispalensis, 1507. Printed at Seville per Jacobum Cronberger, Alemannum. A magnificent copy on vellum in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

Both missals direct green for the procession on Palm Sunday; black on Good Friday; white for Easter, and red for Pentecost. On Whitsunday the priest, after epistle, turns to choir and throws up a white dove.

Sicily : *Missale Gallicanum ad Consuetudinem ecclesiarum Sicularum et præcipue Messanensis accommodatum*; Venetiis apud Juntas, 1568. This Gallican missal for Sicily would appear to be a relic of the Norman conquest of Sicily. See Guéranger, *Inst. lit.* Le Mans and Paris, 1840, t. i. p. 341. The colours are fully given and are Roman at bottom. "Quatuor sunt principaliores colores quibus ecclesia utitur in sacris vestibibus secundum proprietates dierum: albus, rubeus, viridis, et niger: licet romana ecclesia violaceo et croceo etiam utatur." Red is used for the Feast of the Circumcision; black on days of affliction; yellow on feasts of confessors not bishops, though some churches use yellow on bishops' days. Rest is Roman. Does this sequence come from Rouen with the rest of the Missal? Seen in the Barberini Palace, Rome.

*Sigüenza : *Missale ad usum Ecclesiæ Seguntinæ*, Seguntinæ, 1552. Noviciado Library, Madrid.

Soissons : *Missale Suessionense*, Paris, 1745. See comparative Table.

*Toledo : *Missale secundum ordinem prim. Eccl. Toletanæ*, 1550.

Idem, Lugd. 1551. National Library, Madrid.

Toulouse : *Missale Tolosanum*, Tolosæ, 1832. Gallican.

Trier : *Missale Trevirense*, Augustæ Trevirorum, 1608. Differs but slightly from Roman.

Troyes : *Missale Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Trecentis*, Trecentis, 1736. Follows the modern Parisian.

Vienne in Dauphiny : *Missale Viennense*, said to be printed in 1520, seen at the Rue de Richelieu in Paris. Gives black as the colour of the cope in which the Archbishop begins the office of the præsanctified on Good Friday.

Missale ad Usus Provinciæ Viennensis, Gratianopoli, 1840.

Wells : *Ordinale et Statuta Wellensia*. Manuscript 729 in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth. Edited by the Rev. Herbert Edward Reynolds, 1881.

Westminster : Abbot Ware's *Liber Consuetudinarius Monasterii Westmonasteriensis*, Cotton MS. in British Museum, Otho, C. xi.

York : *Missale ad Usus insignis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis*. The *York Missal*, published by the Surtees' Society, and edited by Dr. Henderson, 1874.

The *York Manuale et Processionale*, 1878, edited by the same.

POSTSCRIPT.—March 3, 1882. Yesterday Mr. Everard Green very kindly told me that Mr. Edmund Bishop had discovered the Litchfield sequence of colours in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. I at once take the opportunity of adding this English sequence to the rest. The colours are given among the Statutes of Hugh de Pateshull, whose election as bishop was confirmed on Christmas Day, 1239, and who died in 1241, having sat but one year and a half. I have ventured to alter the impossible punctuation of Dugdale, and to divide his one paragraph into four, so that each liturgical colour may appear under one head:

In die Natalis Domini utendum preciosioribus indumentis; in Paschali tempore et in ebdomada Pentecostes utuntur ministri dalmaticis albis, rectores autem chori similiter capis albis in Annuntiatione Dominica et in Circumcisione Domini et in festis omnibus beatae Mariæ et in octabis et in commemoratione ejusdem et in utroque festo S. Michaelis et in festo cujuslibet Virginis.

Rubeis utuntur indumentis in utroque festo S. Crucis et in quolibet festo apostolorum et martyrum (præterquam S. Johannis in Natali) sed in festo Epiphaniae et in Dominica Passionis et in Dominica Palmarum rectores chori capis utuntur rubeis.

Varii etiam coloris uti possunt capis rectores chori et ministri altaris in festis Omnium Sanctorum et confessorum et S. Petri in cathedra et Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistae (rubeis utuntur in decollatione ejusdem) sed in die S. Mariae Magdalenae et in diebus Dominicis ab octavis Epiphaniae usque Quadragesimam, ab octabis Paschae (? Pentecostes) usque Adventum, pro voluntate sacristae quando de dominica agitur.

In Adventu tamen et Quadragesima et in exequiis mortuorum nigris capis sericis utendum est.

This sequence shows a few variations from the great majority of known rites, but it appears to be Innocentian, as opposed to Gallican, and to have great affinity with the Exeter sequence, and with what is known of the York sequence. It is exceedingly interesting to discover so early an example of the use of the Innocentian colours in England. Black is the colour for Advent and Lent, tho' it is likely that afterwards in practice grey or ash colour was used. White is for Christmas and Easter, and a *varius* colour (whatever this may have been, probably *viridis* or *croceus*) for ferial times. The most striking variation in this sequence is the use of white for Pentecost, unknown to any other church, tho' I have expressed my suspicions at pp. 29 and 45 that white may have been the colour for Pentecost at York.

I should much like to see the original manuscript of these Statutes, if it still be in existence, or to have the opinion of an expert whether the word which Dugdale gives as *varius color* be not really *viridis color*.



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